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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES



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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

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J. H. S.

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed; no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15. 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bona fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 10 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

* VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three; but Members belonging both to this Society and to the Roman Society may borrow *seu* volumes at one time.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books, except under special circumstances, be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.
- (6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances:—

- (1) Unbound books
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
- (4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries:—

- a. Subscribing Libraries are entitled to receive the publications of the Society on the same conditions as Members.
- b. Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians, are permitted to *purchase* photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.
- c. Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to *hire* lantern slides.
- d. A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.
- e. A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.
- f. A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books, either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

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SWITZERLAND.

Geneva, La Bibliothèque Publique, *Genève, Switzerland*.

Lausanne, L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, *Avenue David 5, Lausanne*
(Dr. H. Meylan-Faure).

Zürich, Kantons-Bibliothek, *Zürich, Switzerland*.

SYRIA.

Jerusalem, École Biblique de St. Étienne, *Jérusalem*.

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96, *Chestnut Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*).

American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).

Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles*.

Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France*.

Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Bedford Street, Liverpool*).

Annual of the British School at Athens.

Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (H. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reisland, *Carlstrasse 20, Leipzig, Germany*).

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at Athens).

Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe, à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russe, Constantinople*).

Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Alexandria*.

Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).

Byzantinische Zeitschrift

Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo*.

Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*

Ephemeris Archaeologica, *Athens*.

Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kretschmer, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna*).

Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedländer Weg, Göttingen, Germany*).

Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, *Corneliusstrasse No. 2, Berlin*.

Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, *Turkenstrasse 4, Vienna*.

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and Man, 50, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*

Journal of Philology and Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.

- Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
 Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).
 Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. E. Kornemann, *Neuharldt 55, Tübingen*).
 Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale d l'Université S. Joseph, *Beyrouth, Syria*.
 Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palais Farnese, Rome*.
 Memnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 5, Berlin Südend, Germany*).
 Memorie dell' Instituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (*R. Accademia di Bologna, Italy*).
 Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens*.
 Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Rome*.
 Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.
 Neapolis, Signor Prof. V. Macchioro, *Via Civillo 8, Naples*.
 Neue Jahrbücher, Herrn Dr. Rektor Ilberg, Kgl. Gymnasium, *Wurzen, Saxony*.
 Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, *Rome*.
 Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.
 Philologus Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (c/o Dietrichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, *Göttingen*).
 Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
 Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogus, *Constantinople*.
 Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
 Revue Archéologique, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, *Rue Bonaparte, Paris*.
 Revue des Études Grecques, 44, *Rue de Lille, Paris*.
 Revue Epigraphique (Mons. A. J. Reinach, 31, *Rue de Berlin, Paris, VII^e*).
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse 58, Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).
 Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Drexler, *Kaiser-Strasse 33, Munich, Germany*).
 Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin*.

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1912-13.

During the past Session Papers were read at General Meetings of the Society:—

November 12th, 1912. Sir Charles Waldstein: *A Head of Pheidias style probably from the East pediment of the Parthenon* (published *J.H.S.* xxxiii. p. 276).

January 21st, 1913. Mr. William Buckler: *Excavations at Sardis, 1910-12* (see below).

May 6th, 1913. Mr. Joseph Curtis: *New Light on Ancient Music* (published *J.H.S.* xxxiii. p. 35).

May 27th, 1913. Professor Percy Gardner: *The Restoration of Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (see below).

June 24th, 1913. Mr. Arthur H. Smith: *Recent Acquisitions in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum* (see below).

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on June 24th, 1913. Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, Vice-President, in the unavoidable absence of the President, Sir Arthur Evans, occupying the Chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Secretary, presented the following Annual Report of the Council:—

The Council beg leave to submit the following report on the work of the Society for the Session 1912-13.

On the occasion of the death of H.M. King George of Greece, the condolence of the Society was sent by telegram to H.M. Queen Olga, who was pleased to return a gracious reply. An address of condolence and congratulation has since been forwarded to H.M. King Constantine by the Council, acting in conjunction with the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens, and an intimation has been received from H. E. Mons J. Gennadius that a reply from His Majesty will shortly be returned.

Changes on the Council, &c.—The Council have to record with regret the death of one of the honorary members of the Society, Dr. Theodore Gomperz, and have elected Dr. Paul Wolters in his place. Among other members who have died during the year may be mentioned, Dr. E. S. Roberts, Mr. Andrew Lang, and Mr. E. D. A. Morshead, who had all formerly served on the Council; Dr. A. W. Verrall, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, and more recently Lord Avebury, the first Honorary Treasurer of the Society, and until his death one of the Trustees of its invested funds.

Mr. G. F. Hill and Dr. L. R. Farnell have been nominated Vice-Presidents of the Society, and the resignation of Mr. F. C. Thompson, who for many years has held an honoured place on the Council, has created a third vacancy. Prof. Lehmann-Haupt, Prof. Percy Ure, and Mr. A. J. B. Wace have been nominated for election to fill these three seats. Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, who has succeeded Mr. Hill as Editor, is to be congratulated on the recent appearance of the first number of the *Journal* which has been published under his auspices. Mr. Penoyre returned to his duties at the beginning of the Session.

Relations with Other Bodies.—The arrangement by which the Library is shared with the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies continues to work well. The addition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, as well as of sundry periodicals dealing with Roman studies on the Continent, has been a noteworthy improvement in the Library, while the formation of a collection of lantern slides dealing with Roman subjects, to correspond with the Hellenic collection, makes progress.

The Council have renewed their annual grant of £100 to the British School at Athens for a further period of three years. The political conditions in Greek lands have necessarily modified the plans of the Managing Committee of the School, but the Council hear with interest that Mr. R. M. Dawkins, the Director, has recently secured for excavation the important site of the Kamarene Cave in Crete. In the course of the war the School has given noteworthy assistance to the Greek Government by providing accommodation for nurses and doctors at the hostel.

The Council have also renewed their grant of £50 to the Archaeological Faculty of the British School at Rome for a period of one year. They congratulate the Faculty on the publication of the highly important catalogue of the Capitoline Museum in Rome. They learn that the Session has been one of exceptional activity in Rome, and that progress is being made with the buildings for the reconstructed institution.

The Byzantine Research Fund has produced an important monograph on the church of S. Eirene in Constantinople, by Mr. Walter George, sometime student of the British School at Athens and a member of the Society. In this connexion may be mentioned the remarkable volume on the Byzantine Churches of Constantinople, by a distinguished member of the Society, Prof. A. van Millingen.

Miscellaneous.—Through the courtesy of Dr. Ronald Burrows, now Principal of King's College, London, members of the Society had an opportunity of listening to Commendatore Boni's interesting account of his excavations of houses of the Republican period on the Palatine.

A complete set of the Hellenic *Journal* has been presented to the Cyprus Museum, now under the care of Mr. Markides, who is doing much to remedy the condition of antiquities in the Island, for many years

a source of concern to all students of ancient art. The Council are further presenting a complete set of photographs of Cypriote subjects in the Society's collection.

At the recent exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery dealing with athletics in all ages, an exhibit drawn from the Society's collection of photographs was included. These admirably organised exhibitions in Whitechapel are admittedly a great educational factor, and the Council feel that any help which they can give in subjects lying within their scope is well bestowed.

The Council have appointed delegates to act in conjunction with representatives of the Classical Association and the Roman Society, to consider a scheme originated by the Rev. Henry Browne of University College, Dublin, for the distribution in schools of educational apparatus dealing with classical subjects.

The Council have given careful attention to a scheme for the bestowing of an annual medal for noteworthy achievement in the sphere of Hellenic studies. In the course of the discussion which took place, it became clear that, in the opinion of those most competent to advise, the disadvantages of such a scheme outweighed its merits. The Council therefore do not propose to recommend its adoption by the Society.

General Meetings.—Four general meetings have been held during the past session, at the first of which, on November 12th, 1912, Sir Charles Waldstein read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on a head of Phœidian style, probably from the east pediment of the Parthenon. This paper will be published in the *Journal*.

At the second general meeting, on January 21st, 1913, the Society had the pleasure of listening to a communication from Mr. William Buckler, of the excavating staff of the American School, on the excavations at Sardes, 1910-12. Mr. Buckler began by pointing out that Sardes owed her greatness to the natural wealth of Lydia, but still more to the position of her citadel, which commanded trade routes. Sardes was situated on the main Hittite road (the Royal Road named by Herodotus) at a spot whence branches radiated to Ephesus, Cyzicus, Smyrna, and Phocæa (the last two branches still having Hittite monuments), and this commanding position is evidence of her importance during the Hittite period, the 2nd-millennium B.C. The vast cluster of tumuli north of the river Hermus also attests her early greatness. She seems to have held a unique position as a link between eastern and western civilisation. Her most brilliant epoch as a capital of a kingdom began with Gyges and ended with Croesus, but even after successive conquests by Persians, Macedonians, and Romans, she remained an important provincial city.

The burning by the Ionians and Athenians in 499 B.C. of the sanctuary of Artemis (known as Cybele or 'The Mother') led to the Persian invasion of Greece. This temple was replaced 400-350 B.C. by a shrine which, at the time of its building, was second in size to that of Ephesus only. Both, however, were slightly exceeded in size a century later

by the temple of Apollo at Didyma, near Miletus. This temple, though roofed and used, was in many details unfinished, but the preservation of the plan and the main east front, with its colonnade, made this the finest extant example of a Greek temple on a great scale.

The research in the necropolis on the hills to the west of the river Pactolus had been carried out on a comprehensive scale, about 400 tombs having been opened. These had yielded fine gold, silver and bronze ornaments, many engraved stones and some pottery of the period of Croesus. Little early pottery was found, and this in fragmentary condition. The most important finds were a dozen perfect inscriptions which were the best preserved specimens known of the Lydian script. They included a bilingual inscription, probably of the fourth century B.C., in Lydian and Aramaic. This gave the first clue to the Lydian language.

Mr. Buckler's paper was fully illustrated by lantern slides and this opportunity of seeing the highly successful results of the great American undertaking was much appreciated by members of the Society. The paper was discussed by Sir Arthur Evans, who occupied the chair, Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Hill and others.

On Tuesday, May 6th, at the third general meeting, Mr. Joseph Curtis read a paper, published in the recently issued number of the *Journal*, on *New Light on Ancient Music*. This paper was illustrated not only by lantern slides but by representations, vocal and instrumental, of recovered fragments of ancient music.

The paper was discussed by Mr. H. H. Statham.

On May 27th, 1913, an extraordinary meeting was held, at which Professor Percy Gardner delivered an address, illustrated by lantern slides, on the restoration of masterpieces of Greek sculpture.

The speaker began by pointing out that, in the natural order of things, great discoveries of ancient masterpieces became rarer, but our knowledge and method of comparative study had greatly improved, and thus an age of restoration had set in. The great principle for which he contended was that all restoration should be in plaster, or in drawings, and that the marbles themselves should remain untouched. The Roman Museums told a sad story of mis-restoration in past days. It was not too much to say that in the Capitoline Museum few heads were to be trusted as belonging to the bodies on which they were now placed. As an instance of restoration gone mad, a figure of a Discobolus of Myronian type was shown restored as a gladiator in the last stage of defeat.

Consideration was then given to Sauer's work on the East Pediment of the Parthenon. This, taken in conjunction with the well-known Puteal in the Madrid Museum, had led to felicitous results. On the other hand, the same savant's work on the pediments of the Theseion, was mere fantasy, no monument existing (as in the case of the pediment of the Parthenon) to indicate on what lines the restoration should proceed. Even the subject

was not known through literary sources. Furtwängler's restoration of the East pediment of the Parthenon erred in the same direction, but by no means in the same degree.

Visitors to the museum at Olympia were familiar with the ugly effect of the present mounting of the Nike of Paconius, where the back of the cranium, the only part of the head preserved, was poised in mid-air above the figure with the help of an iron bar. A head in the possession of the late Miss Hertz was, so far as the back of the head was concerned, a remarkably faithful replica of the fragmentary Nike head. A restoration of the statue, with the Hertz head attached, was shown. Unfortunately the head is out of scale, being somewhat large for the figure.

The missing group by Myron of Athena and Marsyas had for a long time been known only on Attic coins of poor style, yet with this starting point, two statues had been identified in different museums which, in collocation, came near to the original group. The Athena was of an extremely attractive type, as fresh and girlish as she sometimes appears on Attic vases of the time. In the most recent modifications of this restoration the goddess holds her spear carelessly athwart and behind her. This was a great improvement and contributed much to an unexaggerated and pleasing effect which the whole figure possesses. An excellent result had been achieved by Dr. Amelung by placing the head of the so-called Aspasia on a heavily draped Roman torso, the original of which dated from the fifth century B.C. Both head and torso were copies, but, placed together, they in all probability made a copy of one single female portrait statue of the mid-fifth century. The two restorations of the Athena Lemnia were then discussed. Both had much merit in giving to the world again two great figures from the fifth century, but for neither was there adequate evidence that it was the Lemnian figure. Here, as in other restorations, the archaeologist seemed to have been badly served by the modern sculptor. Amelung's restoration in particular, based on the grand Medici torso, though effective in respect of the head, with its towering helmet, was greatly spoiled by the extremely poor arms that had been added.

Mr. Evelyn White had recently brought into collocation a Praxitelean figure at Dresden, of a boy pouring wine out of a cantharos, and a draped figure of Dionysus in the museum at Lugano, as an attempt to reproduce the lost group of Dionysus and a Satyr by Praxiteles. The restoration was at least pleasing. Mr. Guy Dickins was to be congratulated on his elaborate and careful reconstruction of the group by Damophon of Messene from the heap of fragments that remain. His restoration, based on minute examination and close reasoning, had been confirmed in a marked degree by the subsequent discovery of a coin of Arcadia, giving a representation of the group. Slight differences did exist, but even these may have arisen from the fact that the coin designers did not, as a rule, give a slavish imitation of any work of art that they represented. The fidelity, however, would be likely to be fairly strong at the date at which this particular coin was struck.

An as yet unpublished restoration by Dr. Studniczka of two magnificent female figures in the Ny-Carlsberg Museum at Copenhagen was then shown. With no small imagination and a considerable dramatic effect, the figures have been posed to represent the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Artemis stoops to save the maiden as she falls on the altar, the balance of the lesser figure being given by the introduction of a representation of the stag of the goddess, but some features of the composition were doubtful.

The paper was discussed by Mr. Arthur Smith and Professor Ernest Gardner.

Library, Photographic and Lantern Slide Collections.—The year's results in these important sections of the Society's work may be seen at a glance from the appended tables:—

A. LIBRARY.

B. SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

	Accessions.		Visitors to the Library.	Books taken out.	Slides added to Collection.	Slides hired.	Slides sold to Members.	Photos sold to Members.
	Books.	Vols.						
Session 1903-4	141	157	338	311	(Original Catalogue of 1,500 slides published.)	1,224	512	465
1904-5	97	122	375	401	154	3,053	787	366
1905-6	124	162	372	415	187	2,941	1,247	670
1906-7	165	198	277	396	148	1,357	871	294
1907-8	148	180	300	760	125	1,442	548	129
1908-9	192	244	617	675	400	2,619	968	359
1909-10	98	100	448	519	281	3,448	826	702
1910-11	372	399	834	716	171	2,510	662	233
1911-12	253	342	771	852	330	2,824	697	624
1912-13	318	489	800	938	363	3,578	506	345

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from the following bodies :—H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Director of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, the Austrian Archaeological Institute, the Society of Dilettanti, and the University Presses of the following Universities :—California, Cambridge, Columbia, Manchester, Oxford, Pennsylvania.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works :—Messrs. Batsford, Beck, Constable, Deighton Bell & Co., Ferrets and Fils, Fischer, Fock, Fontemoing, Frowde, Geuthner, Ginn & Co., Heinemann, Heitz and Mendel, Hölder, Holzhausen, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Kündig, Leroux, Longmans, Green & Co., Macdonald & Evans, Macmillan & Co., Methuen, Raschen & Co., Schöningh, Stanford, Teubner, Thomas, Topelmann, Unwin, and Weidmann.

The following authors have presented copies of their works :—Messrs. H. I. Bell, J. E. Chrysaphis, R. Dietrich, E. Drerup, W. R. Halliday, G. F. Hill, J. A. Kulakovsky, S. Lambros, V. V. Latyshev, Walter Leaf, Messrs. L. A. Milani, B. A. Panchenko, C. Pascal, G. Pellegrini, C. Robert, Rev. H. G. Rogers, Messrs. L. Ronzevalle, B. Schulze, W. W. Tarn, and P. Wolters.

Miscellaneous donations of books have also been received from the Executors of the late Rev. Slade Baker-Penoyre, Messrs. G. Allen, G. Garnett, F. W. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, D. G. Hogarth, Miss C. A. Hutton, Messrs. F. H. Marshall, C. Pascal, J. Penoyre, R. Phene Spiers, Miss Sharpe, and Miss E. Woods.

Library.—The figures quoted above show the gratifying result that the collections of both books and slides are becoming increasingly useful.

The number of books coming for review, in addition to constant generous donations from such sources as the British Museum and the University Presses, have made it possible to expend the greater portion of the Library grant in filling important lacunae and in binding. At the present moment every completed and catalogued work in the Library is bound, and the Council feel considerable satisfaction that the unwelcome item ' arrears of binding ' does not disfigure their report.

The series of classical texts, Greek and Roman, has received considerable addition by the presentation, by the executors of the late Slade Baker-Penoyre, of eighty volumes specially selected from his Library.

Despite the fact that there is an authors' catalogue and a subject catalogue in the Library and that the books are kept in subject order on the shelves, and that each shelf is labelled, it is probable that many readers are unaware of the extent of the resources of the Library. It may here be mentioned that it contains one of the few correctly bound copies of Bursian's invaluable *Jahresberichte*, in which the bibliography and the necrology are bound separately from the text; twenty-five volumes of Iwan Mueller's *Handbuch*; over sixty volumes of the monumental catalogue of the Cairo Museum; twenty-six volumes of the publications of

the Commission Impériale Archéologique of St. Petersburg, which are difficult to obtain elsewhere; and over 100 bound volumes of pamphlets, with a special index.

Among recent accessions of interest are the following:—C. Texier, *L'Asie Mineure*, and *L'Arménie*; these fine volumes, five in number, were once in the private library of the Emperor Napoleon III; *A Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Capitoline Museum*, compiled by members of the British School at Rome; M. Collignon and E. Pontremoli, *Pergame*; the large work on the Austrian excavations at Ephesus; and *The Church of S. Eirene*, by W. S. George, produced by the Byzantine Fund. Other works of interest are the new edition of J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*; W. Leaf, *Troy*; W. H. Goodyer, *Greek Refinements in Architecture*; A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*; Edward Maunde Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palæography*. The whole collection of maps has been mounted and is now being rearranged.

Among the more noteworthy accessions to the Roman side of the Library are large portions of the *Archivio di Storia Patria* and *Archivio Storico Italiano* (presented by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley); the publications of the Catalan Institut of Barcelona; Professor Conway's work on the Italic dialects; and Professor Reid's *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*.

Photographic Department.—Members will be aware that the Council decided that a new and complete catalogue of the lantern slides should be issued, and the Hellenic section of this work is well advanced. Some 300 inferior slides have been removed and replaced, where possible, by better renderings; in addition to this, 500 new slides are being added. This work has entailed the testing of every negative, slide and print in the collection. By common desire the original numbers have been retained throughout, so that lecturers relying on former syllabuses will not be in difficulties. The alterations have been carried out in such a way that the quotation of a number will either produce a better rendering of the same subject, or if no alternative exists, the obsolete slide. Material improvement has been made throughout, particularly in the sections dealing with topography, sculpture (especially in the series of grave-reliefs), vases, and coins. There is considerable difficulty in holding the scales between the artistic and archaeological interests. It is probable that no selection or classification will suit both parties, but the fact that over 3,500 slides were hired during the course of the session indicates that many members of the Society find the collection useful. Past donors of materials having generously waived their rights to the free loan of slides, the Council have decided to reduce the cost of hire by one half, and after the 1st September all slides will be lent at id. each.

The processes employed in making coloured slides are so obviously open to improvement that it has been thought better not to encumber the catalogue with a large number of expensive coloured slides which are likely to be obsolete at an early date. Members desiring to purchase coloured slides of any particular subject are invited to consult the Librarian.

The new catalogue will be published in the second part of the Journal for this year, and a separate edition, interleaved for the insertion of accessions, will also be issued. On the arrangement of this catalogue the advice of all the more frequent users of the collection has been taken, with the result that the existing scheme will not be greatly altered. Much however will be done in reprinting selections from the main catalogue, in sets. Architecture as distinct from topography and excavation, with which it has hitherto been classed, will receive separate treatment.

During the year a great number of original drawings that have appeared in the Hellenic Journal and the Annual of the British School at Athens have been uniformly mounted, and these, with photographs and reproductions similarly treated, are accessible, conveniently classified in boxes. The importance of this work, which can be added to indefinitely, is considerable. An exhaustive set of reproductions of early vases, properly classified, with the excavators' notes appended, is in process of arrangement, while, in another section, the materials which Mr. Hasluck has collected during his researches in the history of the Latin Levant, are being treated in the same way. Books multiply, but the opportunity of handling a vast mass of illustrations, in many cases original, is an asset to the Library *sui generis*.

The gift of good photographs of the ordinary whole-plate size, preferably in bromide, for addition to this collection, will be appreciated by the Council. They wish to record their indebtedness to the following for help generously given to the photographic department during the past session:—The Editors of the Annual of the British School at Athens, Prof. Ernest Gardner, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Mr. J. G. Milne, Mr. J. Penoyre, Dr. Rendall, Mr. E. S. Robinson, and Mr. E. J. Seltman.

The above particulars concern the Hellenic section of the slide collection. Progress is being made with the collection of the Roman Society, which has already acquired the Roman materials collected by the Hellenic Society, and their collection is also fairly well off in what may be called the stock views of Rome and Pompeii, and is particularly rich in Roman historical sculpture. The Roman Society has recently issued an appeal for photographs and slides with their corresponding negatives, and it is hoped that a generous response to this may enable the Roman catalogue to be issued with as little delay as possible.

Finance.—Although the total expenditure has been heavier this year than last, the Income and Expenditure account shows a balance of £30 on the right side as against a deficit last year of £31. This satisfactory result has been caused by the increased revenue from Entrance Fees and Subscriptions received from members elected during the year. The general expenditure varies somewhat under the several headings, but there is not a great difference in the total. The *Journal* account shows an additional debit balance of some £40 owing to a drop in the number of Journals sold as compared with last year. It must be remembered however that the sales last year were considerably above the average. The figures for the

Lantern Slides and Photographs Department again show an increase, the total receipts amounting to £74, and this account again shows a small balance on the right side.

The Cash balance in hand stands at £962, as against £701 last year, an increase of £261. The Debts payable however are some £86 higher, while the Debts receivable are £42 less. Some part of the increased Cash balance is the result of the receipts from Life Compositions received during the year, and there is now also a balance of £72 not invested of the donations to the Endowment Fund. To meet these it is proposed to invest a sum of £200, part of which will be allocated to the Endowment Fund and part to the Life Compositions. The Amount of arrears of Members' Subscriptions outstanding when the books were closed was £110, but this amount is omitted in making up the accounts.

The total membership roll shows an increase of 31 as compared with last year, the total number of ordinary Members on the Register now being 946. The List of Subscribing Libraries now stands at 206 as against 203 last year.

The Council are glad to be able to present so satisfactory a financial statement for the year, and take this opportunity of expressing their appreciation of the valuable assistance many members have contributed in recruiting new members as a result of the special appeal sent out last Autumn. It must also be noted that, as a further result of this appeal, some members sent donations to the Endowment Fund, while in one or two instances members doubled their annual subscriptions.

It is perhaps too much to expect a similar increase in the membership roll during the coming year, but the Council are confident that wherever possible members will continue to use their efforts to further the work of the Society by bringing it to the notice of any of their friends who may be interested in its objects.

Before moving the adoption of the Report, the Chairman read an answer from H.M. King Constantine of the Hellenes to an address of condolence and congratulation which had been presented by the Council, in concert with the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens.

Having dwelt on the growth of the Society's activities during the year, particularly in the development of the Library and Slide collections, he moved the adoption of the Report.

In seconding its adoption, Mr. Noel Heaton gave an interesting account of the Season's work at Knossos, where the President, Sir Arthur Evans, had been detained by new discoveries. These included the finding of the primitive fortress of Knossos in the region provisionally called the "prisons."

The Report, having been formally put to the Meeting, was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, proposed by Sir John Sandys and seconded by Mr. Penoyre, was carried unanimously.

The Chairman then made a communication, illustrated by lantern slides, on recent acquisitions in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. He dwelt particularly with (1) a Greek scarabaeoid, engraved on the convex side with a Graeco-Persian combat scene, (2) a cast of a recently excavated fragment of the Phigaleian Frieze, (3) an oinochoe with figures of Scythians in fine red-figure style, (4) a small find of silver plate from Brusa. He also explained the reconstruction, at that moment in progress, of the archaic capital from the Artemision at Ephesus (B.M. No. 2726).

As the result of the ballot the printed list of nominations for the election or re-election of officers submitted by the Council was unanimously adopted.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chair, moved by Mr. A. J. B. Wace, and carried by acclamation.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.	31 May, 1913.
Subscriptions, Current	£ 672	£ 709	£ 789	£ 753	£ 759	£ 773	£ 771	£ 766	£ 747	£ 770
Arrears	205	76	90	72	70	82	82	84	78	87
Life Compositions	126	94	94	47	47	15	31	94	15	110
Literaries	147	154	168	125	188	190	197	196	196	201
Entrance Fees	100	133	103	65	78	94	107	65	50	134
Dividends	42	49	44	61	62	62	62	62	62	62
Rent: (B.S.A. & B.S.R.)	—	—	—	10	10	10	13	22	20	20
Endowment Fund	—	30	475	17	23	2	6	1	1	16
"Excavations at Phylakopi," sales	—	52 ^a	48 ^a	21 ^a	18 ^a	12 ^a	7 ^a	10 ^a	4 ^a	4 ^a
"Facsimile Codex Venetus," sales	—	93 ^a	8 ^a	17 ^a	3 ^a	—	—	12 ^a	4 ^a	4 ^a
Lantern Slides Account	—	—	15 ^a	3 ^a	5 ^a	—	7 ^a	—	12 ^a	3 ^a
Emergency Fund (for Library Fittings)	—	—	—	—	—	—	52 ^a	67	—	—
Rent, Use of Library, &c. (Roman Society)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	38	66	55
	1,292	1,390	1,814	1,239	1,263	1,240	1,010	1,417	1,255	1,472

^a Receipts less expenses.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.	31 May, 1913.
Rent	£ 80	£ 88	£ 98	£ 100	£ 100	£ 100	£ 100	£ 188	£ 205	£ 205
Insurance	16	18	13	14	15	15	13	14	13	10
Salaries	89	165	176	175	178	204	241	273	263	267
Library: Purchases & Binding	50	100	65	85	85	85	38	73	105	86
Cost of Catalogue	55	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, &c.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	31	36
Smultry, Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc.	137	147	158	101	119	140	126	151	176	193
Printing and Postage, History of Society	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Printing and Postage, Pro- ceedings at Anniversary	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lantern Slides Account	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	16 ^a	—	—
Photographs Account	—	5 ^a	—	—	—	17 ^a	—	—	—	—
Cost of Journal (less sales)	311	511	356	350	406	362	532	385	362	403
Cost of Journal, Reprint of Vol. XXIII.	—	122	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grants	225	260	125	225	340	185	150	150	150	150
"Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes"	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"Excavations at Phylakopi"	140	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Roman Society, Expenses of formation	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	5	—	—
Library Fittings	—	—	—	—	—	—	408	18	—	—
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications	—	423	104	10	6	53	52	3	4	2
	1,335	1,573	1,095	1,069	1,249	1,161	1,740	1,310	1,347	1,352

^a Expenses less sales.

‘EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI’ ACCOUNT FROM JUNE 1, 1912, TO MAY 31, 1913.

	Columns showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1912.	Account for Current Year.	Columns showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1913.	Account for Current Year.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock)	144 7 11	—	4 0 0	4 0 0
Balance on Current Year for Income and Expenditure Account	—	4 0 0	140 7 11	
	<u>£144 7 11</u>	<u>£4 0 0</u>	<u>£144 7 11</u>	<u>£4 0 0</u>
By Sale of 4 Copies during year				
Deficit Balance at May 31, 1913 (excluding value of Stock)				

Dr.

‘JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES’ ACCOUNT FROM JUNE 1, 1912, TO MAY 31, 1913.

Cr.

To Printing and Paper, Vol. XXXII., Part II., and XXXIII., Part I.,	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Plates	334 9 4			
Drawing and Engraving	55 8 0			
Editing and Reviews	30 0 4		127 (3 1)	
Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	91 4 6		13 11 6	
	<u>622 8 8</u>			
		562 10 10		141 5 5
				3 9 10
				15 0 0
				<u>402 15 7</u>
				<u>£562 10 10</u>

FACSIMILE OF THE CODEX VENETUS OF ARISTOPHANES' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1912, TO MAY 31, 1913.

	Column showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1912.		Column showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1913.		Account for Current Year
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
To Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding Value of Stock)	85	10 6	7	7 0	£ s. d. 7 7 0
" Half Balance to American Archaeological Institute	3	13 0	84	16 6	
" Half Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	—	—			
	£89	3 6	£89	3 0	£7 7 0
By Sale of 1 Copy					
" Hellenic Society's Deficit Balance at May 31, 1913 (excluding Value of Stock)					

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1912, TO MAY 31, 1913.

	Column showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1912.		Column showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1913.		Account for Current Year
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	25	7 1			£ s. d. 32 5 5
" Slides for Hire	27	6 8½			27 1 6
" Photographs for Reference Collection	12	19 3			13 8 10
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	3	9 0½			1 0 8
	£74	2 3			£74 2 5
By Receipts from Sales					
" Hire					
" Roman Society Purchase					
" Sale of Catalogues					

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1912, TO MAY 31, 1913.

	Column showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1912.		Column showing Financial Results from Date of Publication to May 31, 1913.		Account for Current Year
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
To Purchases	54	16 2			£ s. d. 1 13 8
" Binding	30	14 10			83 17 4
	£84	11 0			£85 11 0
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.					
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account					

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. - From JUNE 6, 1912, to MAY 31, 1913.

Expenditure.		Income.	
To Rent	£	s	d
Salaries—	136	8	0
Librarian and Secretary	25	0	0
Assistant Treasurer	68	5	10
Clerk	37	12	6
Typist	267	4	4
Insurance	5	14	7
Miscellaneous Expenses	29	8	2
Stationery	33	5	4
Postage	49	13	7
Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.	80	0	6
Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises	30	0	10
Grants—	100	0	0
British School at Athens	50	0	0
Rome	50	0	0
Balance from Library Account	160	0	0
Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account	83	17	4
Depreciation of Stocks of publications	403	15	7
	1	14	0
Balance	30	12	2
By Members' Subscriptions—			
Proportion brought forward from last year	429	6	9
Received during current year—			
Arrears	76	11	11
1912	10	10	0
1913	775	10	2
Less 1/4 of 1913 subscriptions forward to next year	129	7	10
Members' Entrance Fees	453	5	0
Student Associates' Subscriptions	839	2	0
Libraries Subscriptions	134	8	0
Proportion brought forward from last year	94	6	6
Received during current year—			
1912 & 1913	36	15	0
1913	167	18	4
Less 1/5 of 1913 subscriptions forward to next year	298	19	10
Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account	97	19	0
Interest on Deposit Account	271	0	10
Dividends on Investments	47	5	0
Contributed towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room	8	17	0
Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies—	62	8	7
Rent	20	0	0
Use of Library	30	0	0
Balance from 'Excavations at Phylakopi' Account	25	0	0
Balance from Aristophanes Codex Venetus Account	55	0	0
Balance from Lattin Slides Account	4	0	0
	3	13	6
	5	0	0

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BALANCE SHEET. MAY 31, 1913.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>£</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
To Debits Payable.....		363	15	8			
" Subscriptions carried forward		551	4	0			
" Suspense Account		3	3	0			
" Endowment Fund		572	0	0			
(Includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Parrar)							
" Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture) Total Received		394	18	6			
" Life Compositions and Donations—Total at June 1, 1912 ——— £1899 9 0 Received during year, 7 sh. £15 15s.		110	5	0			
		2009	14	0			
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account, three at £15 15s.—Members deceased		47	5	0			
Excess of Assets over Liabilities at June 1, 1912		243	6	6d			
Add Surplus Balance from Income & Expenditure Account		30	19	3			
Balance—Excess of Assets at May 31, 1913		273	12	8d			
		£4153	4	10d			

Examined and found correct.

W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

ELEVENTH LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE

1912—1913.

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by n.s.

In the Catalogue of Maps are incorporated all the Maps in the possession of the Society, whether accessions or not.

NOTE.—The Original Catalogue published in 1903, with all the supplements appended, can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 3/6 (by post 3/10). Applications should be made to the Librarian, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

Admiralty Charts. See *Maps, Maps of Countries, &c.* (alphabetical) *passim*. [The Admiralty Charts form Portfolio L]

Aeschylus. Opera. Editor, C. J. Blomfield. Text and Glossaries. 2 vols. 8vo. 1829-34.

Aeschylus. Lexicon. See Linwood (W.)

Aloaeus. [Sappho and Corinna, the new fragments of. Ed. J. M. Edmonds. 8vo. Cambridge, 1909.]

Alexandria Museum. See Cairo, Supplementary Publications

Anderson (J. G. C.) Editor of Murray's Handy Classical Map of Asia Minor. See *Maps, Asia Minor*

Anderton (B.) See *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*

n.s. **Annalen des Vereins für Nassaulsche Altertumskunde.** XL. Text and Plates. [Contains Ritterling's *Früh-römische Lager bei Hofheim*.] 8vo. Wiesbaden. 1913.

Anrich (G.) *Hagios Nikolaos: der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche.* I. Texte. 8vo. Berlin. 1913.

Apollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica.* With English translation by R. C. Seaton. [Loeb Class. Libr.] 8vo. 1912.

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n.s. = the property of the Roman Society.

- Apostolic Fathers.** With an English translation by K. Lake.
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Vol. I. Clement I.—Clement II.—Ignatius—Polycarp—
Didache—Barnabas. 8vo. 1912.
Vol. II. The Shepherd of Hermas—The Martyrdom of
Polycarp—The Epistle to Diognetus. 8vo. 1913.
- Appianus.** Appian's Roman History, with English translation by
H. White. In 4 vols. [Loeb Class. Libr.] 8vo. 1912-3.
- Archaeologia Aeliana.** From 3rd Series. Vol. I. (1904).
8vo. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. *In Progress.*
- Archeologo Português.** Vol. X. 3-5. 8vo. Lisbon. 1905.
- Aristarchus.** Aristarchus of Samos, the ancient Copernicus: a
history of Greek Astronomy to Aristarchus, together with
Aristarchus's treatise; a new Greek text with translation
and notes by T. Heath. 8vo. Oxford. 1913.
- Aristotle.** The Works of Aristotle translated into English.
De Motu Animalium.
De Incessu Animalium.
By A. S. L. Farquharson. 8vo. Oxford. 1912.
De Coloribus—De Audibilibus—Physiognomonica—De
Plantis—Mechanica—Ventorum Situs et Cognomina
—De Melisso, Xenophane, Gorgia. By T. Loveday
and E. S. Forster. 8vo. Oxford. 1913.
- Arktos.** Archaeological contributions to Arktos, 1910.
8vo. Stockholm. 1910.
- Arndt (W.)** Schrifttafeln zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen und zum
Selbstunterricht. 4to. Berlin. 1874.
- Arnim (J.)** *Editor.* See *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta.*
- Athens, University of.** Τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορικὴν κρίσιν Ἀμφικτυονῖδα
τῶν λόγων τοῦ ἑθνικοῦ πανεπιστημίου.
8vo. Athens. 1912.
Σέβας, Hommage Internationale à l'Université Nationale
de Grèce à l'occasion du soixante-quinzième Anniver-
saire de sa fondation (1837-1912).
8vo. Athens. 1912.
- Augustine.** S. Augustini Confessionum Libri XIII. With English
translation by W. Watts (1631). 2 vols. [Loeb Class.
Libr.] 8vo. 1912.
- Augustine.** S. Aurelii Augustini . . . de Civitate Dei Libri XXII.
8vo. Leipzig. 1825.
- Babelon (E.)** See *Bibliothèque Nationale.*
- Bacchylides.** Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis. Ed. F. Blass.
4th Ed. by W. Svess. 8vo. Leipzig. 1912.
- Baehr (J. C. F.)** *Editor.* See *Herodotus.*
- Balter (J. G.)** *Editor.* See *Demosthenes, Horace, Tacitus.*
- Baker-Penryce (J. ff.)** Maps of Thasos and Limnos. See *Maps,*
Thasos.

- n.s. Barcelona.** Institut d'Estudis Catalans. *Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans.* From I. (1907).
4to. Barcelona. *In Progress.*
- Barcelona.** Institut d'Estudis Catalans. *L'Architectura Romanica a Catalunya.* 2 vols. By J. Puig y Cadafalch, A. de Falguera, and J. Goday y Casals.
4to. Barcelona. 1909-1911.
- Barcelona.** Institut d'Estudis Catalans. *Les pintures murals Catalans.* From I. Fol. Barcelona. *In Progress.*
- Barrington (E. L.)** *Through Greece and Dalmatia.* 8vo. 1912.
- Barthel (W.)** *Editor.* See Mau (A.) *Führer durch Pompeji.*
- Bayfield (M. A.)** *Editor.* See Verrall (A. W.) *Collected Studies and Collected Literary Essays.*
- Bell (H. L.)** *Translations of the Greek Aphrodite Papyri in the British Museum.* [Islam, III, 4. IV, 1, 2.]
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- Belzner (E.)** *Homerische Probleme. II. Der Komposition der Odyssee.* 8vo. Leipzig and Berlin. 1912.
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- Bennett (F. M.)** *Religious cults associated with the Amazons.*
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- Blass (F.)** *Editor.* See *Raachylides.*
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- Boetticher (C.)** *Athenischer Festkalender in Bildern.* [Philologus, XXII.]
Small Atlas. Göttingen. 1865.
- n.s. Boissier (G.)** *L'Afrique romaine; promenades archéologiques en Algérie et en Tunisie.* 8vo. Paris. 1912.
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8vo. 1905.
- Boll (F.)** *Die Lebensalter: ein Beitrag zur antiken Ethologie und zur Geschichte der Zahlen.* 8vo. Leipzig. 1913.
- Bologna.** *Catalogo dei Vasi greci dipinti dalle necropoli Etrusche descritti da Giuseppe Pellegrini.* 8vo. Bologna. 1912.
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8vo. Bonn/a/R. *In Progress.*

- Bornemann (F. A.)** *Editor.* See Xenophon.
- Bothe (H.)** *Editor.* See Euripides.
- B.S. Bouchier (E. S.)** Life and letters in Roman Africa.
8vo. Oxford. 1913.
- Bradley (B. N.)** Malta and the Mediterranean Race.
8vo. 1912.
- Breccia (E.)** Catalogue of the Alexandria Museum. See Cairo, Supplementary Publications.
- Bright (W.)** The Age of the Fathers, being chapters in the history of the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries. 2 vols.
8vo. 1903.
- British Museum.**
Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.
Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum, I (2). By H. B. Walters. 8vo. 1912.
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Catalogue of finger-rings: Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Mediaeval and later. By O. M. Dalton.
8vo. 1912.
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- B.S. Brooke (G. C.)** Knott Mill Hoard. 8vo. [S.], et al.]
- Brue (B.)** Journal de la Campagne que le grand Vésir Ali Pacha a faite en 1715 pour la conquête de la Morée.
8vo. Paris. 1870.
- Buck (C. D.)** Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects.
8vo. 1912.
- Bucolici Graeci.** The Greek Bucolic Poets. With English translation by J. M. Edmonds. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
8vo. 1912.
- Bulanda (E.)** Katalog der griechischen Vasen . . . in Sarajevo. See Sarajevo.
- Bulle (H.)** *Editor.* Handbuch der Archäologie I (1).
8vo. Munich. 1913.
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- Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou. I, II.
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Models of ships and boats. By G. A. Reisner.
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Sarcophages de l'Époque Babastiite à l'Époque Saïte. I.
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W. von Bissing. 4to. Vienna. 1913.

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- Alexandria Museum: Inscrizione Greche e Latine. By
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La Necropoli di Sciabbi. 2 vols. By E. Breccia.
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Les Temples immergés de la Nubie. Le Temple de Ouadi
Es-sebonâ. 2 vols. By H. Gauthier.
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lated by F. W. Cornish. Tibullus translated by J. P.
Postgate. Pervigilium Veneris translated by J. W.
Mackail. [Loeb Class. Libr.] 8vo. 1912.

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8vo. Paris. 1913.

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Fol. Paris. 1884-1900.

Christodoulos (M.) Ἡ ὁπλὴ καὶ αἱ ζαφείρα Ἐκκλησίαι.

8vo. Constantinople. 1897.

Chrysostom. Johannis Chrysostomi de Sacerdotio Libri VI. Ed.
Bengel. 8vo. Leipzig. 1834.

Chrysostom. In divi Pauli epistolam ad Corinthios priorem Homiliae
xlv. 8vo. Oxford. 1847.

R.S. = the property of the Roman Society.

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- Cicero.** Cicero's Letters to Atticus. With English translation by E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols. Vols. I, II. [Loeb Class. Libr.] 8vo. 1912.
- Clark (A. C.)** Prose rhythm in English. 8vo. Oxford. 1913.
- Clay (A. T.)** Personal names from cuneiform inscriptions of the Cassite period. [Yale Oriental series, I.] 8vo. Newhaven, etc. 1912.
- Clemen (C.)** Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum. [Religionsgesch. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten XIII (1)]. 8vo. Giessen. 1913.
- Clementi (C.)** Bibliographical and other studies on the *Pervigilium Veneris*. 8vo. Oxford. 1913.
- Collignon (M.)** Le Parthénon: l'histoire, l'architecture et la sculpture. Text and plates. Fol. Paris. *In Progress*.
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- Constantinople.** Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines. By G. Mendel. I. 8vo. Constantinople. 1912.
- Conway (R. S.)** The Italian Dialects edited with a Grammar and Glossary. Vol. I. Text. Vol. II. Grammar and Indices. 8vo. Cambridge. 1897.
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- Conybeare (F. C.)** *Translator.* See *Philostratus*.
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- ^{Part}_{I, 26} Chios. Island of Chios and Gulf of Smyrna. (Contains also plans of Port Seio or Kastro—Port Sahib.) Admiralty chart No. 1645. Scale 55 in. to nautical mile = 1:130,000 approx.
38¾ × 25 in. 1835-37.
Last corrected 1898.
- ^{Part}_{I, 26} Corinth. Gulf of Corinth. Admiralty chart No. 1600. Scale 5 in. to nautical mile = 1:140,000 approx.
38¾ × 25½ in. 1896.
Last corrected 1906.
- ^{Part}_{I, 26} Crete. Candia or Crete, W. part. (Contains also plans of Port Matsa—Sphakia anchorage.) Admiralty chart No. 2536a. Scale 5 in. to nautical mile = 1:140,000 approx.
38¾ × 27 in. 1852.
Last corrected 1899.
- ^{Part}_{I, 26} ——— Crete, E. part. Admiralty chart No. 2536b. Scale 5 in. to nautical mile = 1:140,000 approx.
38¾ × 24½ in. 1852.
Last corrected 1904.
- ^{Part}_{II, 26} Cyrcus. Survey of Cyrcus. Original map by A. E. Henderson. Published *J.H.S.* xiv. pl. 6. 24 × 21 in. 1904.
- ^{Part}_{III, 26} Eastern Empires. Empire of Alexander the Great. Scale 1:12,000,000. Empires of the Babylonians—Lydians—Medes and Persians. Scale 1:14,400,000. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] 22¼ × 17 in. [N.D.]
- ^{Part}_{III, 26} France. Gallia. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] Scale 1:3,500,000. 22¼ × 17¼ in. [N.D.]
- ^{Part}_{III, 26} Germany. Germania—Rhaetia—Noricum. Scale 1:3,700,000. Thracia—Moesia—Illyria—Pannonia—Dacia. Scale 1:3,950,000. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] 22½ × 17½ in. [N.D.]
- ^{Part}_{III, 26} Greece, general. Graecia, northern sheet. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] Scale 1:633,600.
23½ × 18½ in. [N.D.]
- ^{Part}_{III, 26} ——— Graecia, southern sheet. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] Scale 1:633,600.
23½ × 18½ in. [N.D.]
- XAPTHS EAAHNIKOU BASILAEIOY (Greek staff map). Scale 1:75,000. 23 × 15 in. Vienna. *In Progress*.
- Greece, Archipelago and part of Anadolli. By L. S. de la Rochette. Folded map. 30½ × 21½ in. 1791.

Maps (continued).

- ^{Part}
^{II, III} Hydra. Hydra bay, Spezzia, Dhoko, etc. Admiralty chart No. 1525. Scale 1 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 70,000 approx.
25 × 19½ in. 1838.
Last corrected 1906.
- ^{Part}
^{III, IIII} Italy. Italia superior. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] Scale 1 : 1,200,000. 22½ × 17½ in. [N.D.]
—— Italia inferior. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] Scale 1 : 1,200,000. 22½ × 17½ in. [N.D.]
- ^{Part}
^{D, III} Kalopsida, Cyprus. The neighbourhood of Kalopsida: based on the trigonometrical Survey of Cyprus. Original map by R. V. Darbishire. Published *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 139, Fig. 3.
13½ × 8 in. 1897.
- ^{Part}
^{III, IIII} Larnaka, Cyprus. The neighbourhood of Larnaka: based upon the trigonometrical Survey of Cyprus. Original map by R. V. Darbishire. Published *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 149, Fig. 6.
16½ × 12½ in. 1897.
- ^{Part}
^{III, IIII} Mytilene. Mytilene island, with gulfs of Adramyti and Samdari (Contains also plans of entrance to Port Kalloni—entrance to Port Iero—Molivo road.) Admiralty chart No. 1665. Scale 5 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 140,000 approx.
38½ × 25 in. 1834.
Last corrected 1902.
- ^{Part}
^{III, IIII} Nauplia. Gulf of Nauplia. Admiralty chart No. 1518. Scale 1 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 72,000 approx.
24 × 19 in. 1832.
Last corrected 1900.
- Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reichverein statuten. Ausgrabung. Edd. E. Curtius and F. Adler. Atlas to the above containing 12 maps and folded panorama. Various scales and sizes. Berlin. 1897.
- ^{Part}
^{III, IIII} Palestine. Palestine, illustrating Old and New Testament history—countries mentioned in the Old Testament—countries mentioned in the New Testament, illustrating the journeys of S. Paul. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] Scales various. 22½ × 17½ in. [N.D.]
- ^{Part}
^{I, IIII} Patras. Gulf of Patras and approaches. Admiralty chart No. 1676. Scale 8 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 90,000 approx.
38½ × 25½ in. 1864-5.
Last corrected 1906.
- Peloponnesus. Philippson (A.) 4 geological maps. 1 plate of sections. 4 topographical and hypsometrical maps. Scale 1 : 300,000. 16½ × 16½ in. Berlin. 1891-2.
Text. Philippson (A.) Der Peloponnes: Versuch einer Landeskunde auf geologischer Grundlage.
8vo. Berlin. 1891-2.
- ^{Part}
^{I, IIII} ——— W. coast of Morea, from Kastro Tornese to Venetico, with the island of Zante. (Contains also plans of Katakolo

Maps (*continued*).

- bay—Potalidi bay—Methoni—Koroni anchorage—Proti channel.) Admiralty chart No. 207. Scale 35 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 200,000 approx. $38\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1864-5.
Last corrected 1906.
- ^{Port}₁₀₆ Peloponnesus—*continued*. Venetico to Cape Malea, with the island of Cerigo. (Contains also plans of Kapsali bay—Port St. Nikolo—Port Vathy—Port Azomato—Port Potano.) Admiralty chart No. 1685. Scale 3 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 240,000 approx. $24\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1825-44.
Last corrected 1906.
- ^{Port}₁₀₇ Phylakopi: the neighbourhood of the site. Published *J.H.S.* Supp. Papers 4, 'Phylakopi,' Fig. 1. 2 maps.
 $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1904.
- ^{Port}₁₀₈ Pylæ and Sphacteria. Original map. 20×10 in. [s.l.e.d.]
- ^{Port}₁₀₉ ——— Pylæ and its environs. By G. B. Grundy. Scale 1 : 15,840. Published *J.H.S.* xvi. pl. 3.
 $19\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ in. 1895.
- ^{Port}₁₁₀ Rhodes. Rhodes island. (Contains also plans of town and ports of Rhodes—Port Lindos.) Admiralty chart No. 1667. Scale 8 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 90,000 approx.
 $38\frac{1}{2} \times 25$. 1841.
Last corrected 1906.
- ^{Port}₁₁₁ Roman Empire. The Roman Empire. B.C. 218—A.D. 100. Scale 1 : 12,000,000. The Roman Empire, A.D. 100-300. Scale 1 : 12,000,000. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] $22\frac{1}{2} \times 17$ in. [N.D.]
- R.S.** Rome, etc. Carte topografiche idrografiche e geologiche annesse alla monografia statistica della città di Roma e Campagna Romana presentata all'esposizione universale di Parigi 1878:—
Carte topografica dell'Agro Romano e territori limitrofi. 7 maps. Scale 1 : 80,000. 23×17 in.
Carta geologica della Campagna Romana. Scale 1 : 250,000. $32 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Campagna Romana e suoi dintorni con sezioni geologiche. Scale 1 : 250,000. $32 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Carta idrografica del bacino de Tevere. Scale 1 : 250,200. 35×24 in. [Rome, 1878.]
- ^{Port}₁₁₂ Salonica. Negropont to the Gulf of Kassandra, including Gulf of Saloniki. Admiralty chart No. 1085. Scale 35 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 200,000. $38\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1846-88.
Last corrected 1899.
- ^{Port}₁₁₃ ——— Doro channel to the Gulf of Salonika. (Contains also plan of Port Kumi.) Admiralty chart No. 426. Scale 35 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 200,000 approx. $43\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1838-48.
Last corrected 1900.

Maps (continued).

- ^{Port.}
^{11, 12} Samos. Samos Strait to Mandelyah gulf. Admiralty chart No. 1546. Scale 7 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 100,000 approx. 38½ × 25½ in. 1835-37. Definitive Edition, 1898.
- ^{Port.}
^{11, 12} Spain. Hispania. [Murray's Handy Classical Maps, ed. G. B. Grundy.] Scale 1 : 2,500,000. 22½ × 17½ in. [N.D.]
- ^{Port.}
^{11, 12} Sparta. General plan. Scale 1 : 4,000. Reproduced on smaller scale, *B.S.A.* xiii. pl. 1. 19½ × 28 in. 1907.
- ^{Port.}
^{11, 12} ——— General plan. Central portion only. Scale 1 : 4,000. 19½ × 14. 1907.
- ^{Port.}
^{11, 12} Tenedos. Entrance to Dardanelles with Tenedos and the plain of Troy. (Contains also plan of port and town of Tenedos.) Admiralty chart No. 1608. Scale 1 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 70,000 approx. 25 × 19 in. 1840. Last corrected 1899.
- ^{Port.}
^{11, 12} Thasos, etc. Gulf of Kassandra to Thasos and Lemnos islands. Admiralty chart No. 1086. Scale 35 in. to nautical mile = 1 : 200,000 approx. 32½ × 26½ in. 1833-40. Last corrected 1897.
- ^{Port.}
^{11, 12} ——— Η ΝΗΣΟΣ ΘΑΣΟΣ. Original map by J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. Published in *J.H.S.* xxix. pl. 13. 29½ × 24 in. 1909.
- ^{Port.}
^{11, 12} ——— Sketch map of Limena, shewing natural features, the ancient remains, modern occupation and character of cultivation, 1907. Original map by J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. Published in *J.H.S.* xxix. pl. 2. 23½ × 19½ in. 1909.
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R.C. = the property of the Roman Society.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus ϵ should be represented by *e*, the vowels and diphthongs υ , α , σ , ω by *y*, *a*, *o*, and *u* respectively, final $-\sigma$ and $-\omega$ by *-us* and *-um*, and $-\rho\sigma$ by *-or*.

But in the case of the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$, it is felt that $\epsilon\iota$ is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in $-\epsilon\iota\omega$ must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *e* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in $-\epsilon$ and $-\alpha$ terminations, e.g., *Præne*, *Smirna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in $-\rho\sigma$, as *Νέαρρος*, $-\or$ should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form $-\omega$ is to be preferred to $-\o$ for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*; *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *aporyomenos*, *diambomenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *oegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34.

or—

Six, *Protagoras* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line, e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.
 Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
 Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
 Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
 Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
 Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
 B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
 Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung in Berlin.
 B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
 B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
 B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
 B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
 B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
 B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
 B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
 B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
 Bull. d. I. = Bollettino dell' Istituto.
 Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
 C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
 C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
 Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
 C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
 C.R. St. Pétr. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
 Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
 Dittenb. O.G.I. = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
 Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
 Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερίδα Ἀρχαιολογική.
 G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
 Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
 G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
 Head, H.N. = Head, Historia Numorum.
 I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
 I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae.
 Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
 Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
 J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
 Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
 Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
 Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
 Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
 Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
 Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
 Neue Jah.-b. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
 Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

I.G.	I.	Inscr. Atticae anno Eucleidis verstororum.
"	II.	" " aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
"	III.	" " aetatis Romanae.
"	IV.	" " Argolidis.
"	VII.	" " Megaridis et Boeotiae.
"	IX.	" " Graeciae Septentrionalis.
"	XII.	" " Inscr. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
"	XIV.	" " Italiae et Siciliae.

- Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr. = Numismatische Chronik.
Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.
 Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol. = Philologus.
 Ramsay, C.B. = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
 Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
 Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
 Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.
 Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.
Zsm. Mit. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
 Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
 S. M. C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.
 T. A. M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.
 Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

{Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, i.e. a lacuna filled by conjecture.
 () Curved brackets to indicate alterations, i.e. (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
 < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, i.e. to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
 . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
 - - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.
 Uncertain letters should have dots under them.
 Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.
 The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, †.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

- () Carved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
 [] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
 < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

ON THE REVOLUTION OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AT ATHENS.

THE copious discussion which has been raised in recent years on the subject of the Four Hundred at Athens has brought out at any rate one certain conclusion. Of our two main authorities for the revolution of 411 B.C. neither Thucydides nor Aristotle can be pronounced entirely right or wrong, and it is no longer admissible to settle the differences between them by canonising the one and ruling the other out of order. Both our authorities can be convicted of some palpable mistakes, but again both can be proved right by collateral evidence on many points of detail. In reconstructing the history of the movement our choice between these two sources must therefore not be made on the ground of any *a priori* preference accorded to the one or the other. The only safe procedure is to adjudicate each question outstanding between them on the special merits of the case. It is not to be expected that even by this method finality can be attained. But a review of recent controversy will show that only by a pragmatic method of treatment is there much chance of collecting a nucleus of agreed truth.¹

The object of the present article is to consider in turn the chief points of variance between Thucydides and Aristotle, and to determine whose authority is the better in each particular case.

A.—The *ἑννέακαίδεκα*. Number and Date of Appointment.

The first *ἀπορία* in the story of the revolution relates to the number of the *ἑννέακαίδεκα* who were commissioned in the early stages of the movement to draft a revision of the democratic constitution, and to the connexion between this Revising Committee and the board of *πρόβουλοι*, or

¹ The following are the chief contributions to the discussion in the past few years:—(1) Ed. Meyer, *Verfassungen*, ii. pp. 411-456; (2) Köhler, *Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1900, pp. 802-817; (3) Costanzi, *Rev. de Philologie*, 1901, pp. 84-102; (4) Büttner, *Griech. Geschichte*, iv. pp. 1456-1518; (5) May, *Die Oligarchie der 411 in Athen im Jahre 411* (Halle, 1907); (6) Judeich, *Rhein. Museum*, 1907, pp. 295-308; (7) Kubler, *Klio*, 1907, pp. 341-356; 1908, pp. 200-212; (8) Krieger, *Der Staatstreich der Vierhundert in Athen 411 v. Chr.* (Bonn, 1909); (9) Siegmund, *Thukydides und Aristoteles über*

die Oligarchie des Jahres 411 in Athen (Böhmisch-Leips, 1909); (10) U. Kahrstedt, *Formalungen* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 227-268; (11) Sadl, *Die oligarchische Revolution vom Jahre 411* (Pola, 1910); (12) Leidl, *Wiener Studien*, 1910, pp. 28-54; (13) A. v. Moss, *Rhein. Museum*, 1911, pp. 366-79.

The present author is chiefly indebted to the treatises of Ed. Meyer and Kahrstedt. He has been unable to see the article by Volquardsen in *Verhandlungen der 48 Philologenversammlung in Hamburg*, 1905.

Commissioners of Ways and Means, who had been appointed soon after the catastrophe of the Sicilian Expedition to devise economies in administration. Thucydides² mentions but ten *ἐγγραφεῖς*, whom he does not bring into relation with the *πρόβουλοι*; Aristotle³ records a total of thirty *ἐγγραφεῖς*, and asserts that these included the *πρόβουλοι*, together with twenty additional members elected *ad hoc*.

This problem hardly needs further discussion. There is sufficient independent evidence to show that Aristotle is right in both counts, and that Thucydides has made a mistake with regard to the the number of the *ἐγγραφεῖς*.⁴

A second and more important question concerns the date at which the *ἐγγραφεῖς* were instituted. Thucydides makes their appointment follow upon the return of Peisander from his tour round the Aegean Sea (May 411)⁵; Aristotle⁶ connects them with Peisander's previous visit, when he laid before the Ecclesia the pretended offer of help from the king of Persia (end of 412).

In this case Aristotle again deserves preference. The current in favour of constitutional reform, of which the Revising Committee was the outcome, had been flowing in Athens long before the second advent of Peisander: indeed Thucydides himself points to its existence as far back as 413 B.C.⁷ It is most unlikely that the sentiment in favour of reform should have remained ineffective for the greater part of two years, the more so as the Athenians had meanwhile opened negotiations with Persia on the very understanding that they should make their government more oligarchic, and therefore were bound at least to make a show of constitutional reform.⁸

² viii. 67, § 1.

³ *Ath. Pol.* 29, § 2.

⁴ Harpocration, s.v. *ἐγγραφεῖς*.—*ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν εἴκοσι ἐγγραφεῖς τριάκοντα οἱ τότε ἀρβύλλοι, κατὰ φωνὴν Ἀνδροτίωνος τε καὶ Φιλύχου τε.*

The inclusion of the *πρόβουλοι* in the board of *ἐγγραφεῖς* is attested by the fact that they were commonly held responsible for the subsequent revolution (*Lykias*, iii. 65; *Arist. Ath.* iii. 18, 2). This belief could never have sprung up if the *πρόβουλοι* had always been restricted to their original administrative functions.

Constantin (*loc. cit.* pp. 89-91) has endeavoured to rescue Thucydides' authority by explaining away the excellent 20 *ἐγγραφεῖς* as mere ciphers, and by declaring the identity between the remaining 10 *ἐγγραφεῖς* and the *πρόβουλοι* to be accidental. But nobody is likely to believe in a tenfold coincidence such as he supposes; clearly the *πρόβουλοι* were nominated as such to the Revising Committee, whose reference included *inter alia* economic reforms

such as the *πρόβουλοι* were eminently qualified to initiate. As to the supplementary members, it is quite arbitrary to assume that they were men of straw, and even if this were the case it would not alter the fact that officially they were quite on a par with the *πρόβουλοι*.

⁵ viii. 67, § 1. The chronology is Busolt's.

⁶ 29, § 1.

⁷ viii. 1, §§ 2, 4; *ἔδοξε . . . τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἱ δὲ συνέλευσις παρονομίαι . . . πάντα τε . . . ἐταίροις ἔπειτα εἰσάγειν*. The expressions *παρονομίαι* and *εἰσαγεῖν* are significant; they were current euphemisms for an oligarchic type of government.

The mere list of *πρόβουλοι* having been appointed to mend the finances in itself suffices to prove that the Athenians were contemplating some changes in their constitution. Financial reform could not be carried to any length without the restriction of *μισθοί*, and *μισθός* was the *κόλας τοῦ δήμου*. Virtually the *πρόβουλοι* were a Revising Committee from the first.

⁸ Thuc. viii. 53-4.

Some further considerations will also be found to tell against the account of Thucydides. It may be taken for granted that Peisander lost no time after his second arrival at Athens in carrying out the coup d'état by which the Four Hundred actually rose to power.⁹ He had brought with him a posse of hired bandits who remained on his hands as a sheer deadweight until the revolution should have been effected. Apart from the suspicion which might attach to the protracted sojourn of such unusual visitors in Athens, the mere expense of their upkeep must have induced Peisander to incur no delay in delivering his blow. On the other hand the work of the *Ξυγγραφεῖς* obviously required an ample amount of leisure. Let alone any effective scheme of reform, not even a plausible programme could have been compiled by them in the brief interval which was all that Peisander could concede to them after his second arrival. But unless the *Ξυγγραφεῖς* were to give at any rate the appearance of having some serious proposals to submit to the Ecclesia, and to that extent were to invest the revolution with a show of legality, one fails to see why Peisander ever troubled to have them appointed. It was as much in the interest of the revolutionists as of all moderate reformers that the *Ξυγγραφεῖς* should be instituted at an *early* date; an eleventh-hour appointment could have served nobody.

The evidence therefore is distinctly in favour of Aristotle's as against Thucydides' date for the creation of the board of *Ξυγγραφεῖς*.

B.—The Report of the *Ξυγγραφεῖς*.

There follows a *τρικυμία* of perplexities. The central stages of the revolution are narrated so diversely by our two authorities that it seems impossible to dovetail their texts at all satisfactorily. As a matter of fact all critics who have attempted this jigsaw puzzle have been compelled either to discard some of the bits or to trim them with surreptitious scissors. The only certain conclusion is that the divergent accounts of Thucydides and Aristotle are quite irreconcilable.

Our first problem is to discover what were the contents of the report which the *Ξυγγραφεῖς* in due course of time laid before the Ecclesia. Thucydides maintains stoutly that they made one recommendation, *and no more*, viz. the suspension of all checks upon freedom of legislation.¹⁰ Aristotle on the other hand makes them responsible *for the entire order of the day*, which included three resolutions of substantial reform: (a) restriction of payment for public service; (b) limitation of franchise to a select class of citizens with a special property qualification; their number to be 5000 or

⁹ Thucydides hints as much when he says in viii. 67, § 1:—*ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ καιρῷ αἱ περὶ τοῦ Πεισαάνδρου ἀλλήλοισι ἐπὶ τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ εἴχοντο.*

¹⁰ viii. 67, § 2: *ἐπὶ τούτων αἱ Ξυγγραφεῖς ἄλλα μὲν εὐθέως, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ἔπειτα*

*μὲν Ἀθηναίους δευτεροεὶς εἰσεὶς γούργη ἢ διὰ τὰ βοῦ-
λας ἢ διὰ τὰ τοῦ εἰσέδου ἢ γούργηται παρα-
νόμως ἢ ἄλλῃ τῇ τρόπῃ. βλάψῃ, μέγας ζημίας
ἐσθίσουσιν.*

over; (c) election of a Nominating Committee of 100 *καταλογεῖς* to draw up the new list of franchise holders.¹¹

In view of the emphasis with which Thucydides asserts that the *ἐγγραφεῖς* merely introduced a preliminary formality, it has been conjectured that he was consciously correcting the tradition reproduced by Aristotle, and that consequently this tradition was erroneous.¹²

But Thucydides' wording of the passage in question is no certain index of his motive in writing it: after all, it may betoken no more than his very natural surprise at the easy-going way in which, according to his account, the *ἐγγραφεῖς* scamped their work. Still less can it be conceded that Thucydides' polemic, if such it was, must needs be based on superior information. Indeed his version of events is *a priori* most improbable, for the reticence of the *ἐγγραφεῖς* defies explanation on any hypothesis. If we suppose, as is most natural, that this body had a free hand in carrying out its duties, it is inconceivable that it should have had nothing further to recommend beside the abolition of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. If we adopt the only alternative view, that the *ἐγγραφεῖς* had been captured by the revolutionists and on report day acted as a mere instrument of theirs, precisely the same difficulty recurs. The only possible reason which Peisander could have had for tampering with the *ἐγγραφεῖς* was that in virtue of their popular origin and representative character they might invest his party's usurpation with a greater semblance of constitutional correctness. Consequently it lay in his interest to keep them in the foreground as long as possible, and the very worst thing he could do for himself was to eclipse them before they had fairly come within the public gaze.¹³ *Prima facie*, therefore, Thucydides' account is less convincing than Aristotle's.

Again, if Aristotle is wrong in attributing to the *ἐγγραφεῖς* any other motion than the abolition of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, it follows that he (or his primary authority) did not understand the A B C of diplomatic. The provisions of the clause relating to the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* are set forth by

¹¹ 29, §§ 4, 5.

An attempt has been made by Meyer (p. 419) to reconcile the two stories by supposing that the substantial resolutions, though technically brought forward by someone else, were in point of fact inspired by the *ἐγγραφεῖς*. Apart from other objections to this view (see below), the emphasis with which Thucydides denies to the *ἐγγραφεῖς* any large share in the proceedings of the day shows that they were in his opinion in no wise responsible for the subsequent resolutions.—See esp. Kahstedt, pp. 243, 250 n.

¹² Kahstedt, p. 243. The same author contends that the report of the *ἐγγραφεῖς* must in the first instance have been referred to the democratic Council, and that this body would never have sanctioned the reforms which

Aristotle includes in the report, because these were tantamount to its own abolition (pp. 243-4, 245). But (a) in spite of Kahstedt's arguments it cannot be regarded as *certain* that the Council had any say in the matter; (b) the reforms enumerated by Aristotle in no way threatened the Council: the new *Εκκλησία* of property holders would have needed a Council to pre-consider its business and to direct the magistrates just as much as the unrestricted *Εκκλησία* ever had done.

¹³ This consideration tells with no less force against Meyer's theory (see above), that the *ἐγγραφεῖς* took Peisander their mouthpieces. Had there been any collusion, precisely the contrary relation between them might have been expected.

Aristotle with such fulness and accuracy of terms, that we must credit him (or his authority) with having made first-hand use of an official document. Now such a document would certainly not have ascribed to the *ἐγγραφεῖς* any motion for which they were not technically responsible. Any riders appended to their proposals, and still more of course any separate motions, would stand in the name of the individual who brought them forward. If Aristotle (or his source) overshot the mark in copying out the report of the *ἐγγραφεῖς*, he could only have done so by confusing the headings *Γνώμη ἐγγραφείων* and *Ὁ δέσιναι εἶπε*. But will any one believe that Aristotle (or his informant) was stupid or careless to such a degree?¹⁴ Surely he must have known where the *γνώμη ἐγγραφείων* began and ended; and if Aristotle's account ascribes to the *ἐγγραφεῖς* a long list of constructive reforms, we can only infer that these were duly recorded under their name in the official document.

Lastly, there is sufficient collateral evidence to prove conclusively that the restriction of franchise to the Five Thousand and the appointment of *καταλογεῖς* to nominate this body was somehow or other enacted by the Ecclesia.¹⁵ Failing an alternative explanation of Thucydides¹⁶ or anyone else, we are bound to assume that these measures were promulgated by the *ἐγγραφεῖς* in the manner described by Aristotle.

The conclusion therefore is that the scope of the *ἐγγραφεῖς'* report is defined more accurately in Aristotle than in Thucydides.

C.—*The New Constitution and the Method of its Enactment.*

The next point of difference between our sources is the most crucial one in the whole story. Did the *καταλογεῖς* ever complete their business of nominating the Five Thousand, and did the members thus appointed ever meet and transact business? Thucydides consistently maintains that they

¹⁴ Kahrsfeldt himself confesses in another passage (p. 243) that some limits must be imagined to Aristotle's (or his informant's) power of misinterpreting documents. In arguing against a suggestion by Koberka (*Klio*, 1907, pp. 348 *seq.*) that the report of the *ἐγγραφεῖς* as given by Aristotle was not carried in full, but that its constructive portion was overridden by amendments proposed by Polyzoides, he justly points out that in this case the official document would have contained not only the *γνώμη ἐγγραφείων*, but also a rider, with the rubric *ἡ δὲ βούλησις, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθ' ὅσον τοῖς ἐγγραφεῖσιν εἶπε*, and that this rider would not well have been overlooked by any one who had made first-hand use of the archives.

¹⁵ See the speech *Pro Polyzoides* (*Lysias* Or. xi.). In § 13 we read *ἡμῶν* (i.e. the Athenian Ecclesia) *ψήφισαμένην πεντακισχίλιον παραδόντων τὰ πρόταστα*. This proves beyond

doubt that the Five Thousand were a theoretically existent body during the later course of the revolution.

From § 13 it may be inferred with certainty that Polyzoides was one of the *καταλογεῖς*, and from § 2 we learn that he was *ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν φέροντων*. This last point tallies exactly with Aristotle's description (29, § 5):—*ἐλθέσθαι δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείτους διὰ δέσιναις ἄλλους καταλέγοντες τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους*.

¹⁶ Thucydides merely states that the programme put forward by the revolutionists in the early stages of the movement included a restriction of the franchise to 'not more than 3000' (viii. 65, § 3). But he nowhere indicates when and by whom this scheme was embodied in a bill and put before the Ecclesia.

The *καταλογεῖς* are not mentioned by him at all.

were never convened or even constituted.¹⁷ Aristotle in one passage follows Thucydides almost *verbatim*,¹⁸ but elsewhere he not only declares that the register of the Five Thousand was completed, but represents this body as taking an effective share in consummating the revolution.¹⁹

On this point there can fortunately be no doubt as to the verdict. Since the researches of Ed. Meyer²⁰ it has been commonly agreed that Thucydides is our better informant.

The elimination of the Five Thousand as an effective factor in the revolution carries with it the disappearance of the two constitutions which Aristotle represents as the formal basis of the usurpers' power.²¹ Although Aristotle does not say in so many words that it was the Five Thousand who enacted these constitutions,²² he declares plainly enough that the committee of *ἀναγραφείς* who drafted them owed their power to that body.²³ Furthermore in the second or 'provisional' constitution there is an explicit reference to the Five Thousand as an assembly in actual being,²⁴ and the first or 'definitive' constitution clearly presumes their existence throughout.²⁵ Aristotle's 'Instruments of Government' thus stand or fall with the Five Thousand: if the Five Thousand are dispensed with, the constitutions which pre-suppose them must be rejected likewise.

¹⁷ *viii*, 52, § 2; 92, § 11; 93, § 2.

¹⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 32, § 3.

¹⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 30, § 1: *ἐνομήσαντο δὲ τοὺς* (the report of the *ἀναγραφείς*) *ἐλάσαντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφέντων τοὺς ἀναγραφέντας καὶ τοὺς ἀναγραφέντας ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφέντων*.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 32, § 1: *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφέντων ἀναγραφέντες τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν πολιτῶν*.

²¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 429-433. The decisive arguments are these: (a) The whole subsequent course of the revolution is inexplicable save on the assumption that the Five Thousand never met, and indeed never could meet, because their membership had not been determined. Unless this point is taken for granted, Thucydides' account, which is our only account, of the later stages of the revolution, falls to the ground. (b) In the speech *Pro Polystratus*, § 13, it is alleged that Polystratus as *ἀναγραφείς* enrolled not 5000 but 6000 members. Such a plea could not have been made if an authentic list of approximate 5000 heads had ever been published: the falsehood would have been too barefaced (*Ibid.* p. 45). (c) After the fall of the Four Hundred, when the government was made over nominally to the 'Five Thousand,' this term was made to include *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου πρυτανεύοντος* (Thuc. *viii*, 97, § 1). Such a definition would have been quite unnecessary if a ready-made list of 5000 had then been available.

It has been suggested that although the

Five Thousand were never completely constituted and took no part in the later stages of the revolution, yet a quorum was appointed (Ballet, *Musée Belge*, 1898, p. 13; Volquardsen, pp. 128 sq.), or an assembly *τῶν ὅλων πρυτανεύοντος* was convened in its stead (Keayon *ad Ath. Pol.* 30, § 1; *Ibid.* ed.), and elected the Constituent Committee of *ἀναγραφείς* in the manner outlined by Aristotle. This hypothesis hardly saves the credit of Aristotle, whose account even on this showing would be substantially wrong. Nor does it square well with Thucydides. Had the 'Five Thousand' ever been convened in however imperfect a form, they could hardly have been eclipsed during the later stages of the movement to the extent which Thucydides supposes. (May, p. 67.)

²² *Ath. Pol.* 30-32, § 1.

²³ The expression used by him is *ἐνομήσαντο τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφέντων* (32, § 1). It is a matter of dispute whether *ἀναγραφέντων* refers to the Five Thousand or to the democratic *ἐκκλησία*.

²⁴ 32, § 1.

²⁵ 30, § 2: *τῶν δὲ ἀναγραφέντων . . . τῶν ἀναγραφέντων ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφέντων τῶν ἀναγραφέντων*.

²⁶ The administration was confided turn and turn-about to four sections of the Five Thousand, which between them comprised its full membership of men above 30 years of age (30, § 3). Each section would thus be about one thousand strong.

The same conclusion follows from several other considerations. In the first place, it is noteworthy that *both* the constitutions described by Aristotle were quite inadequate to the purpose of the conspirators: neither could have sanctioned the autocratic power which they had in fact usurped. In the 'definitive' scheme the government was permanently and exclusively vested in the Five Thousand as represented by four Grand Committees, none of which could have been brought under the control of Peisander's group. Moreover the members of the Five Thousand instead of being merely *permitted* were actually *compelled* to exercise their power.²⁰ A more effective way of preventing the actual concentration of authority in the hands of a small *δυναστεία* could hardly have been devised. Was this what the revolutionists had risked their bones to attain?

Again, the 'provisional' constitution, howbeit more favourable to the plotters, contained an ample safeguard against the usurpation of a narrow coterie; in that the *ius suffragii* remained in the hands of the generality of franchise holders. According to this scheme the Four Hundred were to be appointed by a very wide electorate, which could not have remained for any length of time under the influence of Peisander and his accomplices.²¹ But if the revolutionists had been unable to obtain a working majority among the Four Hundred the concentration of power in the hands of that body would not have been of the slightest service to them. Furthermore the double process of election (*ἐκ προκρίτων*) which was to be applied in the case of the Four Hundred would have told heavily against the usurpers. 'He who nominates governs' is a truth well known to all political wirepullers, and in the election of the Four Hundred it was a vital matter for the ringleaders that the nomination of Candidates for the new Council should be as far as possible in their hands. And it was of no less importance from their point of view that the elections should be completed quickly, for fear that a counter-revolution might be organised before they had got their new government into full working order. But election *ἐκ προκρίτων* was a complicated operation which required a large outlay of time, and the preliminary list of candidates which it called for was so large that the nominations could not have been easily pre-arranged by intrigue.

At this point it may be objected that Aristotle's account of the election of the Four Hundred under the 'provisional' constitution is confirmed by a passage in the speech *Pro Polystrato*, where Polystратus, who was undoubtedly a member of the Four Hundred, is stated to have been elected *ὑπὸ τῶν φιλετών*.²² But how much can safely be inferred from this assertion? We are not told explicitly whether the election in question

²⁰ 30, 36: τὰς δὲ μὴ ἴσμεν εἰς τὸ βουλευόμενον . . . ἀφίστανε διακρινε τῇ αἰρίαι ἰσχυρί.

²¹ The Four Hundred were to be elected *ἐκ προκρίτων* εἰς ἡ ἐλαστοί οἱ φιλέται τῶν ὄντων τριδικαῖα ἐκ γηγόντων (31, 32).

Meyer (p. 425 and n.) suggests that the electorate was terrified into returning the

candidates submitted by the Four Hundred. This might have been practicable for once, but could not easily have been repeated. In an adjacent passage Meyer expresses his surprise that any oligarch at all should have been returned on the system described by Aristotle.

²² [Lys.] ix. § 2.

referred to the Council of Four Hundred rather than to any other body. Polystratus was also a *καταλογεὺς* and his election *ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν* may just as well refer to this office, to which appointments were in all probability made by the tribes.²⁹

Another difficulty in the way of accepting Aristotle's 'provisional' constitution as a working scheme of government in 411 B.C. has recently been pointed out by Kahrstedt.³⁰ Aristotle declares the Four Hundred to have been elected phyle-wise. From this one would naturally infer that the new Council was divided into prytanies, in accordance with a long-established and convenient practice. But there is evidence that during the rule of the Four Hundred the customary method of dating by prytanies was suspended,³¹ and this points strongly to the division into prytanies having likewise been discontinued.

Lastly, there remains the question, why did the revolutionists go out of their way to frame *two* constitutions, one of which was admittedly of no immediate use to them?

For this problem various explanations have been offered. Wilamowitz has suggested that the usurpers had set their hearts on the 'definitive' scheme, but that they durst not put it forthwith into operation, lest the public at Athens should cry out that the new government was too radical, and the citizens on service at Samos should complain that they had not been consulted in a matter which must ultimately concern them too.³² If this was really what the usurpers had in mind, they were strangely lacking in common sense. If the 'definitive' constitution was too violent a departure from old established ways in Athens, what are we to think of the 'provisional' instrument? In politics it cannot be assumed that where a mild dose of revolution irritates a strong dose will induce sleep. Again, it would have been a topsyturvy procedure, first to elaborate a constitution for the pleasure of the citizens at Samos, and then to ascertain where their pleasure really lay: constitution-making on these lines would have become a veritable Penelope's task.

Another conjecture has been made by Costanzi,³³ who assumes like Wilamowitz that the 'definitive' scheme was that which best expressed the aspirations of the usurpers, but supposes that a provisional government of more strictly oligarchic character was required to conciliate the king of Persia, whose aid the Athenians were seeking at that time. This theory, however, is vitiated by the fact that the negotiations in question had broken down before the climax of revolution, and that Peisander, who had been a leading agent in these diplomatic changes, was perfectly well aware of their failure.

²⁹ Krieger, p. 31.

³⁰ P. 254.

³¹ In a treasure list of 412/11 B.C. (*I.G.* i. 184) the earlier entries are dated in the usual style. $\delta \pi \lambda \epsilon \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha$ { $\epsilon \rho \epsilon \chi \theta \eta \delta \alpha \varsigma$ } $\pi \rho \gamma \alpha \nu \epsilon \nu \alpha \iota \sigma \mu \alpha$.
 Οὐρανίου

A later entry, belonging to the summer of 411 B.C., is dated $\delta \pi \lambda \epsilon \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha$ etc., thus showing that the cycle of prytanies had been interrupted.

³² *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, pp. 114, 116.

³³ P. 99.

Some critics, and notably Ed. Meyer,²⁴ have endeavoured to fit the boot on the other leg. They assume that the 'provisional' constitution was really intended by the revolutionists to remain in force for ever, and that the 'definitive' scheme was a mere plaything to be dangled before the eyes of suspicious democrats or of oligarchs of the more moderate type. In favour of this view it may be pointed out that a very similar expedient was used by the thirty Tyrants in 404 B.C., who *αὖτε ἐμελλον* to draw up a permanent constitution, and so constituted their temporary dominion *ad infinitum*. Also it is clear from Thucydides that Peisander and his party did indeed make a great point of putting off their critics with promises of a more liberal administration. But even so our way is not clear of all difficulties. As has been pointed out above,²⁵ the 'provisional' constitution, though better adapted to the needs of the usurpers than the 'definitive' one, nevertheless ran counter to their interests on several vital points. Furthermore, a closer inspection of Thucydides' story reveals that the promises of reform with which the usurpers sought to amuse the malcontents were different from those contained in Aristotle's 'definitive' programme. Their promise to the citizens at Samos was as follows:—*τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ὅτι πάντες ἐν τῷ μέρει μετέξουσιν*,²⁶ which presumably means that the list of the Five Thousand would from time to time be revised so as to include new elements, and again—*λέγοντες τοὺς τε πεντακισχιλίους ἀποφανεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐν μέρει, ἢ ἂν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις δοκῇ, τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἐκείσθαι*.²⁷ Neither of these provisions resembles anything that is contained in the 'definitive' constitution of Aristotle: the latter rather suggests a prolongation of the 'provisional' government. As there is no independent reason for doubting the truth of Thucydides' account, it must be admitted that the 'definitive' constitution cannot be explained away as a piece of make believe.

Summing up, therefore, we may conclude with some degree of confidence that Aristotle's two constitutions do not belong to the context into which they have been inserted, and that their author did not know how the Four Hundred were really constituted.

If we now turn to Thucydides' narrative,²⁸ we find that his version of events is as follows:—

(1) In the Ecclesia at which the *ἐνγγραφεῖς* presented—or rather failed to present—their report, Peisander proposed a string of resolutions, including:—

- (a) abolition of payment for public service;
- (b) election of five *πρόεδροι* to act as a nucleus of the new Council of Four Hundred: co-optation of these by further 100 members; co-optation of the Hundred thus appointed of further 300 councillors;
- (c) investment of the new Council with autocratic powers, and with discretion to convene (or not to convene) the Five Thousand at their pleasure.

²⁴ Pp. 433-5.

²⁵ P. 5.

²⁶ viii. 86, § 3.

²⁷ viii. 93, § 2.

²⁸ viii. 67-70.

(2) These proposals were carried *nem. con.*, a fact which was no doubt due to the Ecclesia having been summoned in an unusual place outside the city walls and being therefore presumably packed with Peisander's partisans.

(3) On the same day⁴⁰ the conspirators at a certain chosen moment marched upon the Council House with a large armed escort and unceremoniously turned out the old (democratic) Council of Five Hundred, which was still sitting at the time. The acquiescence of the Five Hundred was procured not merely by show of force, but by payment to the evicted councillors of a full prytany's wages.

(4) Having thus taken possession of the Council House the usurpers and their Council of Four Hundred assumed control of the Executive and made further alterations in the government so as to suit their special purpose.

This story is open to several criticisms.

(1) It credits Peisander with a motion (payment for state service) which more probably belongs to the *ἐγγραφεῖς*.⁴¹ Worse still, it omits to mention the resolutions of the *ἐγγραφεῖς* which provided for the constitution of the Five Thousand and the appointment of *καταλογεῖς* to nominate these.⁴²

(2) It does not explain satisfactorily what part was played by the old Council of Five Hundred during the climax of the revolution. One would like to know (a) why the *πρυτάνεις* of the Council, who alone were entitled to convene an Ecclesia, permitted it to be held outside the city walls. (b) Why did the same *πρυτάνεις*, who presumably presided over the Ecclesia in accordance with existing custom, permit Peisander to propose a final vote on various revolutionary motions which required to be preconsidered, if motion ever did, by the Council? (c) Why did the whole Council of Five Thousand, which *ex hypothesi* had been dissolved by the acceptance of Peisander's resolutions, scamper back to the Council House in order to deliberate *in vacuo*? Was this due to force of habit? (d) Why did the conspirators, who had found the Five Hundred so strangely complaisant in legalising the revolution, incontinently pounce upon them and apply both force and bribery on a magnificent scale in order to get rid of them?⁴³

To most of these questions an answer has never yet been attempted and the explanations put forward in connexion with others will hardly bear a close inspection. The apparent helplessness of the *πρυτάνεις* at the critical Ecclesia has been put down to collusion,⁴⁴ or to terrorism exercised

⁴⁰ This point has been called into doubt. At the outset of his narrative Thucydides merely says that episode (3) occurred *ἐν τῇ πόλει*, which might mean anything. Further down, however, he explains that episode (3) happened *τῇ αἰσχροῦ ἑσπέρᾳ*, which must refer to the meeting-day of the packed Ecclesia at Colonus.

⁴¹ See above, pp. 3-5.

⁴² In a previous chapter (65, § 3) Thucydides relates that the revolutionists had made propo-

sitions in favour of constituting a body of Five Thousand. But he nowhere records the enactment of this measure, which certainly was a sufficiently important step in the revolution to deserve explicit mention. The *καταλογεῖς* are not brought into notice by him at all.

⁴³ See the pertinent inquiries made by Kahrstedt (pp. 238-240, 246) and Lehl (p. 53).

⁴⁴ Köhler, p. 308, n. 1.

by the usurpers.⁴⁰ The former hypothesis is quite out of the question, for the appointment of Councillors under the democratic constitution was so contrived as to exclude all chance of the prytanies ever falling into the hands of the oligarchic clique. The latter explanation is *prima facie* plausible, but increases the difficulty of meeting questions (c) and (d).

A mistake on Thucydides' part must therefore be assumed. To point out its exact nature is not an easy matter. Kahrstedt⁴¹ cuts the knot by supposing that the critical *Ecclesia* was not a constitutional one, but a 'secessio in montem Colonnæ' which the conspirators organised without the knowledge of the democratic Council and *πρυτάνεις*. A sitting of the old Council was held on the same day, when news was brought of the usurpers' irregular proceedings at Colonus; whereupon these latter, not having as yet come into touch with the Five Hundred, and apprehending that they had met in order to organise a counter-revolution, lost no time and spared no effort or expense in putting their supposed enemies out of action. After these precautions had been taken, it only remained for Peisander and his partisans to take the place of the evicted councillors, and having passed a series of appropriate *προβουλευματα* confirming the business done at Colonus, to convene a regular *Ecclesia* by means of the newly-appointed *πρυτάνεις* of their own number, and to lay before it the new Council's resolutions for ratification.

It will be seen that this version of events is far more intelligible than that which Thucydides presents to us. But it is not altogether free from objections. In the first place, the action of the conspirators in first ignoring the old Council and subsequently rounding upon it is somewhat puzzling. Surely Peisander's party was aware of the great power which the Council could exercise over the executive, and of the decisive part which it might play in using that power to check the revolution. It would have been a strange act of negligence for the usurpers to show their hand at Colonus without first of all making sure of the Five Hundred. On Kahrstedt's own showing a slight hitch in the conspirator's plans might have enabled the Council to frustrate the entire plot.

Again, the procedure of the revolutionists as reconstructed by Kahrstedt would have involved more than one serious breach of the constitution. To convene an *Ecclesia* without the authority of the *πρυτάνεις* was just as illegal as to expel the council at the point of the sword. But it is conceded on all hands that the usurpers sought to comply with legal forms wherever possible. One would sooner believe that their usurpation was carried out with a greater show of constitutional correctness than is compatible with the present theory.

Lastly, the mistake which Kahrstedt ascribes to Thucydides, the confusion of a *contio* with a properly convened *comitia*, is a more serious one than we should care to accept if we could help it.

An alternative suggestion by Judeich⁴² represents the assembly at

⁴⁰ *Basil.*, p. 1178, n. 1.

⁴¹ Pp. 244-6.

⁴² P. 308.

Colonus as having been convoked and held in all proper form, and goes on to assume that some moderate politicians availed themselves of the *παρησία* which was *ex hypothesi* accorded at the meeting in order to defeat the proposals of the conspirators; whereupon Peisander's party abandoned all show of quasi-legal procedure and secured at any rate the essence of power by an impromptu attack upon the Council.

This theory is no less consistent than Kahrstedt's. But it has some weak points. Its account of proceedings at Colonus completely overthrows Thucydides' authority, who expressly asserts that no opposition was there offered; and the alleged success of the moderates rests on no evidence save the supposed authenticity of the rather liberal constitutions described by Aristotle.⁴⁷ But it has been pointed out above that Aristotle's constitutions can in no case be brought into connexion with the business done at Colonus. Again, if the summoning of the Ecclesia to Colonus was indeed an act of the regular *πρωτάνεις*, what was the reason which induced these officials to transfer the assembly to such an unusual place? Judeich's conjecture that the site was chosen because of its strategic position, as commanding the approach to the city from Deceleia, should be sufficiently refuted by a glance at the map of Attica.

In default of a better explanation it may be suggested that in reality the *eviction of the old Council preceded the convention at Colonus*. We must then suppose that the usurpers *first of all* made their descent upon the Council House; *next*, they constituted themselves into an extempore Council and passed a *προβούλευμα* recommending the creation of a permanent plenipotentiary Council of Four Hundred; *next*, they instructed their newly installed *πρωτάνεις* to convene an Ecclesia at Colonus; *next*, at Colonus they put up Peisander to move the adoption of the aforesaid *προβούλευμα*; *lastly*, upon confirmation of Peisander's resolution they constituted themselves and their followers to form the permanent Council of Four Hundred.⁴⁸

On behalf of this view the following points may be urged:—(1) The procedure of the conspirators as here presented was most in accord with common sense. Although *de jure* the most important phase of the revolution

⁴⁷ Judeich himself has expressed doubts on the applicability of these documents (p. 301).

⁴⁸ The sequence of events as given above fits in well with the dates provided by Aristotle (32. 31): Thargelion 14th for the dissolution of the old Council; Thargelion 22nd for the installation of the permanent Council of Four Hundred. The interval of eight days would be taken up with the convocation of the Ecclesia at Colonus and the election of the new Council in accordance with the vote of that assembly. In the meantime the government was no doubt carried on by the arch-conspirators without legal sanction.

There is no need to suppose, with Judeich

(p. 305), that the event of Thargelion 14th was the *formal* abrogation of the Council (by the Ecclesia at Colonus), and not its *actual* dispersion (by the coup d'état of the conspirators). The date in question may quite well have been preserved owing to the fact that no records of the old Council subsequent to Thargelion 14th remained over in the Athenian archives. At the same time it is not impossible that, as Thucydides asserts, the actual dispersion of the old Council and its formal dissolution at Colonus took place on the same day. In this case the date Thargelion 14th may of course be made to do duty for both events.

would be the formal institution of the Four Hundred at Colonus, *de facto* the decisive movement consisted in the expulsion of the democratic Council. This body was the nerve centre of the Athenian administration. So long as it was allowed to remain in office it retained the means of organising resistance against τοὺς καταλύοντας τὸν δῆμον. Its suppression on the other hand entailed the paralysis of all public life in Athens. Obviously, therefore, everything depended on the success of the conspirators' attack upon the old Council, and until this essential point had been carried it was not in the least worth while their opening business with the Ecclesia.

Again, on the present hypothesis the illegalities of the usurpers are limited to the single act of supplanting the democratic Council by force of threats and bribery. The remaining procedure of the usurpers, when once they were installed in the old Council's place, was formally at least quite correct. The decisive meeting of the Ecclesia was no doubt summoned to an abnormal place, and its character may have been highly unrepresentative, yet having been convened in due form by *πρυτάνεις* it wore at least an outward show of legality.

Lastly, the authority of Thucydides is maintained at every point, save only on one question of chronology. And even here Thucydides' mistake is reduced to a minimum if we follow him, as is quite possible, in supposing that the expulsion of the Council and the convention at Colonus took place on the same day, though not in the order of succession indicated by him.

It may be agreed, then, that in some respects Thucydides' account of the setting up of the Four Hundred needs correction. In other particulars his authority should be allowed to hold good. Chief of all, Thucydides alone relates what is by far the most important fact of the whole story, that the revolution, although disguised under legal forms, was essentially an act of violence, and that the conspirators' plan could not have been carried out without the forcible expulsion of the old Council and the secession of the Ecclesia to Colonus. Again, we may follow Thucydides on the important question of the prerogatives of the new Council and the method of appointing it. The later course of the revolution compels us to assume that the dominion of the Four Hundred was quite despotic, and that the membership of this body was entirely under the control of a few ringleaders. The accuracy of Thucydides' narrative on these points need not therefore be called into question.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Doubts have been raised as to the election of five *πρόεδροι* as a nucleus for the new Council (Köhler, p. 311; Kuberka, p. 352; Todt, p. 53). Unless we retain our belief in Aristotle's 'provisional' constitution as belonging to this context, there is no need here to cavil at Thucydides. It is probable enough that the *πρόεδροι* were chairmen as well as leaders of the Four Hundred, as the name declares.

Many critics have adopted the suggestion of Wilamowitz (*op. cit.* ii. p. 357) that the

πρόεδροι chose the 100 *καταλογεῖς* as officers or members of the new Council. The theory is attractive, because the *καταλογεῖς* in virtue of their occupation would best know how to co-opt safe men into the remaining 300 seats. But there is nothing in the speech *Pro Polignato* to compel such a conclusion. Also it is improbable that all the *καταλογεῖς* were sufficiently convinced oligarchs. In any case the question is of slight importance.

D.—*The later Stages of the Movement.*

The only remaining datum supplied by Aristotle relates to the negotiations of the Four Hundred with Sparta. The Four Hundred, so his story runs, held out for a settlement on the basis of *uti possidetis*, and on failing to obtain these terms broke off all communications with the enemy.⁵⁰ Thucydides knows nothing of a stand made by the Four Hundred on behalf of an *uti possidetis* clause; on the contrary he knows full well of further overtures on their part which amounted to nothing short of flat treason.⁵¹ On this issue there can be no doubt that Thucydides has the better account. It stands in perfect accord with the *dénouement* of the revolution as related by himself, and with the official record of the proceedings taken against the conspirators after their fall.⁵²

General Conclusion.

It will be seen that for the earlier stages of the revolution Aristotle is generally to be preferred to Thucydides; for the climax of the movement, and still more so for its catastrophe, Thucydides is the superior authority. But in reconstructing the whole episode the only safe course is to observe a strict impartiality between our two sources, and to seek out the best in each without any preconceived notions.

APPENDIX.

In the preceding pages the task of tracking out the sources from which our ancient authorities drew their information, both good and bad, has been studiously shirked. Speculations of this kind are apt only to throw fresh darkness on the subject.⁵³ But there is one special problem which admits of a detailed investigation and seems at the same time worth attempting to solve—what is the origin of Aristotle's constitutions?

Critics who reject these documents as evidence for the events of 411 B.C. usually dismiss them as mere forgeries, perpetrated by some actual ringleader of the revolution, say Antiphon or Theramenes, or by a sympathetic pamphleteer of later date, and intended to present the conspiracy in a favourable light.⁵⁴ On behalf of this view it may be argued that Aristotle's treatise contains several chapters, and notably the one on Draco's constitution, which are commonly agreed to rest on some falsification; and that generally

⁵⁰ *Pol.* 32, § 3.⁵¹ *ibid.* 70, § 2; 71, § 3; 86, § 2; 90, §§ 2-6.⁵² [Plutarch], *Vitæ X. Græcorum*, i: §§ 23-27.⁵³ It is sufficient here to point to the hopeless diversity of modern opinion on the nature and

value of our informants' sources.

⁵⁴ The former view is expressed by Ladi (p. 47), the latter by May (p. 64), Kahstedt (pp. 254-5) and, more emphatically, by v. Meiss (pp. 262-274).

speaking: the authors of the fourth century were unscrupulous in their treatment of earlier Athenian history.²⁵

On the other hand it must be recognised that these forgers exercised some discretion in the pursuance of their art. The episodes which they invented generally turn out to belong to a fairly remote period, Solon's age by preference. The history of recent times was treated by them more respectfully. And this need cause no wonder. After the stormy period of the Four Hundred and of the Thirty Tyrants the Athenians took good care to revise their statute-book by means of successive boards of *νομοθέται*.²⁶ It is unlikely, therefore, that a fourth-century pamphleteer would have ventured to fabricate documents of a period whose records had been passed under a specially strict review, or that Aristotle (or his informant) would not have found him out in case of his taking the risk.

It may also be surmised that a forger would have made his documents wear a more plausible air than Aristotle's acts possess: these latter, by reason of their curious details, and by the fact of their being double-barrelled, were better calculated to rouse than to allay suspicion.²⁷

As for Antiphon and Theramenes, one is at a loss to know why they should have added forgery to their other accomplishments. If these men wanted to obtain a quasi-legal justification for their revolution, they had far better means of doing so than to invent imaginary *ψηφίσματα* which to everybody's knowledge had never been enacted by the Ecclesia. Such an expedient would have been unworthy of Antiphon's *ἀρετή* or Theramenes' *κομψότης*, and it would have deceived no one. Besides, a forgery made at the time of the revolution would certainly have been discovered by the *νομοθέται* and consigned to the rubbish heap.

An alternative explanation has been put forward by Beloch,²⁸ who would preserve Aristotle's documents as authentic, but would refer them to the events *following upon the fall of the Four Hundred*. This theory which has never been developed by its author, has found strangely little favour. Yet a closer study of it may show that there is much to be said on its behalf.

That the period ensuing upon the collapse of the revolution was a time of extensive constitutional experiment in Athens is known to us both by an

²⁵ To quote but a few glaring instances, it is notorious that Andocides and Isocrates distorted Athenian history with the utmost *sang froid*.

²⁶ One such board was appointed after the fall of the Four Hundred (Thuc. viii. 97, § 2), another after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants (Andocides, *De Mysteriorum*, § 82-4).

²⁷ Laell, who argues cleverly against the supposed indebtedness of Aristotle to an oligarchic pamphlet, points out that his information cannot at all events have come from a 'Theramenes' source. Such a record would

have been quite explicit about the invalidity of the Four Hundred and about Theramenes' attempts to call them into being, whereas Aristotle is sadly confused on this point (pp. 40-42).

Similarly it may be argued that the Constitution did not issue from Isocrates' factory, else they would certainly have ascribed an important rôle to the Areopagus, which in Aristotle's account is conspicuous by its absence.

²⁸ *Grössische Geschichte*, ii. p. 71, n. 2.

explicit statement of Thucydides,⁵⁹ and by a hardly less certain inference drawn from the appointment of a new board of *ἐνυργαφεῖς*.⁶⁰ That the nature of these experiments should have been such as we read of in Aristotle's documents can be made probable on several grounds.

(1) The duplication of constitutions, which is so difficult to explain on any other lines, falls in well with the circumstances of this later period. One of the first tasks which the Athenians took in hand after the revolution was a thoroughgoing revision of their statute-book, for which purpose *ἀναγραφεῖς*⁶¹ were appointed to copy out the existing laws, and *νομοθέται*⁶² to sort and sift them. Now pending the completion of the revised code it was plainly inopportune to work out in detail a constitution for permanent use, which might eventually turn out to conflict with laws of ancient standing. The only businesslike way of proceeding was to make shift for a while with an extemporised government and to postpone the enactment of a definite constitution until the new *corpus iuris* should have been prepared. This in fact was precisely what the Athenians did in a similar situation after the deposition of the Thirty Tyrants.⁶³ What more natural than that they should have adopted the same course after the revolution of 411 B.C.?

(2) It has been seen above⁶⁴ that both of Aristotle's constitutions presuppose the existence of an effective body of 'Five Thousand.' In the period now under discussion, and at no other period, such a body was called into actual being, and although its numbers were not clearly defined, it carried the title 'Five Thousand'.⁶⁵

(3) Various features of detail in Aristotle's description of the 'provisional' constitution point to the same conclusion.

(a) Direct allusion is made to the *νομοθέται* as a body in actual or prospective existence.⁶⁶ The appointment of this board is referred by Thucydides⁶⁷ to the time after the revolution.

(β) The 'provisional' Council was given wide discretion in the matter of calling ex-magistrates to account.⁶⁸ This provision would be particularly appropriate to an epoch of settlement after a political upheaval. Under the dominion of the Four Hundred the executive had submitted willy-nilly to the *καταλύοντες τὸν δῆμον* and carried out its orders. Did their action call

⁵⁹ viii. 97, § 2: ἐνίγχεοντες δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι βουλευσάμεναι ἀελλήσιναι, ἡ δὲ δὲ καὶ νομοθέται καὶ ἄλλοι ἐψηφίσαντο εἰ τὴν πολιτείαν.

⁶⁰ *I.G.* i. 58. Busolt (p. 1538) connects this committee with the restoration of the Periclean democracy in 410 B.C. But a return to such a familiar type of government did not necessitate the creation of *ἐνυργαφεῖς*.

⁶¹ *I.G.* i. 61. Was this the board which Aristotle dates back to the critical period of the revolution and makes responsible for the drafting of his two constitutions (29, § 5; 32, § 1)? If so, his mistake in respect of the *ἐνυργαφεῖς* is precisely the same as he made *ex hypothesi* with

regard to the Constitutions.

⁶² See n. 59 above.

⁶³ Andoc. *De Myst.* 88 81, 82; Wilamowitz, pp. 223-5.

⁶⁴ P. 6.

⁶⁵ Thuc. viii. 97, § 1: τοὺς ὑπερασπιστὰς παύσαντες τοὺς πεντακισχιλίοις ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ πράγματα παραδοῖναι.

⁶⁶ 31, § 1: τοὺς δὲ νόμοις οἱ δὲ τεθῶσι περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν χρῆσθαι.

⁶⁷ Ch. 31, § 1.

⁶⁸ 31, § 1: καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν [τὴν] βουλὴν; ἢ δὲ ἡγῶνται συμφέρειν.

for punishment or not?¹⁰⁰ Plainly this was a question which could better be settled by equity than by the strict letter of the law, and it was but reasonable that the cognition of these cases should have been transferred from the Dicasteries to the Council.¹⁰¹

(γ) At the election of new *στρατηγοί*, which was to be made by the Council out of the 'Five Thousand,' this latter body was directed to be mustered in its equipment of arms.¹⁰² This provision stands in remarkably close agreement with the statement of Thucydides that after the fall of the Four Hundred the test of membership in the Five Thousand was the possession of a suit of armour.¹⁰³

As the 'definitive' constitution was never put into operation, or only for a very short time,¹⁰⁴ it has not left any record of action. No ancient author has therefore had any occasion to supply collateral evidence about it. The most remarkable feature in it, the institution of an acting Council of about 1000 members, has been criticised not unjustly¹⁰⁵ on the score of its practical inexpediency: so unwieldy a body could never have dispatched business with the promptitude required during a state of war. It may be conjectured that these peculiarities were the outcome of the Athenians' experience at the time of the revolution. Clearly the 'Council of 1000' was intended to do away with the peculiar evils which impeded the proper functioning of the old Council and Ecclesia. The old Ecclesia could not in point of fact be truly representative when a large proportion of the citizens were bound to remain on garrison duty and to absent themselves from its deliberations: hence the ease with which Peisander's party contrived to pack the meeting at Colonus. On the other hand the old Council had proved to be too small in numbers to resist the coup d'état which was the main factor in the recent revolution. It was perhaps in order to obviate similar risks in future that the new

¹⁰⁰ Compare the quandary in which the officials of the commonwealth found themselves when a Stuart restoration became imminent, and the efforts which they made to confer a quasi-legal sanction upon their recent acts by getting Cromwell appointed king.

¹⁰¹ That the dicasteries were still convened is proved by the document recording the impeachment of Antiphon ([Plutarch], *Vita X. Oratorum*, I. § 23). But it is noteworthy that in this case the Council took the initiative by converting itself into a Grand Jury and finding a True Bill against Antiphon.

¹⁰² 31, § 2: τὰς δὲ στρατηγῶν . . . τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ ἀνέστησαν ἐκείνοις τὰς πεντακισχίλιον, τὰς δὲ βουλῆς . . . τοῖς ἑκατοσὶ ἐξήκοντι τοῖς ἑκατοσὶ ἐκείνοις δέον ἔχουσιν.

¹⁰³ viii. 97, § 1.

¹⁰⁴ The only evidence in favour of this constitution having been put into operation is derived from an inscription of the period 411/10, in which mention is made of five *ἐπίσταντες* (Wil-

helm in *Ber. Wien. Akad., Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1897, no. 26, p. 3). A board of such officials, five in number, is mentioned in *Ath. Pol.* 30, § 5. But there is nothing to prevent our supposing that these *ἐπίσταντες* had also officiated under the 'provisional' scheme. On the other hand, the 'definitive' constitution can hardly have been carried into practice before 410 B.C. The time required by the *ἀρχαγοῖς* (who apparently were allowed four months for their work—Lysias, xxx. § 2—, but in reality took much longer, *I.G.* i. 81) and by the *βουλευταί* to prepare the new code of laws, and for the Ecclesia to ratify it, would more than account for the remaining months of the year 411. But early in 410 B.C. the reaction set in by which the complete Periclean democracy was restored. Hence the 'definitive' constitution could only have functioned for a few weeks at the outside.

¹⁰⁵ Willamowitz, pp. 121-3.

constitution created an unusually large Council and made over to it the work of the Ecclesia.

It may be objected that Aristotle's constitutions are not sufficiently democratic to have satisfied the Athenians after the recent fiasco of the oligarchy. But this argument need not carry much weight. As regards the 'provisional' government, at the time when this was in force the Peloponnesian War had reached a highly critical stage, and it was essential that Athens should have above all things a simple and strong government. It need not surprise us if the Athenians put up for a while with a more autocratic rule: after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants they committed themselves to an interim government of a similarly illiberal type.⁷⁵ Again, there is no evidence that any strong feeling in favour of a completely restored democracy set in until *after* the 'definitive' constitution had been enacted. For two years previous to the revolution the moderate democrats had enjoyed an ascendancy over the radicals: this same current in favour of moderate constitutional reform need not have spent itself until some months after the revolution. Moreover if we turn once again to the events of 403 B.C. we shall find that the moderate democrats at that time were strong enough to propose a permanent settlement by which the franchise was to be restricted to landholders.⁷⁶ The comparative exclusiveness of Aristotle's 'definitive' constitution should not therefore cause any misgivings.

As to the cause of Aristotle's error in antedating his constitutions, this can only be guessed at. If the documents which he has reproduced for us had carried a date in the usual style, or if he (or his source) had been acquainted with the real official record of the institution of the oligarchy, he could hardly have fallen into such a mistake at all. But it is very doubtful whether he had any such safeguards at hand.

After the fall of the oligarchs the archon Mnasilochus, who had inaugurated the year 411/10 under their rule, was deposed.⁷⁷ His successor, Theopompus, was not elected until after the enactment of the 'provisional' constitution.⁷⁸ Hence this instrument was drawn up in a period of *ἀναρχία*, and could not be dated in the usual manner, by mention of the *ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων*. Again, it is not unlikely that the Athenians expunged all official record of the revolution, thus leaving Aristotle without any authentic information concerning it.

But these speculations need not be carried any further. It is more important to have established the fact of Aristotle's error than to ascertain its causes.

M. O. B. CASPARI.

⁷⁵ Andoc. *De Myst.* §§ 81-2. The supreme authority was vested in a board of twenty, to whom a Council elected by lot was subsequently attached.

⁷⁶ See the *Constitutions* to [Lysias] *Or.* XXXIV., and Wilamowitz, pp. 225-230.

⁷⁷ *AGU*, *Pol.* 32, § 1.

⁷⁸ In 31, § 1 we read that the Council is directed τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀναρτῆσαι. From this it may be inferred that Theopompus had not yet been appointed ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων.

LIVES OF HOMER.

II.

WE have next to inquire into the relation of these lives to one another. One way of doing this is to consider the authorities they quote. The Herodotean Life naturally stands on one side; IV. also as being clearly V. less its quotations, may be neglected. I mark with an asterisk the ἀπαξ φερόμενα in each case.

Cert.	PLUT.	PLUT.
Hellanicus fr. 9	(I) Ephorus <i>de Iovis</i> fr. 164	Hellanicus fr. 9
*Cleanthes	Aristotle <i>de γ' αναρχία</i> fr. 66	Damastes fr. 19
*Eugemon	*Antipater	*Pherecydes
Callicles	(II) Plutarch fr. 264	stemma (anon.)
Democritus Trac.	Simonides fr. 85	*Gorgias
stemma (anon.)	Antimachus fr. 18	Aristarchus
Eratosthenes	Nicander fr. 14	Crates
*Aleislanas <i>de avaritia</i>	Aristotle fr. 66	*Xenon
	Ephorus fr. 164	*Hellanicus
	Aristarchus	
	Dion. Thrax	
	Crates	
V	VI	
Pindar fr. 204	*Aurimachus fr. 20	*Hypocritas
Simonides fr. 85	Damastes fr. 10	Crates
Antimachus fr. 18	Pindar fr. 264	Eratosthenes
Nicander fr. 14	*Thucydides	*Apollodorus
*Bacchylides fr. 48	stemma (anon.)	
Aristotle fr. 66	*Hippas fr. 8	
Ephorus fr. 164	Ephorus fr. 164	
Aristarchus	stemma (anon.)	
Dion. Thrax	*Timonachus	
	Aristotle fr. 66	
	Antimachus fr. 18	
	*Stasimbuctus fr. 13	
	*Philochorus fr. 540	
	Callicles	
	*Aristodemus of Nysa	
	*Dionysius	
	Democritus	
	Aristotle fr. 66	
	*Heraclides	
	*Pyrrhus	

A comparison shows at first sight that Plutarch and V. are practically identical. V. adds Bacchylides, who must have slipped out of the other

versions. The compiler of Plutarch I. has copied fairly full versions of the same quotations of Ephorus and Aristotle, which the others reduced to a mention. Again the *Certamen*, Proclus, and VI. are connected. The *Certamen* and Proclus start off with the same historian, but immediately diverge: each has saved valuable references, which occur nowhere else. V. has added Xenon and Hellanicus, who seem to follow naturally the grammarians (Aristarchus etc.) of the other family. Both the *Certamen* and V. are embraced and practically replaced by VI.; e.g. it has the Callicles and Democritus (-crines) otherwise unique of the *Certamen*, and the Damastes of Proclus. It also contains very nearly the whole of Plutarch and V., that is to say it omits Simonides, Nicander, Aristarchus, Dionysius of Thrace. Yet it has portions of the vicinity of all of these writers, viz. Pindar (for Simonides); Antimachus (for Nicander); Crates (for the two other grammarians). On the evidence of quotations therefore we may confidently say that VI. is the fullest form of the common original of *Cert.*, *Plut.*, *Proc.* IV., V. Each stage has saved a little which the others lost; but the private gains of VI. are overwhelming.

Suidas does not enter into competition here: he shelters himself behind his three immediate sources. The relation of the rest seems to be—



The same result may be attained by another process. The statements made in the various Lives are now authenticated, now anonymous. If we compare them we see that nearly all fall under the same sponsors.

If we first take the *vita Herodotea*, where the statements are forcedly anonymous, we see that all the assertions have their authority in the other lives; only the places visited and the date are singular. The former may be assumed to hang together with the 'epigrams,' and as I have suggested these and the prose also alike come from a biographical poem. The date—168 years after Troy—recurs in other authors (see I. p. 251). The short stemma of five generations is unique, especially as introducing the interesting name 'Ουλορης²⁴ in the fourth generation. The mention of Crethon, however, suggests Dinarchus (vi. 28).²⁵

In the other lives I have marked with an asterisk the statements still

²⁴ Or *Ευρηος*. I cannot find authority for treating it as *Αεolis* for *Ευρηος*. Welcker l. 141 identified it with *Stacyrus*!

²⁵ Piccolomini's emendation (*Κρηθωνος* for *αν αυθωνος*) is certain.

[illegible]

left unauthenticated. It will be seen that they are not many. The *Certainen* brings forward several candidates for the post of mother: Calliope occurs elsewhere, Metis is presumably the Eumetis of Charax. It has also a list of places visited very different from the Herodotean: they are European. We know the source of Chalcis and Aulis, but Delphi, Athens, Corinth, and Argos are obscure. They may have come from the Hesiodic side.

The stemmata are practically the same, and go back to Stesimbrotus, Hellanicus, Pherocydes, and Damastes. There are differences between the names, which I have thought best to print as they stand, having nothing new to add. The list of works is all but identical.

Enough has been said to shew that Herod. *Cert.* Plut. Proc. IV, V, VI, are so many versions of one source. The best representative of this source is of course VI, but several valuable facts have escaped from it and found a home in *Cert.* Plut. or Proc. Suidas is in a different position. He enumerates three late sources, Charax, Porphyrius, and Castricius. One of these multiplied the birthplaces: Cenchreae and Grynium shew minute topographical knowledge, Cnossus and Lucania wide imagination. They suggest to my mind Porphyrius or Castricius, who were internationals. What was the document from which *Cert.* Plut. Proc. IV.-VI. all drew, and the immediate sources of Suidas also? We might put forward these same Suidas sources as the origin of Proc. IV.-VI. at least, but Castricius and Porphyrius seem unnecessarily late. An adaptation of Porphyrius would not have resulted in VI. but in a worthless screeled like Iamblichus' life of Pythagoras. Or Charax? Charax furnishes a stemma, probably the mention of Callimachus, perhaps more; but a long life of Homer replete with authorities, a much fuller VI. seems out of scale in his *Xponia*.

The authors quoted in *Cert.* Plut. Proc. IV.-VI. end with Aristarchus, Crates, and Dionysius Thrax. No later authority is quoted. This suggests an *ἐπιόρμη* of the first century after Christ. This was the period of the second stage in learning, the accumulation of the opinions of the previous centuries. Learned and ample commentaries on Homer have been found in papyri of this century: Ammonius on Φ (Ox. Pap. 221), the anonymi of Ox. Pap. 1086 and 1087. In this period some one, it is idle to ask who, wrote *περὶ Ὁμήρου χρόνον καὶ πατρίδος*, a well-furnished hypomnema tabulating views from Pindar downwards. The nearest representative of this is VI. The other versions, following a natural law, diluted it till we arrive at IV. The same document lay before Philostratus *Herois*, xviii. 2, Eusebius *Chron.*, p. 36 (Scal.) and the Christians: no one wishes to charge Tatian, Athenagoras, and Clement with unnecessary research. They used a handy work of reference, and confuted the heathen out of his own mouth. They took him down too much as he stood, with his authorities in a bunch. The author was a grammarian, who had at his back the collections of the antiquarians as well as the schoolmen; the list of Homeric works, and the statement (in Proclus only) about the Chorizontes is evidently Alexandrian.

III.

This *ὑπόμνημα* did no more than collect the opinions given out in the preceding centuries. To arrive at the ultimate source of the biographical tradition about Homer we must trace the fragmentary information which we possess upwards through the classical period.²⁶

We may take for granted the technical investigations of Aristarchus, Crates, and their disciples, and the historical studies of Aristotle and the Peripatetics. The Attidographi and other historians of the fourth and third centuries did not neglect Homer. We have seen the theses of Ephorus in his *ἐπιχώριος*. Theopompus brought Homer down to 700 or later, but it is unlikely he left the subject there, and Proclus' *tu quoque* argument against Ephorus' etymology of *δμηρος* (= blind) may have been taken from Theopompus. Philochorus provided Homer with a date, and removed him from the contention of Asian towns and islands by making him an Argive. For Timaeus and Diexchidas see the *F.H.G.* The Attic orators were too busy to waste time over archaeology, if they quoted Homer for their purposes and created variants for ours. To Plato we return shortly. The fifth-century logographi—all we notice orientals—held views on Homer. Hellanicus of Lesbos derived him from Orpheus, as did Pherecydes of Leros and Damastes of Sigeum.²⁷ A tree is given by Proclus to all three: probably all three were genealogists, if Hellanicus derived Hesiod also from Orpheus (*fr.* 9) and Damastes wrote *περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἰλίον στρατευσαμένων*. The stemma in any case goes back to the beginning of the fifth century, and is evidently the same as that which Charax fathered centuries later and now exists in the *Vita Suida*.²⁸ Damastes made Homer a Chian. We have also to mention Eugeaon of Samos, precise age unknown, whose work was probably *ἄρτοι Σάμοι* like that of Duris later: Meles according to him was Homer's father, and the same view was held by another Samian, Asius, and by Acusilaus of Argos. None of these Samians I notice are cited for the Creophylus-story, though it must have had a certain solidity if the biographers of Pythagoras make him consort with Hermodamas the descendant of Creophylus (Porph. *vit. Pyth.* 1 and 10; Iambl. *id.* 11: Pythagoras escaped from Samos *μετὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοδάμαντος μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, Κρεωφύλου δὲ ἐπικαλουμένου, διὰ τὸ Κρεωφύλου ἀπόγονον εἶναι Ὀμήρου ξένου, ὃς ἐλέγετο τοῦ ποιητοῦ γενέσθαι φίλος καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἀπάντων*): Neanthes is perhaps the source *F.H.G.* iii. 9.²⁹ At the end of the century the sophists could not leave Homer unnoticed: Gorgias utilised, apparently, Damastes' tree, and derived him from Musaeus. Hippias, a more serious archaeologist

²⁶ The learned *Alfaced* still contains the whole of extant knowledge. Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* I, Sengelmach *Diag. Hom.* i., Rolde *Ep. Mus.* 36, are more accessible. A new *Notitia Homerica* is not the work of an article. I wish only to exhibit the continuity.

²⁷ Damastes made him birth from Musaeus

according to VI, 9. If this is true it does not disarrange the tree materially, as Musaeus and Orpheus were often father and son.

²⁸ See the Table and Welcker *Ep. Cycl.* I, 138.

²⁹ The biographer Creophylus *F.H.G.* iv. 371 probably belonged to the family.

found material in the heroic civilisation for an *ἐπίδειξις*, as we know from the Hippias Major. He also preceded Ephorus in making Homer a Cynaean. Critias held his father was a river (*fr.* 11), and as he believed Orpheus invented the hexameter (*fr.* 10) evidently thought he was an ancestor of Homer's. Gorgias and Hippias 'wrote about Homer,' but three writers, Stesimbrotus, Metrodorus, and Theagenes enjoy the distinction of having this specifically asserted about them. The well known passage in Tatian *ἐν ἑρμηνείᾳ* 31 may once more be quoted: *περὶ γὰρ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ Ὀμήρου, γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν, πρὸς ἡρένησαν οἱ πρεσβυτάτοι, Θεάγνης τε ὁ Ῥηγίνος κατὰ Καμβύσην γεγονώς, Στησίμβροτος τε ὁ Θάσιος καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Ἡρόδοτος τε ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσέων καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος μετ' ἐκείνους Ἐφύρος ὁ Κυμναῖος καὶ Φιλόχορος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, Μεγακλείδης τε καὶ Χαμνιλέων οἱ περιπατητικοί, ἔπειτα γραμματικοί, Ἰππύδατος, Ἀριστοφάνης, Καλλίμαχος, Κράτης, Ἐρατοσθένης, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀπολλοδόωρος,⁴⁰—c. 21 καὶ Μητρόδορος τε ὁ Λαμψακηνός ἐν τῇ περὶ Ὀμήρου λίαν εὐήθως διείλεται, πάντα εἰς ἀλληγορίαν μετὰ γων. Stesimbrotus and Metrodorus are currently alluded to by Plato and Xenophon (who adds Anaximander). Of their labours we know that Stesimbrotus made Homer a Smyrnaean, and two or three of his interpretations survive; an opinion or two is cited from Metrodorus and Theagenes. Herodotus, who is still with us, is a considerable scholar. He doubts on internal not traditional evidence, the ascription of the Cypria and Epigoni, gives a very definite date, in terms of his own era, to Homer, and reveals the current opinion that there were in existence various hexameter poets believed to be older than Homer. At one moment he mistrusts this common opinion (ii. 53), at another he uses it without question (ii. 23). He hides his sources and his reasons for the '400 years and no more.'*

Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides all mentioned Homer, and gave him Smyrna, Chios, and Ios for birthplaces (*vid.* V); Pindar also had the family legend (*fr.* 265), how the Cypria was his daughter's dowry.⁴¹ These professionals lived on the turn of the century, and with them, and Theagenes (*κατὰ Καμβύσιν γεγονώς*) we are well within the sixth century. Here the atmosphere is rare. Nearly everything has perished. If Solon and the other literature had survived there would have been frequent mentions of Homer: the further literature goes back, the more allusive it becomes. Theognis inserts a kind of *précis* of the Odyssey into his verse-diary (1123-8), Callinus long before credited Homer with the Thebais. Solon is our first authority for the history of tragedy. Homeric biography is touched on by Asius; a Samian, who like Pigeis wrote *opos* and *elegy*, the latter humorous.⁴² Asius has left a quatrain (*P.L.G.* ii. 23), of which the second

⁴⁰ This passage, and its counterpart in Clement Al. *Strom.* i. 21 and Philostratus *same* direct from the hypomnema of A. S. A. D. (p. 21).

⁴¹ The same type of story is embedded in the Pythagoras-cycle: *Iambi.* ed. *Pyth.* 146 the

ἑρὸς ἀνγύρα was left to his daughter Dano, from whom it passed to her daughter Bialte, by whose husband (and uncle) Teisages it was edited.

⁴² Kluckh., *E.G.P.* 202 sqq.

line is *ἦλθεν κλισιοκόλαξ εἶτε Μέλης ἐγάμει*: and when we consider that his countryman Eugeaon held that Homer's father was Mela it is clear the learned⁴³ have not been wrong in seeing here a joecose account of the established nativity of Homer. More than this the Riddle of the Lives, which the Lives give in verse form and in prose, is taken back by Hippolytus, *Ref. haer.* ix. 9 to Heraclitus (47 n. Bywater, 56 Diels), who thought it sufficiently *σκοτεινόν* for his purpose and unpleasant enough for his humour.

We have thus followed the anecdotic and biographical tradition of Homer back to the middle of the sixth century. We next ask what the source of these anecdotes is. Have they any origin beyond natural and unsystematised tradition, and the credulity which operates on the popular conception of great men?

I wish to suggest that the source of the Homeric tradition was the guild known as the Sons of Homer. The logographi of the fifth century, Acusilaus and Hellanicus, said that the Homeridae were a Chian guild called after the poet, and I have endeavoured (*C. Q.* 1907, 135) to show that the mentions of them in literature are consonant with this statement.⁴⁴ Among the functions of religious guilds was that of preserving the truth or esoteric story of the object of their worship, an *ἱερὸς λόγος* or *ἀπόρητα*. Plato and Isocrates speak of the Homeridae in terms which suggest they had a store of truth about their founder: thus Isocr. *Helena* § 64, Helen manifested her power to Stesichorus and compelled him to a recantation: *λέγουσι δὲ τινες τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστάσα τῆς νυκτὸς Ὀμήρῳ προσέταξε ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν*. Homer's choice of a subject was due to her bidding. Plato *Rep.* 599 E, implies that the Homeridae guarded the events of their founder's life and his attributes when he says that even they do not assert he founded a constitution. Certainly the Homer of the Lives is not of the lawgiver-class. The Homeridae then in the fourth century were regarded as sources for Homer's biography. It is further to be noticed that the notion of a nocturnal visit of Helen to Homer has made its way into *vit. VI* in words very like those of Isocrates: v. 51 *ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ τοῦτο* (sc. blindness) *αὐτὸν πεποιθέναι διὰ μῆνιν τῆς Ἑλένης ὀργισθείσης αὐτῷ διότι εἶπεν αὐτῇ καταλελειμέναι μὲν τὸν πρότερον ἄνδρα, ἠκολουθηκέναι δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· οὕτως γοῦν ὅτι καὶ παρέστη αὐτῷ φασὶ νυκτὸς ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς ἡρώλης παραινούσα καῖσαι τὰς ποιήσεις αὐτοῦ . . . τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ποιῆσαι τοῦτο*. This is not the same story as that given by Isocrates from the Homeridae, but it represents the angry heroine penally visiting Homer, as she visited Stesichorus in the Stesichorus-story of which

⁴³ E.g. Welcker *Ep. Opul.* i. 135.

⁴⁴ I adduced i.e. the Hesiodic school, who possessed all these attributes except the patronymic: I may here mention the Carpo-eratiæ who worshipped Eriphamea, son of Carpoctatus in Cephalonia: *Ἔφηται δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐκ ἐνταλαίδου, καὶ θεὰ δὲ Σάμης τῆς*

Κεφαλληνίας περιήσαν· *ἰσθὴ αὐτῇ ἱερὸν ἔργον ἔχον, θύον, τιμὴν, μαντείαν* προσάγουσαι τε καὶ καθάρονται καὶ συνάγουσι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· *Κεφαλλῆνες καὶ κουμηναὶ γενέθλιον ἀποθέουσι θεῶν· Ἐριφάει· ἀνέδουσι τε καὶ ἐκχυόντες καὶ θυοῖσι· λέγουσιν*: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. 2.

this is a double. In this instance then there seems a palpable connexion between the Homerid doctrines and the Lives. How did they preserve their teaching, and in what form did it reach the laity? Not in biographies like the Lives, for in 600-550 prose was hardly invented. Narrative, whether historical like Magnes' *Ἀναξορία* (p. 22) or personal as the poem of Aristeas, was conveyed in hexameter verse. Now the Homeridae as Plato tells us in another place (*Phaedr.* 252 a) had *ἔπη*: he calls them *ἀπρόθετα*, that is esoteric or 'reserved.' The two lines he quotes are hymnal and deal with the etymology of *Ἔπος*; still there is no likelihood that the *ἀπρόθετα ἔπη* of the Homerids were confined to theology. The accounts they gave of their Father, his commerce with heaven and his tribulations in the flesh, must have formed part of them. Now we have seen (I. p. 253) that the sections of verse put in the mouth of Homer in the Herodotean Life do not seem to be excerpts from an heroic poem or any poem except one recounting the adventures of Homer himself. They are in good epic Greek, serious and not parodic. A Life is written under the person and in the language of Herodotus, it quotes the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Cycle*, and popular Volkslieder of Asia Minor; for the unidentified biographical verses which it quotes on an ample scale, no so plausible source can be found as in the *ἔπη* of Homer's children and hierophants. There is more than this: the account of the competition between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis at the wake of Amphidamas is given by Plutarch *conv. sept. sap.* c. 10 on the authority of Lesches. As I have mentioned (I. p. 253) the only Lesches known to history is the author of the *Ilias parva*. But to put the *ἄγων* of the two poets into a short poem describing the last days of Troy has always been difficult, and has so far justified the Germans' creation of a second Lesches. This difficulty vanishes if we conceive the existence of a poem or poems containing the Life of Homer. Lesches of Pyrrha in Lesbos was near the focus; and whether a member of the guild or no was a Homerid in the sense in which the scholiast on Pindar gives the title to his contemporary Cynaethus. Further, since—as we have seen I. p. 257—the verses quoted from Lesches by Plutarch are evidently the same as those utilised in the central part of the actual *Certamen*, it will follow that Alcidas' source was the same Lesches. We see therefore a named Homeric poet, a contributor to the *Cycle*, composing a poem on some of the adventures of his Master. That this poem, the source of the Agon, was the same poem as that which inspired Cephalion in the Herodotean life is naturally uncertain. The *vita Herod.* and the Agon, however, contain some of the same documents and coincide on certain points (e.g. *Cert.* 260, 285 *vita Herod.* 135, 425). It is equally uncertain whether Lesches' poem was part of the Homerid *ἀπρόθετα*, or if he called on their store for his work. The poem or poems were the source for the logographi and memoirists of the fifth century. They also supplied Asiatic of Samos with material for his parodies. Asiatic (p. 23) like Pigres⁴⁵ was a serio-comic; in his lighter vein he

⁴⁵ Who amplified the *Iliad* in a serious spirit, but also wrote the *Batrachomyomachia*, and was credited with the *Margites*.

mocked the mysteries of his own art, and gave a humorous turn to the pious narrative of his professional brethren. The *ιερός λόγος* of Homer indeed lent itself to humour, and excited the contempt of Plato and Callimachus. It had been previously employed for an irreverential purpose by Sophocles (Ath. 592 A).

To resume: the age and life of Homer occupied very nearly all the Greek chronologers and annalists. They utilised in his case the same sources which they employed for their chronicles generally, namely *ἄρτοι* or local annals. The Samian *ἄρτοι*, the Clazomenian, are cited, and the compilations of the Peripatetics and Alexandrians were based upon them. They supply reliable evidence for the dating of the Cycle. The personal history of Homer, more especially the marvels which attended him, were expounded by his disciples in semi-esoteric verse. The tradition of the Herodotean life and of the *Cortamen* embody this source for us; the remaining lives, which appear to descend from a learned *ὑπόμνημα* of the Augustan period, are more historical in character, and quote the logographi of the fifth century. They also, however, contain in different proportions a mixture of the pious traditions of the Sons of Homer.*

T. W. ALLEN

* The origin and meaning of the Homeric legend diffused by the Homeridae is a further question. A recent article by Herr E. Maass in the *Neue Jahrb.* 1911, 539 ('Die Person Homers') deals with the parents' names. Maass thinks *Μελισσηεύς* means born on the day of the Melesia, and that *Κροθῆς* is mythological. His positive argument turns entirely on the forms, and these are not certain. 'Son of Meles' no doubt should be *Μελισσηεύς*. A form like this (*μελισσηεύς*) is actually preserved *ed. Hirsch* 30; and *μελισσι-μελισσι-* etc. may be corruptions therefrom under the

influence of *μελισσα*. As to the mother, *κροθῆς* *κροθῆς* are equally attested; the latter seems the more substantial personal name, if we compare *Κροθῆς*, *Κροθῆς*. *Κροθῆς* was acceptable for its obvious meaning. Again it is hard to suppose that these sixth-century legends should have forgotten the *Μελισσα*, if there were such a festival. If *Asine* parodied Meles' wedding feast, Meles (as father) must have been in existence well before his time. He is better attested than his festival (of which there is no mention).

THREE GREEK NUMERAL SYSTEMS.

A STUDY of the Greek numeral systems as illustrated by extant inscriptions has convinced me that there are many misconceptions still current which require correction, and that there is an urgent need for the collection and tabulation of the evidence for the acrophonic systems of Greece, those, that is, of which the numerals employed in Attica down to Roman times form the best known example. This task I hope to essay in the forthcoming volume of the *British School Annual*, but meantime I may briefly discuss three instances which have not hitherto met with the attention they deserve. If the results attained are not in all cases certain, I hope that I shall at least succeed in calling attention to the problems and in stimulating someone else to seek and to discover their true solution.

I.

CHALCEDON.

An inscription of the second century B.C. found at Chalcedon, contains regulations regarding the tenure of a certain priesthood and the record of its purchase. It was first published and discussed by B. Latyshev in the *Russian Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*;¹ June 1885, and was subsequently republished by F. Bechtel in *S.G.D.I.* 3052 a, by C. Michel in his *Recueil* 733 and by Dittenberger in the *Sylloge*² 596. We are here concerned only with the numerals used in this document, and Latyshev's explanation of them has been adopted without question by the three later editors. Bechtel calls it 'sicher geglückt,' Dittenberger says 'sigla pecuniarum L. recte interpretatur' and Michel has signified his acceptance by turning the Chalcedonian into Attic numerals upon the basis of it.

My ignorance of Russian unfortunately prevents me from following Latyshev's argument, but in one or two points his conclusions seem to me to stand in need of correction. There can be no doubt, I think, that his interpretation is fully warranted so far as it relates to the majority of the signs. The values of Μ, Ϟ, Χ, Η and Π are hardly open to question: these are the ordinary signs for 10000, 5000, 1000, 100 and 5 respectively, and the

¹ *Revue des Ministères de l'Instruction Publique*.

absence of the sign for 500 π is purely accidental. Again, we must at once grant that ζ represents the drachma, as at Troezen (*I.G.* iv. 823) and Chersonesus Taurica (see below), and that τ stands for the obol. In l. 7 we have $\zeta\tau\tau$, which proves that τ is intermediate in value between the drachma and the obol and cannot here represent the $\frac{1}{4}$ obol (*Tetartemoron*), as it does in Attica, Epidaurus (*I.G.* iv. 1484, etc.), Hermione (*I.G.* iv. 742), Tegea, Delphi and elsewhere. It is best interpreted as *Τριώβολον*, i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ drachma, a value which it also bears in Naxos (*I.G.* xii. 5. 99). In l. 5, again, we find $\zeta\tau\tau$, showing that the four dots represent a smaller sum than an obol. F. Bechtel takes them to denote four $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\iota$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ obol, and this is the accepted explanation, though I cannot adopt it unquestioningly. For in each of the acrophonic systems known to me in which there are signs representing values less than an obol, there is a special sign for the $\frac{1}{4}$ obol ζ in Attica, Epidaurus, Delphi, etc.—at Hermione and Coreyra, ϵ at Tegea, and so on: so that here also we might expect to find a sign different from that of four $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\iota$.² Moreover, we have no proof, so far as I am aware, that the obol consisted of eight $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\iota$ at Chalcodon; at Delos and Tegea it contained 12, at Epidaurus 18, etc.³ My own view is that the Chalcodonian obol was made up of 12 $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\iota$, and I would support it on this ground. The sum $\zeta\tau\tau$ is to be paid out of each mina of the purchase price: if, with the editors, we interpret it as $\frac{1}{2}$ obol, the proportion payable on each mina is $\frac{1}{144}$, while if we interpret it as $\frac{1}{4}$ obol, the proportion is $\frac{1}{72}$, which is antecedently far more probable and is borne out by the mention of $\frac{1}{72}$ of the purchase price in l. 21.

We must now turn to the one sign used in this inscription which has not yet been mentioned, viz. ψ , which is found only in l. 21 and has been interpreted as 10 dr. I reproduce for the sake of clearness the whole passage, as restored by Latyshev (ll. 19-22).

[ἐπρία]το τὰν ἱερωτείαν Μενέμ[αχος]
 20 - - - λου δραχμῶν $\pi\chi$ [HHH]
 [τριακο]στά· HH ψ · δύναται βδομη[κοστὰ καὶ]
 [ἐνακατ]ίσταται τρεῖς· HH ζ [CCT - - -

Starting from the number 210 as one-thirtieth of the total sum paid for the priesthood, we find that sum to be 6300 dr. and therefore restore that number in l. 20. We then take $\left(\frac{1}{72} + \frac{3}{x}\right)$ of this sum, in accordance with the data of ll. 21, 22: x must here represent some multiple of 100 or of 1000, as we see from the first extant letters of l. 22, and the sum total must be such that its first three signs are HH ζ , i.e. it must lie between 100 and 110 dr. Now $\frac{1}{72} + \frac{3}{2000}$ of 6300 dr. = 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ dr., a sum which Latyshev consequently restored in l. 22. But while admitting the possibility of this solution, we cannot overlook its difficulties.

² In the semi-alphabetic system of Halicarnassus (*Ditt. Syll.* 11) τ , ϵ , \equiv are used to represent $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ obol respectively.

³ See R. Kell's comment on *Inschriften von Priene*, 174.

- (i) The sum 6300 dr. is in itself curious.
- (ii) The fraction $\frac{1}{20}$ is suspicious: why was it not written $\frac{1}{20}$?
- (iii) The length of l. 21, as restored, rouses misgiving.
- (iv) A financial record of about 200 n.c. from Chersonesus Taurica, published by Latyshev in *Inscr. Ant. Oruc Sept. Ponti Euxini* iv (1901) No. 80, shows a system of numeration which, in spite of certain discrepancies, is strikingly similar to that of Chalcedon. The editor rightly reminds us that Heraclea Pontica, the metropolis of Chersonesus Taurica was, like Chalcedon, a Megarian foundation. Now at Chersonesus $\zeta = 1$ dr., $\rho = 5$ dr., $\Delta = 10$ dr., $\Psi = 50$ dr.

I therefore believe that in the Chalcedonian text also Ψ is the sign for 50 dr.,⁴ and that the sign for 10 dr. (probably Δ) is, like that for 500, accidentally absent. If this is so, we are forced to alter our restoration of ll. 20-22. The $[\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron]\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ I retain: for the extant figures of l. 20 show that the purchase money was above 6000 but below 10000 dr. and therefore 250 dr. cannot be either one-twentieth or one-fortieth. If, then, 250 dr. are one-thirtieth of the total cost, that cost must be 7500 dr. and we must restore $\text{P}\chi[\chi\text{P}]$ in l. 20. Again, $(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{20} + \frac{1}{20})$ of 7500 dr. = 106 dr. 2½ ob., a sum which, if my hypothesis is correct, we should restore at the close of l. 22: with this the existing figures are in perfect agreement. My restoration, then, is as follows (ll. 20-22):

... λον δραχμῶν $\text{P}\chi[\chi\text{P}]$
 $[\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron]\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ΗΗΨ· δυοκαίδεκα[κοστῶ]
 $[\kappa\alpha\iota \mu\rho\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota]$ · τρεῖς· ΗΠζ[ι]x...

where x stands for the unknown sign for the half-obol.

To sum up the conclusions I have sought to establish:

M = 10000 dr.	$[\Delta]$ = 10 dr.]
P = 5000 "	ρ = 5 "
χ = 1000 "	ζ = 1 "
$[\text{P}]$ = 500 "]	T = 3 obols.
H = 100 "	i = 1 obol.
Ψ = 50 "	\cdot = 1 χαλκοῦς ($\frac{1}{2}$ obol).

II.

NESUS.

The little island of Nesus (*Moschonesi*) lies close to the Asia Minor coast in the Gulf of Adramyttium, between Lesbos and the mainland: to

⁴ Mr. G. F. Hill has called my attention to the use on certain Roman coins, dating from the middle of the third century n.c. to the close of the Republic, of the sign Ψ , with its modifications \downarrow and \perp , to denote 50 (Monnaies, *Hist. mon. coin.* ii. 190; Gröber,

Coins of the Rom. Rep. in the Brit. Mus. i. p. cv). On Etruscan coins Ψ denotes 50 (Head, *H.N.* p. 12).

⁵ Van Herwerden quotes the form $\mu\rho\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ (for $\mu\rho\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$) from Pap. *Lips.* 13 II 20, III 7 (*Lew. Suppl.*, s.v.).

judge from its inscriptions, the Aeolic dialect was spoken there. *I.G.* xii. 2. 646 preserves for us a financial document, apparently containing accounts of the curators of the temple of Asclepius: the stele, which is inscribed upon the front and upon the two sides, is unfortunately seriously damaged and in many places hard to decipher. It is clear that the unit throughout is the gold stater, for every number is preceded by $\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$ $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$, $\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$, $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$ or $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, variously abbreviated, except in *a* l. 40 ($\zeta\alpha\upsilon\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ Φ), *a* l. 41 (Φ [1]) and *b* l. 42 ($\vdash\vdash$); the same unit, it may be noted, appears in use during the third century in the neighbouring state of Mytilene (*I.G.* xii. 2. 81, 82). The editor, W. R. Paton, gives the following account of the numerals here employed. 'De numerorum siglis haec notanda sunt: 100 per $\Xi\kappa$ redditur (*a* vs. 22), 50 per Π (*ibid.*), 10 per Δ (*passim*), 1 per \vdash (*a* vs. 13), $\frac{1}{2}$ per Δ (*a* vs. 6); \circ (*b*^a *passim*) credo $\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha$ significare. Difficultatem faciunt $\circ\Phi$ (*a* vs. 35), Φ 1 (*a* vs. 40, 41), quos non esse staterum numeros apparet. Moneo aliud esse, ni fallor, \circ (*a* vs. 35), aliud \circ (*c* vs. 15 sqq.).'

In this explanation, however, two difficulties are at once evident. The use in an acrophonic system of a special sign for eight is unparalleled in the Greek world, and the distinction drawn between \circ and \circ assumes a difference in value between signs so similar in appearance that constant difficulty and ambiguity must have arisen. For the clue we turn to the numerals used in Mytilene, the powerful neighbour of whose influence the little island could hardly remain independent. We there find Ξ used for 100, Π for 50, Δ for 10, \vdash for 5, \circ for a single stater (*I.G.* loco. cit.). What more natural than that \circ should have the same value at Nesos? I would therefore write $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\alpha$ \circ instead of $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ \circ in *c* ll. 15, 18, 21, etc., and would interpret in the same way the \circ of *a* l. 35.

We must now deal with the Φ of *a* 35, the Φ 1 of *a* 40 and the Φ [1] of *a* 41. Paton apparently sees in them numerals of the alphabetic system, in which Φ has the value 500 and \vdash 10. But this interpretation seems to me inadmissible on several grounds: (i) there are no other traces in this text of alphabetic numerals; (ii) the signs $\circ\Phi$ cannot well represent 570, for that would be written $\Phi\circ$; (iii) if we have rightly interpreted the \circ as the sign for the stater, the Φ must represent a sum of less value; (iv) the sums Φ 1 in ll. 40, 41 represent fines inflicted by the Generals upon a fisherman and a fuller, and are therefore probably quite small in amount. I cannot but conclude, though I admit that I do so without analogy, that Φ is really a differentiated form of \circ , accidentally resembling the letter Φ . In value it must, as we have seen, be less than a gold stater, and in view of the origin of the sign and the fact that Φ 1 represents a small sum I may hazard the conjecture that it stands for the didrachm or silver stater. If this is so, the \vdash may represent the drachma, so that Φ 1 = 3 dr., in *b* 42, however, the drachma apparently has the form \vdash , common through the greater part of the Greek world, and Φ is now represented by $\vdash\vdash$. We may therefore interpret the [$\sigma\tau$]4. \vdash 1 of *a* 26 as 5 gold staters 1 dr., which on the whole seems to me to be preferable to giving the value of 6 staters.

* Read ϵ .

Finally, I turn to α 22, where we have $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$. ϵ κ ϖ ς . Paton makes $\epsilon\kappa$ = 100, but this is unparalleled and the distance of the letters from each other tells against such a view. I take ϵ to indicate 100, as in Mytilene and Chios (*Atthica* xx. 200 ff. No. 7), and think that κ may be an abbreviation for $\kappa\alpha\iota$. ϖ ς is probably 51 staters, ς or Σ being the commonest sign for $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ among the Greek states. It is true that we should thus have, not only upon the same stone, but upon its same face, three different signs for the stater, ς \circ and Δ , but that is not to my mind a fatal objection,⁷ since the editor expressly states that 'in latere a tres, si non plures manus distinguendae sunt,' and makes it clear that α 22 was not engraved by the same hand as α 1, 1-15, 25 and 26.

To sum up, the signs of value used in this inscription seem to me to be the following:

ϵ = 100	ς Δ \circ = 1 gold stater
ϖ = 50	\angle = $\frac{1}{2}$ " "
Δ = 10	ϕ = 1 didrachm (γ)
Γ = 5	\dagger = 1 drachma.

III.

THESPIAE.

Amongst the most interesting of all the local numeral systems of Greece is that which is represented to us by a number of inscriptions discovered at Thespiæ in Boeotia. Yet so little has it been noticed or understood that the eminent French epigraphist, who in 1897 published the last of the series, was wholly at fault in his interpretation of the numerals it contains and Larfeld's admirable *Handbuch der griech. Epigraphik* passes over the system in silence.⁸

We may first examine separately the three chief inscriptions which supply us with our evidence, beginning with G. Colin, *B.C.H.* xxi. 553 ff. No. 2, a document which records the renewal of the leases of pastures belonging to the Thespian state at some time during the last quarter of the third century B.C.⁹ This text, couched in the local dialect, though not without traces of the influence of the $\kappa\omicron\omicron\mu\eta$, contains numerals in twenty-two of its fifty lines; the following will serve as illustrations, including as they do all the different signs employed:

⁷ A similar inconsistency may be found in *Ditt. Syll.* 11 a. I.G. ix. 2, 1199, *B.C.H.* xxi. 349 ff. No. 54; and elsewhere.

⁸ Larfeld does, it is true, refer to the closely cognate system in use at Orchomenos, which he attributes to 'Boeotia' (op. cit. I. 417), but his account of it is incorrect and misses the most interesting feature of the system, the existence

of a separate sign for 30.

⁹ This is Colin's dating, accepted by H. Meisner, who has discussed afresh some words and passages in the inscription, but has not dealt with the numerals (*Berichte d. d. arch. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften in Leipzig: Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, li. No. 3).

L. 20 $\Gamma^{\circ} \Phi \Theta \zeta \zeta \zeta \zeta \zeta <$ L. 49 $\Gamma^{\circ} \zeta \zeta \zeta \zeta \Phi$

Two errors have slipped in, either to the original or to the published copy: in ll. 15, 30 the sign Γ° (50) occurs twice in succession, which is inadmissible, since $\Gamma^{\circ} \Gamma^{\circ}$ would be replaced by HE (100). I propose to substitute HE or HE for the first Γ° in each case. Collin arranges the signs used in descending order of value, Γ° , Φ or Θ , ζ , Φ , and hypothetically assigns to them the values 50, 10, 5, 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ dr. respectively (p. 565 note); ζ and $<$ he does not explain. But ζ must denote a stater, not a drachma, Φ stands for 10 staters, Γ° for 50 staters; the intermediate sign, a compound of TP or TE must in either case (whether standing for $\text{TPi}\alpha\kappa\omicron\rho\tau\alpha$ or for $\text{TPis D}\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha$) represent 30 staters. The Φ , which is never repeated and never precedes any of the stater-signs, plainly denotes the drachma; finally, the ζ represents, as in most of the Greek systems, the obol, and $<$, the sign for a half, the half-obol.

Rather more difficulty is caused by an inscription recording a grant of land, made to Thespieae by Ptolemy—probably Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.)—and his queen Arsinoë. It was discovered and published (*B.C.H.* xix. 379 ff.) by P. Jänot, and the text has been carefully discussed and restored (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* x. 26 ff.) by M. Holleaux, who clearly has a firm grasp of the numeral system used, though he does not give a systematic exposition of it. It is on Holleaux's text that the following remarks are based.

One difference between this record and the last at once attracts attention: the unit of reckoning is no longer the stater but the drachma. This appears not only from the absence of the sign ζ , so conspicuous in the previous inscription, but also from the fact that twice the numerals are preceded by the word $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\omicron\nu$ (ll. 12, 19). We may take as illustrations four groups of numbers.

L. 12 $\text{MM}\Psi\Psi$ L. 19 $\Psi\Psi[\text{HE}]\text{HE}$ L. 23 $\Psi[\text{HEHE}]\text{HE}[\zeta]$ L. 28 $\Psi\text{HEHEHE}\zeta$

Here M = 10,000; Ψ = 1000 (being the sign for χ in the Boeotian local alphabet); HE (a compound of Γ with the 100-sign) = 500; TE (a compound of T with the 100-sign) = 300; HE = 100; TE = 50; Δ = 10 (l. 12); Γ = 5 (ll. 12, 19). The drachma is denoted by ζ , the obol by ζ , as in Attica, but where the numbers are not those of drachmas ζ is used to represent the unit, e.g. in l. 12 $\delta\omicron\rho\alpha \Delta\Gamma\text{III}$ = 19 dora. That there was a sign for 5000, as at Orchomenus (*I.G.* vii. 3171), we cannot doubt: it would be interesting to know whether a single sign, perhaps Ψ , was used for 3000, but on this question no inscription throws any light. The absence from this text of a sign for 30 is purely accidental.

A harder problem is presented by *I.G.* vii. 1737, a large fragment of the public accounts of Thespieae dated by the editor late in the third century B.C. The text is important and I therefore reproduce Lolling's copy of it, especially as the lines are wrongly numbered in *I.G.* and several errors have crept into

the transcription, notably the total omission of l. 18, which for our purpose is of great importance.



Plainly the stater is here the unit of reckoning.¹⁰ The signs for 1000, 500, 300, 100, 50, 30 (Φ in l. 18, Φ elsewhere), 10 and 1 st. will cause no difficulty: in l. 15 we have evidently the sign for 5000, but I am not sure of its exact form, which will probably be the same here as at Orchomenus. The absence of a sign for 5 st. is remarkable: it may, indeed, be due to a curious freak of chance that no occasion for its use should arise in the extant Thespian texts which reckon in staters, but it is at least noteworthy that in l. 15 we seem to have a succession of five, if not six, ς 's, since the ϵ which breaks the succession must be an error of engraver or copyist. Coming now to the values below a stater, we find that, as in our first example, Δ (Δ in l. 7), without the horizontal stroke, represents the drachma: the τ which follows it in ll. 7, 13, 18 (and occurs a second time in l. 13) stands, I believe, not for $\frac{1}{2}$ obol (*tetartemobolion*) but for 3 obols (*triobolion*), as in Chalcædon (see above). ι represents the obol, η (l. 8) the half-obol, as at Orchomenus.¹¹ The sole difficulty centres round the conclusion of the second numeral-group of l. 18, $\varsigma\Delta\tau\Delta\iota\iota$. Someone has blundered, of that I am convinced: the Δ

¹⁰ This is not contradicted by the occurrence in l. 29 of a sum expressed in drachmas, for (i) drachmas and staters are found side by side in other Boeotian documents, e.g. *I.G.* vii. 2419, 2678; (ii) the number of drachmas is written out in words, as if to indicate that the amounts were reserved for sums expressed in

staters; (iii) the word *δραχμα* is prefixed to the number in l. 20, but never to the numeral signs.

¹¹ The ϵ at the end of the numeral group in l. 9 I take to be part of a ς rather than the sign for $\frac{1}{2}$ obol.

cannot recur after the τ , nor is it a mistake for ι since we have five obols apart from it.

The remaining texts may be briefly dismissed. *I.G.* vii. 1738 resembles 1737 in its numerals, save that Φ appears in l. 2 for the drachma and the form Γ^{π} rather than $\Gamma\epsilon$ represents 50. To the same group belong 1740 (in l. 4 the Φ of the transcription should be Ψ , as Lolling's copy shows), 1741 (in l. 15 the true reading is probably Ψ , as in l. 9, rather than $\epsilon\Psi$) and 1742; 1743, which contains the numbers ι , Δ and $\Gamma\epsilon$ may belong to the second century, and 1744, a subscription list, in which the sum Φ is preserved four times, is considerably later, to judge from the appearance in it of the cursive form $\lambda\lambda$.

Omitting these last two inscriptions, we may tabulate our results thus adding for purposes of comparison the very similar Orchomenian system:

VALUE	THESPIAE		ORCHOMENUS
	<i>I.G.</i> vii. 1737 etc. <i>R.C.H.</i> xii. 553	<i>R.E.G.</i> x. 26	<i>I.G.</i> vii. 3171
10000	—	M	M
5000	Ψ^{π} ?	—	Ψ
1000	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ
500	$\Gamma\epsilon$	$\Gamma\epsilon$	$\Gamma\epsilon$
200	$\Gamma\epsilon$	$\Gamma\epsilon$	—
100	$\Gamma\epsilon$	$\Gamma\epsilon$	$\Gamma\epsilon$
50	$\Gamma\epsilon$ $\Gamma\epsilon$ Γ^{π}	$\Gamma\epsilon$	$\Gamma\epsilon$
20	Φ Φ Φ	—	Φ
10	Φ	Δ	Φ
5	Ψ	Γ	—
1	—	ι	—
1 stater	Σ	—	—
1 dr.	Δ Φ	ι	ι
2 ob.	Ψ Γ	—	—
1 ob.	ι	ι	\circ
$\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	H <	—	H

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GREEK MUSIC.

THE general conviction that the true nature of ancient Greek music is practically incomprehensible in modern times arises from many causes, of which the most potent are:—

1. That hitherto all explanations have been based on the extant formal treatises, which deal either with the decadent elaborations of solo cithara-playing, or the purely theoretical calculations of the self-styled Pythagorean school, which latter professedly despised the actual performance of music.

2. The attempts to elucidate the subject make no allowance for the fact that the extant specimens of noted music extend over a period of at least eight centuries, and no one explanation is likely to fit either the whole of these or the casual references to music to be found in general Greek literature.

3. Thanks mainly to Aristoxenus, the modern mind has become so permeated by the quarter-tone theory of the enharmonic genus, that even so simple a record as the celebrated Euripides fragment has been generally interpreted as involving this minute interval. The arguments against this theory, at least as regards vocal music, are weighty and almost conclusive; but their full development requires more space than is available here.

This article is an attempt to summarise the main conclusions arrived at from a careful consideration of authenticated history, the representations of musical instruments, the complete notation, and the casual references to music of various Greek writers, especially Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch. It is manifestly impossible to give the authority for each statement, but a few of the more important references will be given.

It seems most profitable to begin with a brief chronological survey of the subject. The first solid ground from which we can start is the existence of the Sacred Enharmonic Conjoint Scale,¹ represented in our nomenclature (in ascending order) by the letters

E F F \sharp A B \flat B \sharp D.

The main reasons for certainty on this point are the universal tradition that the enharmonic was older than the diatonic, the fact that these notes are

¹ Greek scales are built up of two groups of four notes, called tetrachords, contained within the limits of a Fourth. When the upper tetrachord and the lower have one note in common, the system is called Conjoint (*synemmenon*), and the scale consists of seven notes only; if the upper tetrachord is separated from the lower by the interval of a tone, the system is called Disjunct (*diemmenon*) and the scale comprises an octave.

² The Greek scales are built up of two groups of four notes, called tetrachords, contained within the limits of a Fourth. When the upper tetrachord and the lower have one note in common, the system is called Conjoint (*synemmenon*), and the scale consists of seven notes only; if the upper tetrachord is separated from the lower by the interval of a tone, the system is called Disjunct (*diemmenon*) and the scale comprises an octave.

represented without variation in the fifteen varieties of notation usually known as modes, and the consideration that the approximate date of the introduction of the octave system is well known.

Indeed, without any appeal to history or notation, a very strong initial probability in favour of its superior antiquity appears in the construction of the scale itself. It is well known that the Greeks determined their intervals by the notes given by different lengths of string cut off from a *Kanon* (or monochord). This apparatus consisted (see Claudius Ptolemaeus, I. 8, p. 18, Wallis, with diagram) of a single stretched string, with a fixed stopping-point in the middle called the *magas*, and a movable boss, called the *hypogogenes* (Scholium in marg. MS. Harmonicorum Ptolemaei Bibl. Reg. l. i. c. 8) 'which is used in the canon for various ratios, so that whatever parts are desired may be cut off from the string to produce the corresponding sound.' If then the string were so stretched that the *magas* gave the highest note of either of the Sacred Enharmonic tetrachords, the other three notes would be obtained by adding to this length by means of the shifting *hypogogenes* its third, fourth, and fifth parts respectively. It may be asked why the simplest fraction, i.e. the half, was omitted. The answer is that such an addition would have produced the fifth below the starting-tone; and, strange as it may seem to the non-musical reader, it is absolutely impossible to form any system based upon the fifth as an interval in which all the fifths shall be perfect,* and also the thirds.

The next development in Greek music was the introduction of the Diatonic Genus; probably borrowed from Asiatic or Egyptian sources: at any rate, the most ancient of the Hebrew melodies used in the synagogues at the present day show a very strong diatonic feeling, and their inspiration must have been either Asiatic or Egyptian.

The Diatonic Tetrachord retained the method of obtaining the two lowest notes by adding a third and a fourth respectively to the length of string required for the highest note, but the awkward gap between this latter and the next lower one was diminished by the device of cutting off one-sixth from the length of string needed for the lowest note. Thus we get the Dorian Diatonic Conjunct Scale, in our notation:—

E F G A B \flat C D.

In addition to the intrinsic historical importance of this scale, there are two points in connexion with it of extreme interest as exemplifying the passion of the Greek mind for the conservation of a perfect form of art when another nation would have discarded it in favour of a newer and more complex form. After the introduction of the octave scale, the seven strings of the *chelys* continued to be tuned to this scale certainly up to the time of Plato, and probably of Aristotle; and the retention of the letters for it in the

* Our modern justly intoned scale is represented by the vibration numbers

C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C
24	27	30	32	36	40	45	48

and the fifth from D to A is represented by the ratio $\frac{11}{10}$, which differs from the true ratio by a 'Comma' ($\frac{1}{11}$).

notation served and still serves as the absolute measure of the pitch of the latest development of Greek scales. These points, however, must be deferred for later explanation. If anyone should doubt the efficiency of such a scale for musical expression, it may be pointed out that the melody of our National Anthem is strictly confined within its limits.

The latter half of the seventh century B.C. marks a crucial epoch in the history of Greek music—the introduction of the Octave System. This period covers the fall of the Phrygian kingdom, the official recognition of flute-playing by Sparta, and the life and work of Terpander. It is suggested that the fall of Phrygia may have played a part in the history of Greek music similar to the influence on Western learning and literature of the sack of Constantinople in the Middle Ages. At any rate, internal evidence of the Greek instrumental notation proves that the Phrygian was the oldest instrumental notation, and was based upon the octave principle. Leaving the region of surmise and conjecture, and returning to authenticated history, it is beyond doubt that Terpander during this period adapted the Octave System to the kithara. The seemingly contradictory statements about this great man have caused some to doubt his existence, but, if time and space permitted, it could be shown that statements which appear to be categorical denials of one another have each their foundation in fact when rightly interpreted. Suffice it to say here that the so-called 'Defective Scale of Terpander,' which was really a tuning of the strings of the kithara, was

E F G A B D E

And now it is necessary to say a few words about the characteristics of the two typical forms of Greek lyre—the *chelys* and the *kithara*.

The *chelys* was a slightly built instrument, having at this stage seven strings and a tortoise-shell body, not provided with any means of modifying the pitch of any string during performance. It was the instrument of domestic and private art.

The *kithara* was of very solid construction, furnished with a capacious sounding-box, and at this stage provided with seven strings, and stops which allowed the original note of each string to be raised a semitone by the pressure of the left forefinger. The principle of this semitone stopping is now generally conceded; but in case any doubter should remain, he ought to be convinced by the following passage from Plato (*Philebus*, 56):—

καὶ ξύμπασα αὐτῷ ψαλτικῇ, τὸ μέτρον ἐκάστης χορδῆς τῇ στοχάζεσθαι φερούμεν θηρεύονσα, ὥστε πολλὸν μεμνημένον ἔχειν τὸ μὴ σαφές, σμικρὸν δὲ τὸ βίβαιον. [In all lyre-playing the pitch of each note is hunted for and guessed; so that it is mixed up with much that is uncertain, and contains little that is steady.]

The *kithara* was pre-eminently the professional instrument. Not only was it used in all public performances, but the *kitharist* was the teacher of all music, including the *chelys*.

The possibilities of Terpander's tuning can at once be seen by the

following table, in which stopped notes are shown by italic small letters. The kithara could thus play these scales:—

Enharmonic Conjunct	E	F	<i>fz</i>	A	<i>bz</i>	B	D.
Diatonic Conjunct	<i>E</i>	F	G	A	<i>bz</i>	<i>c</i>	D.
Diatonic Disjunct	E	F	G	A	B	<i>c</i>	D E.

The relation to the Octave System of the seven-stringed *chelys*, unprovided with any mechanism for semitone-stopping, demands consideration, though it seems so far either to have escaped or evaded attention. How could a seven-stringed instrument play an eight-note scale? The answer would appear to be that the upper octave of the lowest note was 'magadised,' *i.e.* played as a harmonic, on the lowest string.

The evidence for such a statement and all that it implies is necessarily indirect, as both Aristoxenus and Plutarch complain, the former that the older musicians left incomplete and unsatisfactory records behind them, the latter that the older or paedecutical style is almost forgotten in his time. In an article of this length such evidence must be confined to a single testimony, that of Aristotle (*Prob.* xix. 18): 'Why is the concord of the octave alone sounded (on the lyre)? For they magadise that, but no other.'

It may also be pointed out that no other means of producing the eighth note has yet been suggested; that the *chelys* had only seven strings, and no visible method of stopping for nearly the whole of the 'Best Period' of Greek art, if we are to trust the vase pictures; and, quite incidentally, that the same method of producing the octave is at present in use by Welsh harpists. The controversial point as to the meaning of the word *μαγάδεις*, from which *μαγαδίσειν* is derived, is here noticed, though space does not admit of its discussion. It is to be noted that vase pictures show that the *chelys* admitted of semitone modification in *tuning* (not during performance) by means of thongs plaited on the tuning bar, and engaging the strings, capable of being tightened or relaxed at will.

With the Octave System established, and the means provided for altering the note emitted by a string either of *chelys* or kithara, the next development² of Greek music would naturally be in the direction of altering the intermediate notes of the Tetrachord.

These variations gave rise to different scales which were known by the name of *ᾠπορίαί*. (Monro notices that the word *ᾠπορία* is used for a scale down to the time of Aristotle, being afterwards replaced by *τρόπος* or *τόνος*, but does not attempt to explain the significance of the change.)

This system of scales, which lasted up to the time of Pythagoras without a rival, can best be explained in connexion with the thonged *chelys* which continued to use it at least down to the time of Aristotle. For convenience' sake,³ let us number the thongs capable of raising each string thus:—

² It is not intended to affirm that this had not been done before, but we have no record of it direct or indirect.

³ As a matter of fact, 1 and 4 were *ἀσφύγγιστοι*, and were not modified.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E	F	G	A	B ₇	C	D

The tightening of thong 5 produced the Dorian *ápuvía* :—

E	F	G	A	B ₇	C	D	E
---	---	---	---	----------------	---	---	---

By tightening 2, 5, and 6 was obtained the Phrygian *ápuvía* :—

E	F ₇	G	A	B ₇	C ₇	D	E
---	----------------	---	---	----------------	----------------	---	---

For some unknown reason, possibly connected with its alien origin, the Lydian *ápuvía* was of a lower pitch and needed a preliminary slackening of all the strings by a turn of the tuning-bar. The thongs 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7 were then tightened, and the result, as nearly as it can be expressed in modern notation, was :—

E ₇	F	G	A ₇	B ₇	C	D	E ₇
----------------	---	---	----------------	----------------	---	---	----------------

This appears to be exactly like our modern scale of E₇ major, but it must be remembered that the key-note (*Méon*) was not E₇, but A₇.

Another set of *ápuvía*i was obtained by screwing up the strings by means of the tuning-bar. These, known as the Ionian, Aeolian, and Syntonolydian, will be shown when dealing with the notation.

There remains but one other *ápuvía*, the Mixo-Lydian, and this was produced by leaving all seven strings slack, so that the seven lowest notes corresponded exactly with those of the Conjunet System. The scale was

E	F	G	A	B ₇	C	D	E
---	---	---	---	----------------	---	---	---

This scale played as we play a modern scale has a most weird effect, and many people have doubted whether such a sequence can ever have been accepted as a scale; but if the experiment be tried on the piano of starting on A, descending stepwise to the E, ascending thence to the upper E, and returning to the A, the effect will not be found at all unsatisfactory. Before quitting this branch of the subject for a time, let it be pointed out, that as there were seven strings to the lyre, so there were seven *ápuvía*i to be played upon it, a state of things eminently satisfactory to the logical minds of the philosophers.

With the advent of Pythagoras² comes a new crisis in the history of Greek music. Perceiving the inconvenience of re-tuning in passing from one scale to another, he added an eighth string to the kithara, with the object of avoiding such necessity, at any rate in the case of two scales, the Dorian and the Phrygian. This contribution to the development of Greek music has been erroneously described as 'completing the octave' (*sc.* the so-called incomplete scale of Terpander). This is obviously absurd: even if we could imagine the Greeks using such a defective scale for a century and a half, it is well known that Pythagoras recommended that all melodies should be confined within the compass of an octave, a ridiculous precept unless the available compass of the kithara were greater. It appears that, recognizing

² fl. 546-510 B.C.

the identity of the last seven notes of the Phrygian *ᾠδὴ* with the first seven notes of the Dorian as regards succession of intervals, he added another string to the kithara tuned to the lower D, and thus created the Phrygian *τρόπος* :—

D E F G A B C D.

And here we have the beginning of the great schism in Greek music. The theatrical players on the kithara eagerly seized upon and further developed the idea of playing the various scales by extension of compass instead of re-tuning, while the philosophic and conservative element passionately repudiated the innovation and clung to the old *ᾠδὴ*. These latter, as Aristoxenus shows,* were the school known as the Harmonikoi; it is a mistake to suppose that the Greeks were divided into two opposing schools, Harmonikoi and Pythagorikoi. Aristoxenus betrays an equal contempt for both; and, whereas the Pythagorikoi concerned themselves neither with the varieties of scales nor the practical performance of music, the real division was between the upholders of the ancient *ᾠδὴ* and the advocates of the *θεατρικὴν τρόπον*.

This seems a suitable place for an earnest protest against the use of the word 'Mode' in connexion with Greek music. The Roman ecclesiastical modes, from which the word has been borrowed, are admittedly different from the systems bearing the same names in Greek music; and the greatest confusion has been caused by the translation of *ᾠδὴ* and *τρόπος*, two names belonging to conflicting systems, by the single word 'Mode.' If the student of philosophy will read his Plato again, taking *ᾠδὴ* not as abstract harmony, nor as a 'mode,' but as a Harmonia such as has been described, he will find that many of the comparisons with human life acquire an increased aptness and significance.

The principle of the *τρόπος* having been established, its votaries were not slow in extending its application. Whether the extension was made by Pythagoras or his followers there is no evidence; but it is plain that the omission of the F and the depression of the lowest string to C would give the Lydian tropos in addition to the other two. The stopped notes are given in italics :—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
C D E *f* G A B *c* D E

And as a further extension, the lowering of the lowest string to B would give the Mixo-Lydian tropos as well as the other three :—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
B *c* D E *f* G A B *c* D E

It is equally obvious that this eight-stringed kithara would play the Syntono-Lydian tropos :—

(3) 4 5 6 7 8
f G A B *c* D E *f*.

At some undefined period during this stage the names Mixolydian and Syntonolydian fell out of use, being replaced respectively by Hyperdorian and Hypolydian.

Any further development of the kitharistic system would evidently be in the shape of the addition of strings, the creation of new *trópoi* naturally accompanying them.

Phrynis (fl. c. 445 B.C.) added a ninth string to the kithara, which implies the invention of the Hypophrygian tropes:—

(B c D E f) G A B c D E f G.

Aristophanes here supplies us with a passage¹ not only descriptive of Phrynis but incidentally strongly confirmatory of the distinction between Harmoniai and Tropoi:—

"And then he used to teach him to learn a song, in the correct position for lyre-playing (*literally*, without crossing his legs), such as "Dread Pallas, conqueror of cities," or "A Far-flung Cry," straining to a higher pitch the harmonia which our fathers handed down to us (i.e. using the Hypophrygian tropes). But if any of them should seek to tickle the ear by tricks of art, as by executing flourishes such as those intricate ones that the moderns use after the example of Phrynis, he used to be beaten with many stripes for obscuring the Muses."

Melamippides (died before 412 B.C.) added a tenth string, thus making possible the Hypodorian tropes.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
[B c D E f G] A B c D E f G A.

Timotheus (446–357 B.C.) added an eleventh string to the kithara, the lowest one (*proslambanomenos*), making possible the Hyperdorian tropes, and extending the compass of the instrument to a double octave:—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
A B c D E f G A B c D E f G A.

Although no special significance seems to attach to the point, it is interesting to observe that, throughout all these additions to the strings of the lyre, A, the original Mese of the lyre, remains as nearly as possible the middle string.

The subsequent extension of all tropoi to the compass of the double octave resulted in the destruction of all distinctive character in the various tropoi, so that Aristotle could say² that the Phrygian tropos was so eminently suited for dithyrambic composition that a poet trying to compose a dithyramb in another tropos was likely to pass unawares into the Phrygian. The same tendency to exuberance extended to the intonation. Solo kitharists in the contests vied one with another as to who could produce a new and original tuning of his instrument, so that Aristoxenus defines at least six of these tunings; and these vagaries, aggravated by the mathematical

¹ *Clouds*, 981 *et seq.*

² *Pol.* viii. 7.

The accompanying diagram of four of the classic Harmoniai as reconstructed from the vocal notation, with the approximate modern equivalents, should almost explain itself. The scales are arranged in descending musical order to make clearer the alphabetical relations of the notes, and the Coniunct Enharmonic Scale has been added for several reasons, one being that it serves in a measure to co-ordinate the rather conflicting testimony of the other scales, and another that it uses the letter N which is not to be found in any of the Harmoniai. The modern musical equivalents are described as approximate, because the Lydian was not exactly a semitone below, nor the Ionian exactly a semitone above, the norm of the Dorian and the Phrygian.

VOCAL NOTATION OF THE HARMONIAL.

Dorian	Γ		Η		Λ	Μ		Π		Τ		Υ	Ω
Phrygian	Γ		Θ	Ι	Μ		Π		Υ	Φ		Ω	
Lydian		Ε	Ζ		Ι	Μ		Ρ	Σ		Φ		Ω
Ionian	Α		Ζ		Ι	Χ		Ο	Κ		Φ	Χ	
Coniunct Enharmonic			Η			Ν	Ο	Π			Χ	Υ	Ω

APPROXIMATE MODERN MUSICAL EQUIVALENTS.

Dorian	E		D		C	B		A		G		F	E
Phrygian	E		D	C♯		B		A		G	F♯		E
Lydian		E♭	D		C	B♭		A♭	G		F		E♭
Ionian	F		E♭		D♭	C		B♭	A♭		G♭	F	
Coniunct Enharmonic			D			B	B♭	A			F♯	F	E

EQUIVALENTS OF FIRST THREE AS TROPOL

Dorian	E		D		C	B		A		G		F	E
Phrygian	D			C	B		A		G		F	E	D
Lydian		C	B		A		G		F	E		D	C

But whether this theory of the Harmoniai be accepted or rejected, valuable results as to the intonation of Greek music are obtainable from a study of this notation (which also undoubtedly served for the Tropoi, usually called Modes). Before proceeding to this investigation, we must, however, exclude from our purview the Ionian scale, which does not conform to the rules observed in the others, and was described by Heraclides Ponticus as 'a strange aberration in the form of the musical scale.'

The first point that strikes the attention is the absolute symmetry of the two tetrachords in each of the three scales as written down. A further scrutiny will show that the letters Δ and Ξ (or N) are lacking in the scheme. This is a very important omission, and one which goes a long way towards

proving that the Greeks used what we call just intonation in the tuning of their scales; also that they were aware of the inherent imperfection of the justly-intoned scale, viz. that the D a true fourth above A, and the D a true fifth above G differ by the small interval ($\frac{25}{24}$) known as a 'Comma.' In their anxiety to preserve continuity between the older Conjunct System and the Octave System, they were scrupulous in providing that both D's, though theoretically differing by a comma, should be represented by the same letter. The difficulty of computing the size of intervals on a uniform plan they got over by pretending that the tone of separation between the two tetrachords was a minor tone, instead of a major tone. This, however, landed them in fresh difficulties as regards the size of various fifths; and their way of overcoming these was to reserve the letter N for the Dorian Conjunct Enharmonic, not using it for other scales; while they counted it in or omitted it in counting as was necessary in computing intervals. A similar device was used with regard to the letters Δ and E. The complete proof of these statements would be cumbersome to give, and somewhat dull to the non-musical expert; but it may be stated that in the complete notation, where the letters have to be repeated with a dash to mark an octave, the letter Δ' is frankly ignored altogether, as none of these counting difficulties appear in that portion of the scale.

This parallelism of N and Ξ (and of Δ and E) being conceded, the consistency of the Greek notation becomes almost ideal. If we remember that the Greek mental picture of an interval would be the addition or subtraction of a certain length of string on the kanon, we shall see how closely it corresponds with actuality. The intervals of the Dorian tetrachord in ascending order are E-F (hemitone), F-G (major tone) and G-A (minor tone). The string-lengths corresponding to these four notes (EFGA) when expressed in the smallest whole numbers are 48, 45, 40, and 36. It will thus be seen that the intervals between them expressed as length-differences (not as ratios) would be

Hemitone	.	.	.	3.
Major Tone	.	.	.	5.
Minor Tone	.	.	.	4.

Now if we examine the equivalents of the three tropoi given in the last table, counting both initial and final letters in the lengths of our steps (as we do in modern harmony), we shall find throughout that

E-F = Step of 2	=	B-C = Hemitone.
F-G = " " 5	=	C-D = Major Tone.
G-A = " " 4	=	D-E = Minor Tone.

The interval A-B, the tone of separation, does not count in the tetrachordal system, and we have already shown the dodge by which the Greeks avoided its difficulty. It may be of interest to show that the older conjunct system had no such difficulty, and exhibited no weak or ambiguous point. The capital letters indicate the notes, and the small letters between show the

measure of the interval: the modern equivalents of the notes are given above.

E F		G		A B \flat		C		D
$\Omega \Psi$	$\chi \phi \nu$	τ	$\sigma \rho$	$\Pi \Theta$	$\xi \mu \lambda$	κ	$\iota \theta$	H
Homotone	Major Tone		Minor Tone	Homotone	Major Tone		Minor Tone	

The subject of Greek intonation has received considerable attention for many centuries, the arguments in favour of one view or another having been mainly derived from the various treatises from Aristoxenus to Boethius, with occasional references to the vocal notation. The parallel system of instrumental notation, however, seems to have been strangely neglected so much so, that Grove's *Dictionary of Music* states that 'no rational explanation of the instrumental notation has yet been offered.' This is doubtless largely due to the uncouth appearance of the characters used—a happy hunting-ground for the epigraphist. But wherever the strange-looking signs may have come from, the principle on which they are used is sufficiently clear, and valuable results are obtainable from an analysis of that use. The governing factor in this notation is the use of three positions of the same letter to indicate (as a rule) three adjacent notes distant a semitone from one another. To give an example, E represents the lowest of such a group of three, ω (the letter turned on its side) the middle note, and \exists (the letter reversed) the highest. The signs thus treated are E R h E t r f F C K < C, and there are in addition a number of isolated characters, notably Π , Σ , Υ . Now if we consider the grouping of the notes of the enharmonic genus (octave system), the probable use of each will spring to the eye:—

E F F \sharp A B C C \sharp E

An examination of the table of scales will amply confirm this impression, as can be seen from the following excerpt of the normal octave in the three classic scales:—

INSTRUMENTAL NOTATION (OCTAVE ENHARMONIC)

NOTE.	GREEK NAME.	PHRYGIAN.	LYDIAN.	DORIAN.
E	Note . . .	Z	4	N
F \sharp	Paranete . . .	>	3	Δ
C	Trite . . .	v	2	λ
B	Paramese . . .	<	1	7
A	Mese . . .	7	<	3
F \sharp	Lichanos . . .	3	3	\wedge
F	Pathyate . . .	2	2	λ
E	Hypate . . .	F	1	f

From this portion of the table alone it seems probable that the Phrygian was the oldest instrumental octave scale (the apparent probability increases if we examine the whole table). For it will be observed that the Lydian notation borrows its sign for Mese from the Phrygian Paramese, and the Dorian takes its Paramese from the Phrygian Mese, and its Mese from the Lydian Lichanes. A minor point, on which no stress need be laid, is that the Phrygian notation is wholly rectilinear, and this holds good even when extended to the double octave.

Particular attention is requested to the Dorian notation for B, C, and C \sharp . The lowest note, Paramese, is borrowed from the Mese of the (supposed) primitive Phrygian notation, but its modifications according to the regular plan ($\Pi \subset \cup$) would conflict with the signs for the corresponding portion of the Lydian scale. It is suggested that when the flute was officially received into Greek music, the Spartans gave the national stamp to the Dorian notation by employing two regularly-reversed positions of the sign (Λ) which was inscribed on the Spartan shields.¹¹

Another point of interest in this notation is that it supplies in its clearest form one of the many arguments against the theory that the enharmonic genus proceeded by steps of a quarter-tone.¹² The diatonic semitone (E to F, and B to C) is represented by a step of two, i.e. from one letter to the succeeding one, in the diatonic genus, and the same signs are used for the enharmonic. It seems initially probable, therefore, that the letters would stand for the same notes in the two genera. But the next step of the enharmonic genus (F to F \sharp , and C to C \sharp , as I maintain) is also represented by a step of two; so that if the quarter-tone theory be correct, the letter which stands for F in the diatonic genus does not represent F in the enharmonic, while the enharmonic F is represented by the succeeding letter. This seems strange enough; but a more convincing negative proof arises from the Ionian and Aeolian group of scales, six in all. This group is so obviously artificial in its notation that it would be unsafe to rely on it to prove any positive point; but an examination of its scales reveals the fact that all the upper intervals of the groups of three notes, i.e. all the intervals from F to F \sharp and from C to C \sharp consist of a *step of three*, proceeding from one sign to the next but one above it. As this occurs more than twenty times in the various scales, it can scarcely be regarded as an accident; and whether it proves anything positive or not, it seems fairly clear that such a step did not represent a quarter-tone, especially as a smaller step represents, in these scales as well as the others, a half-tone.

Another statement, founded on some of the treatises, made about the Greeks is that they habitually used the so-called Pythagorean tuning, with its peculiarly disagreeable thirds.

This system was undoubtedly worked out with much mathematical

¹¹ See Gilbert Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 49.

¹² It would be idle to deny that such steps

were sometimes used, and much written about; but they were vagaries of the solo kitharist and the theorist.

ingenuity by the theorists; but apart from the known love of the Greeks for beauty, can anyone believe that the string-lengths of the *kanon* for the notes of the scale computed by Aristides Quintilianus were ever in actual use as a basis for the tuning of the lyre or for guidance in singing? For the purpose of comparison they are here given side by side with the numbers expressing justly-intoned string-lengths.

NOTE.	RELATIVE STRING-LENGTHS.	
	Aristid. Quint.	Just Intonation.
E	3072	31
D	3456	27
C	3888	30
B	4096	32
A	4608	36
G	5184	40
F	5832	45
E	6144	48

This summary ought not to end without the statement that while an endeavour has been made to clear away from this subject some of the mists that have obscured it for so many centuries, there is no intention of belittling either Greek delicacy of ear or artistic perception. On the one hand, if the theories outlined here are correct, the Greek perception of tone-difference must have been far in advance of anything we can conceive in these days of 'equal temperament'; though this very delicacy of appreciation led at length to a vitiation of taste among the virtuosi like the passion for very 'high' game among gourmets; and in this connexion it is interesting to note Plutarch's remark¹² that 'the later Greeks preferred the surviving archaic intervals.' On the artistic side of the question, it should be stated that all the known examples of Greek music when interpreted on the lines suggested are singable and enjoyable at the present time; the two enharmonic *hyms* could be sung at sight by a fairly trained choir boy, and some of the later works show so keen a melodic sense that it is quite easy to supply them with modern harmonies as accompaniment, although of course the chordal sequences existed only in the minds of the composers.

J. CURTIS.

¹² *De Musica*, 37, 39.

A MARBLE HEAD FROM CYPRUS.

[PLATE I.]

THE marble head which is described in the present paper, and which is represented in the accompanying Plate, was lately acquired by the Cyprus Museum, and now forms part of the collections which have at last found in the new building a home worthy of their great archaeological importance.

The history of the head is somewhat obscure. According to the information I received, the head was lying for more than twenty years in the storehouse of a certain dyer in Nicosia, and was lately sold to a coffee-house keeper, from whom it was secured for the Museum. From the same dyer were bought about twenty years ago by Mr. E. Constantinides two marble statuettes, the provenance of which was given at the time as the site of the ancient *Lapethos*. It is therefore most probable that our head, as sharing with the two marble statuettes the imprisonment in the dyer's cellar, may have come from the same place, though of course this suggestion is by no means certain.

The head belongs to one of the well-known class of statues, the so-called 'Apollos,' whether these represent the god himself or an athlete or are just funerary statues. It is of natural size, the length from the upper part of the forehead to the lower part of the chin being 8 inches and the circumference round the forehead 26 inches. It has been broken off from the body at the upper part of the neck, the fracture at the back being somewhat higher. The right eye is partly destroyed by a cut, which has also taken off part of the right cheek. The lower part of the nose is broken off near the nostrils, and the curls over the forehead are somewhat damaged. Except these small defects, the head is in excellent preservation.

The hair radiates from the top of the head in thin straight lines, formally arranged in triangular groups of ten lines each separated by a deeper groove. Over the forehead the hair ends in a projecting mass faced with two rows of conventional spiral curls; from the back it is drawn in two long plaits, which encircle the head and are joined over the forehead.

The eyes are rather small, with the eyeball less prominent than in statues of more archaic period. They are shadowed by thick projecting eyelids, the first device to throw the eye into shadow and to give it more expression.

In the mouth the conventional archaic smile is not apparent: it consists merely of two shallow curves, tending downwards in the middle, where the two are joined together at an angle, and at the outer ends. The cheeks are smooth, without the prominent cheek-bones and jaws of the earlier style.

The head, generally, in technique and appearance, may be compared with the Strangford Apollo of the British Museum and the Apollo from Mount Ptoos of the Athens Museum. It must belong to the last years of the archaic period, and may be assigned to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. It seems rather to belong to a Peloponnesian school of art, which may well be the fact, if the head comes from Lapethos, a colony of Lacedaemonians under Proxandros.¹

A marble torso of an archaic Apollo, now in the British Museum,² was found at Marion; but this is, to the best of my knowledge, the first archaic head of the Apollo type which has been found in the island, and as such is a valuable acquisition of the Cyprus Museum.

N. S. 1911.

M. MARRIOTT.

¹ *Stirabo*, *liv.* 682.

² *B.M. Catalogue of Sculpture*, No. 227.

A STATUE OF A HELLENISTIC KING.

[PLATE II.]

THE statue reproduced on PL. II. was found two years ago in the village of Atfih which lies about forty-five miles south of Cairo on the edge of the eastern desert. Atfih preserves the name and occupies the site of the ancient *Per nebt tep aht*,¹ the city of the cow-headed goddess Hathor. The Greeks, who identified Hathor with their own Aphrodite, translated the name into Aphroditopolis. The ruins of the town are covered by the modern village, but in the adjoining desert is a large cemetery, mainly of the Ptolemaic period, which Mr. Johnson has recently excavated in search of Greek papyrus.²

The statue was found accidentally by a labourer digging in the village and was secured for the Cairo Museum by the local Inspector of the Antiquities Department. It is made of a block of rather soft limestone and is considerably more than life size, the height of the figure without the plinth being 2'05 in. Both forearms are missing. The right leg from knee to ankle and parts of the left leg are restored in plaster. The features are badly damaged. There are no remains of paint or gilding on the surface of the limestone.

From various details, which will be mentioned afterwards, it is evident that the statue is the portrait of a Ptolemaic king. He stands with right foot drawn back, the toes alone resting on the ground, though of course the wedge of limestone between the heel and the plinth is not cut away. His head is held erect and his gaze is turned slightly to his right. His shoulders are drawn up a little, so that the outline of the thorax is very prominent; allowance made for the attitude, it must be admitted that the chest is unnaturally short in proportion to the lower part of the trunk. The upper edge of the pubes forms a round arch.

It is uncertain what the action of the right arm has been, but it seems that the forearm was clear of the body, as there are no marks of contact. The left hand was raised and probably rested on a spear. On some Ptolemaic coins, those of Epiphanes in particular, a spear-head protrudes from behind the left shoulder of the king; on those of Euergetes the spear is replaced by

¹ In Coptic *Tpāh*, whence the Arabic *Atfih*.

² *Archaeological Report of Egypt Exploration Fund, 1910-1911*, p. 5.

a trident, no doubt in allusion to the sea-power of Egypt; while on some of the queens' coins the head is surmounted by the tip of a sceptre. In all probability the royal statues were similarly represented with spear and trident and sceptre; and for the statue in Cairo the most appropriate attribute would be the spear.

Over the king's left arm hangs a small aegis. This was one of the attributes assumed by the Ptolemies after the example of Alexander the Great. On the coins, both of Alexander and of the Ptolemies, it is fastened round the neck like a cloak. On the statue it is merely thrown over the arm, as for instance it is borne by Zeus Promachos on the Bactrian coins of the third century B.C. The Medousa-mask, which is rather battered and does not show clearly in the photograph, has deep-sunk eyes and contracted brows in the Hellenistic style. In the early Ptolemaic age the same pathetic type begins to appear among the terracotta Medousa-masks which were used for decorating the wooden coffins of Naukratis and Memphis.¹ A serpent-knot is visible below the chin of the Medousa. The sides of the aegis are turned over, showing the smooth back in contrast with the scales in front, and the edge is fringed by serpents. This border, however, is not continued round the foot of the aegis, which has thus an unfinished appearance.

A tree-stump beside the left leg affords the necessary support. Behind the stump reaches up to the hip, hiding the outline of the leg. On the left side of the figure, a little below the aegis, is a rectangular hole in which a horizontal support of wood or metal seems to have been stuck. The object of this is not quite clear. It cannot have been used to support the arm, nor was any support necessary for the spear, the end of which would naturally be planted on the ground. If again the figure had worn a sword and belt, there would probably have been other traces of attachment. For want of a more convincing explanation I hazard the suggestion that the aegis as we see it is not complete, that a part of it hung farther down, and that this piece was added in plaster and supported by a bar projecting from the side of the statue. The back of the left arm is in fact very rough and incomplete, and there are some smears of plaster round about, whether these be the result of accident or remains of the original work. There is also a break on the left flank, but this I think is merely accidental.

If the head were wanting, one could not say with certainty that the statue is that of a king: the aegis and the attitude would be equally appropriate to an image of Zeus. But damaged as it is, the head is clearly the portrait of a human being. A fringe of hair is brushed forward round the forehead, in a manner characteristic of several of the successors of Alexander, but not of any Greek god. Short 'mutton-chop' whiskers cover the upper part of the cheeks. A diadem, such as is regularly worn by Hellenistic kings, encircles the head: it forms a broad flat band, narrowing behind; the surface is rather rough and may have been originally covered with a strip of gold leaf or other material. Of mortal men only a king could be thus

¹ *Catalogue du Musée du Caire*, *Coffins, Masques, and Portraits*, Pl. II.

represented with the aegis and the diadem; and a king to whom a statue was erected, in honour or in worship in a minor Egyptian town, must have been one who bore rule in Egypt.

Looking through the coins of the Ptolemies I find certain resemblances between the head of the statue and several of the coin-portraits. The wide-open eyes, the strong chin, and the short whiskers would suit more than one of the descendants of Ptolemy Soter. But the coin-portraits which most closely resemble the statue, especially in the cut of the hair and the shape of the forehead, are those of Ptolemy II., and I therefore take the figure to be a representation of Philadelphus, spear in hand,—*ξανθοκόμος Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπιστάμενος ὅρου πᾶλλεν*.

In vol. xxvi. of this *Journal* I published two bronze statuettes representing the same king and his consort Arsinoë as the *θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί*.⁴ The statuette of Ptolemy carries the club of Herakles, from whom he traced his descent, and wears the elephant-cap of Alexander, from whom he derived his kingdom. The statue from Atfih is in like manner influenced by the cult of Alexander the Great. On Egyptian coins and bronzes Alexander is often represented wearing the aegis, and the Ptolemies after him adopted the same emblem on their coins and, as the present example shows, if example were needed, on their statues also. Moreover the general scheme of the figure seems to be derived from representations of Alexander with the spear. Certain small bronzes from the Delta,⁵ which have been claimed as copies of a famous work of Lysippus portray Alexander in a similar, though more energetic attitude; and evidently they reproduce a type which was current in Egypt, whoever its creator may have been. The head however, of the Atfih statue is a genuine portrait, influenced of course, as all portraits are, by the style of the age, but not idealized in the same way as the heads of Alexander.

C. C. EDGAR.

⁴ *Perdriest, Bronzes grecs de la collection Fouquet*, p. 39, doubts whether the statuettes represent the Philadelphoi and questions whether any Ptolemy would have ventured to be portrayed with the elephant-cap. With all respect to his judgment I think the identification is sufficiently proved by the likeness of the heads

to the coin-portraits, by the attributes, which are particularly appropriate to a king and queen of the Ptolemaic family, and by the provenance of the bronzes.

⁵ *Schreibet, Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders*; Collignon, *Lysippe*, Pl. 16.

THE LEGEND OF CADMUS AND THE LOGOGRAPHI.

I.

§ 1.—FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE PHOENICIAN THEORY.

IN an article in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*¹ I have endeavoured to show that the geography of Boeotia lends no support to the theory that the Cadmeans were Phoenicians. Yet from the fifth century onwards at least, there was a firmly established and, as far as we know, universally accepted tradition that they were—a tradition indeed lightly put aside by most modern scholars as unimportant. If the arguments from geography are sound, then this tradition must be learned theory, and theory only. That this is so cannot of course be proved: for the authors by whom it was established, if it was established, are lost to us. We cannot even show, for this theory itself, that it is probable; for the methods even of Herodotus, and his reasons for his theories, are often obscure. But if we can show that it is a possibility—and not a bare possibility, but a very natural one—then the arguments brought forward in the *Annual* can be allowed their full weight.

We must trace, if possible, the first notice of the Cadmeans as Phoenicians: bound up with this question is that of the first connexion of Cadmus with Europa. It may be as well first to give the genealogy and the main points of the complete story as it is told by the later mythographers, so that the fragments of the earlier authors may relate themselves to it more easily. The genealogy in Apollodorus² is as follows:—

¹ *B.S.A.* xviii. (1911-2).

² ii. 16 ff. (ed. Wagner, Teubner, 1894)
(story of the descendants of Belus as far as the
Heracleids), iii. 1 ff. (the descendants of Age-

nor). The 'Genealogy of the Catalogues' given
by Crusius, p. 233, as from Apollodorus and
the Hesiodic fragments, is mere contamination,
and altogether unjustified by the evidence.



The chief variations are two: Phoenix is often the brother of Agenor (both sons of Belus) and Europa, Cadmus and the rest his children (Europa, Cilix, and Phineus, children of Phoenix and Cassiopea); and Harmonia is the daughter either of Ares and Aphrodite in Thebes (all the earlier authorities apparently), or of the Atlantid Electra and Zeus in Samothrace, and sister of Eetion and Dardanus, and connected with the Cabiri there (already in the fifth century²). The main features of the story are: the rape of Europa from Sidon; the search, in which Phoenix, Cilix, Thasos, and Cadmus take part, and the consequent naming of the Phoenicians, the Cilicians, and Thasos; the journey of Cadmus (first, according to some, to Thrace, with Telephassa, who dies there) to Delphi, the famous oracle, and the founding of Thebes; his fight with the dragon; the Sparti, seed of the dragon's teeth; his marriage with Harmonia, to which all the gods came; and the final exile of Cadmus and Harmonia into Illyris. Subsidiary to the story is the invention of the alphabet, or its introduction into Greece from Phoenicia, by Cadmus.

(a) *The Epic.*

As is well known, Cadmus is only once mentioned in Homer, incidentally, as the father of Ino Leucothea;³ but the *Καδμείοι* or *Καδμείωνες* appear frequently, and always as the inhabitants of Thebes till the expedition of the Epigoni.⁴ Europa is referred to once as *Φοίνικος κοῦρη τηλεκλει-*

² See Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. Agenor, Phoenix, Harmonia, etc.

³ *Od.* v. 333. Most of the references in this chapter are to be found in the articles by Helbig and Crusius in Roscher, s.v. Europa and Kadmos. My arrangement and use of them is somewhat different. The latter of course I follow in his main conclusion; and, granted his two chief premises, that the *Teogony* gives us our oldest 'aufrichtliche Nach-

richt,' and that the sources of the tragedies are the epic poets, not the logographers, his article is an admirable statement of the evidence. But both his premises I dispute.

⁴ *Il.* iv. 285, s. 288, xiii. 680, etc.; *Od.* xi. 276. (It is noticeable that Homer always speaks of the inhabitants as Cadmeans, and of the town as Thebes. Aeschylus must indeed be following an old version of the story of the Seven, if it is to the point that he calls the

τοῖο,⁶ but her kinship with Phoenix does not, of course, mean necessarily that she was regarded as Phoenician. Semele too is mentioned once, and as resident in Thebes, and the mother of Dionysus.⁷ The fact that Europa and the Cadmeans are not called Phoenicians may be accidental, but is perhaps significant in view of the way in which Homer on occasions speaks of the Sidonians and their relations with the Achaeans or Trojans.

The Epic cycle gives us much the same evidence as Homer. Oedipus is, in the *Thebais*, the heir Κάδμου θεοφρονος,⁸ and the Κάδμειοι are the inhabitants of Thebes.⁹ But no positive argument either for or against the Phoenician theory can be drawn from these scanty fragments.

In 'Hesiod' we reach a wider field. In the *Theogony*, indeed, we hear only of Cadmus as the husband of Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and father by her of Ino, Semele mother of Dionysus, Agave, Autonoe whom Aristaeus married, and Polydorus ἐνσπεφύνη ἐν Θήβῃ.¹⁰ These lines, says Crusius, 'würde ganz in thebisch-boiotischen Verhältnissen.' Only in Thebes do we find these gods and heroes together. 'Das boiotische Gedicht vertritt boiotische Ueberlieferung.'¹¹ But there is little reason, beyond the agreement of scholars to support one another, to suppose that this series of poems, 'Catalogues' and the like, belongs particularly to Boeotia, or represents Boeotian tradition,¹² or that Boeotian tradition is more valuable than other traditions, as Crusius implies by his argument. Even if the *Theogony* is really by Hesiod (that is, by the author of the *Works and Days*, which is Boeotian,¹³) or by a fellow-countryman, we still have no reason at all to assume that he followed wholly, or specially, the local tradition. The *Theogony*, and the fragments, are cosmopolitan. However, from these few references Crusius assumes that in the oldest saga Cadmus was found in Boeotia only. 'Von der folgenschweren Verbindung des Kadmos mit Kreta und den weitgreifenden genealogischen Bezügen zu Phoinix, Belos, Nelloz findet sich keine Spur; auch scheint die Schwester

town ἡ Κάδμεια only, never ἑβδα. (Verrill, *ad. Septem*). In the *Iliad* the adjective Θηβαῖος only occurs once, of the Asiatic Thebes; in the *Odyssey* (x. 492, 565, xl. 90, 165, xii. 267, xxiii. 323) always in the phrase Θηβαῖον Τροῦσίαν.)

⁶ *Il.* xiv. 321-2. 'Die 9d. l. Sp. 1416 von Hölbig angeführte Hiasstelle gehört bekanntlich zu dem spätesten Interpolationen,' says Crusius (Roscher, II. p. 326, n.). To the later, expurgated editions of Homer! But these dogmas are not allowable. Aristophanes and Aristarchus also rejected this passage, which is of the kind referred to always as 'diese schon von den Alten abgetriebenen Verse'. There is much virtue in 'schon'; as though this fact proved anything except that moderns are like ancient scholars.

⁷ *Il.* xiv. 323.

⁸ *Fr.* 2, ed. Kinkel.

⁹ *Apollon.* fr. 2.

¹⁰ 837, 940 ff., 970 ff. Hesiod, fr. 233 (ed. Rieu, 1902), ἑταῖραν = ἑταῖρα, has been supposed to refer to the necklace given by Athena or some other god (authorities differ) to Harmonia, at the wedding (Crusius, p. 832). It may do so.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 825.

¹² The whole of this theory ultimately goes back to the problem that occupied the ancient critics. Why did Homer begin his Catalogue of Ships with the Boeotians? A difficult question sufficiently answered by Aristarchus, that he had to begin somewhere.

¹³ The reason given for the expedition of the Seven—ἡ δὲ ἑβδα Ὀφειρόδω (v. 163)—is *οὐβότιος* (and pointedly different from the object of the Trojan war, 'Ἐκείνῃ ἑβδα' *ἑβδα*, v. 165).

Europe, deren Name *Theog.* 357 einer Okeanide¹⁴ zugeteilt wird, noch nicht die bewegende Rolle zu spielen, wie in der späteren Sage.' And Europa too belongs to Boeotia: her name was *ἐπιχλωρίς* of Demeter at Lebadea,¹⁵ and Antimachus, followed by Pausanias, said that she was hidden by Zeus on Mount Temmessus;¹⁶ and there is a fragment of Pherecydes (to which we shall come later), which has been supposed to imply her presence in Thebes.¹⁷ But the evidence is unfortunately not so simple as Crusius supposes. He reaches his conclusion only by assuming the mention of Europa in the *Iliad* to be a late interpolation, and the date of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* to be earlier than that of the other Hesiodic poems of which we possess fragments only.

In these we have references to the other figures of the legend. Hesiod¹⁸ and Paeceylides are quoted as the chief authorities for the story of the rape of Europa: and the story must have been told at some length; *Εὐρώπην τὴν Φοίνικος Ζεὺς θεασάμενος ἐν τινὶ λειμῶνι μετὰ θυμῶν Ἀθήη ἀναλέγουσαν ἠράσθη καὶ κατελθὼν ἥλλαξε ἑαυτὴν εἰς ταῦρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος κρόκον ἔπει· οὕτως τε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπατήσας ἐβάστασε καὶ διαπορθμεύσας εἰς Κρήτην ἐμίγη αὐτῇ· εἰθ' οὕτως συνέκτισεν αὐτῇ Ἀστερίωνι τῷ Κρητῶν βασιλεῖ· γενομένη δὲ ἔγκυος ἑκάτη τρεῖς παῖδας ἐγέννησε, Μίνωα Σαρπηδόνα καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν· ἡ ἱστορία παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Βακχυλίδῳ. (In Homer, Sarpedon is the son, not of Europa, but of Laodameia; most later authors followed Hesiod.)¹⁹ Nothing is said here about Phoenicia being the home of Europa, though the Scholiast and probably his authority, supposed it to be, and thought calling her daughter of Phoenix sufficient to make it clear. Nor is there any mention of Cadmus as her brother, or of the search that was made for her; though as the note is only intended to show that Hesiod said Sarpedon was the son of Europa, this is not strange. Apollodorus in his account of the whole story seems in some respects to be following an authority the same as that of the Scholiast: Agenor, son of Libya and Poseidon, and brother of Belus, left Egypt for Phoenicia, there married Telephassa and had children Europa, Cadmus, Phoenix, and Cilix. *Τὰς δὲ Εὐρώπην οὐκ Ἀγήνορας ἀλλὰ Φοίνικος λέγουσι. ταύτης Ζεὺς ἐρασθεὶς, κρόκον ἀποπνέων (MSS. ῥόδον ἀποπλέων), ταῦρος χειροῆθη γενόμενος, ἐπιβιβασθείσαν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκόμισεν εἰς Κρήτην. ἡ δὲ, ἐκεῖ συνευνασθέντος αὐτῇ Διὸς, ἐγέννησε Μίνωα Σαρπηδόνα Ῥαδάμανθυν.* Then came the*

¹⁴ Doubtless those ancient critics were right who considered that the Oceanid Europa was entirely distinct from the daughter of Phoenix (Schol. Eur. *Iliad.* 29.)

¹⁵ Paus. ix. 39. 4-5 (the reference in Roemer to be corrected).

¹⁶ Antim. fr. 3; Paus. ix. 19. 1.

¹⁷ Fr. 43.

¹⁸ Fr. 39, ap. Schol. Ven. A et B ad *Il.* xii. 232 (at the end Schol. B has *τεταπὶ Ἥλειον* only).

¹⁹ *E.g.* Eur. *Iliad.* 29 (Schol. ad loc.) and

Hellanicus (as quoted by this Scholiast: the fragment is not in the *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*). Toupel (ap. Roemer, ii. p. 986) asserts that Hesiod, like some later authors, called Cadmus the mother of Europa: 'der ist Schol. A *Il.* M. 292 fehlende Kassiopeianus ist aus Schol. A *Il.* x. 321, Eustath. p. 889, 35 ff. zu ergänzen.' But Hesiod is not there mentioned as the authority; we have only *Εὐρώπην, Φοίνικος καὶ Κασσιόπης θυγατρί.* (Bekkier, p. 391; as also the Townley Schol. ed. Maass, vol. v. p. 453.)

fruitless search by the sons of Agenor. Εὐρώπην δὲ γῆρας Ἀστέριον ὁ Κρητῶν δυνάστης τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης παῖδας ἐτρέφει.²⁰ And so too in the account of the labours of Herakles: ἑβδομον ἐπέταξεν ἄθλον τὸν Κρήτα ἀγαγεῖν ταύρων ταύτων Ἀκουσίδαος μὲν εἶναι φησι τὸν διαπορθμεύσαντα Εὐρώπην Διί.²¹ But we cannot tell from this whether in any of the Hesiodic works Europa was made the sister of Cadmus, or either of them was Phoenician. Hesiod apparently did not believe that Cadmus as a Phoenician introduced arithmetic and astronomy into Greece (as he was later believed to have introduced the alphabet).²² He knows of Belus and Cassiopea, though we have no hint of their relationship to Cadmus or Europa: Strabo²³ says that the Arabians dwelt also on the Western shore of the Red Sea, and to them went Menelaus, and he quotes from Hesiod:

καὶ κόρην Ἀράβοιο, τῆς Ἑρμῶν ἀκάκητα
γεῖνατο καὶ Θρονίη, κόρη Βηλοῖο ἀνακτος.²⁴

Even if Hermion equal Hermes, this does not connect Belus with the Heracleids, whose ancestor—as the father of Aegyptus and Danaus—he was later considered to be. Nor does Thronia seem ever to have a place in this genealogy.²⁵ There may be some connexion here with Strabo's Ἀραβες οἱ Κάδμω συνδιαβάντες who formerly inhabited Euboea;²⁶ but more probably the fragment represents the knowledge of distant countries and barbarous peoples that had reached Greece about this time, and is to be compared with the references to be found in other Hesiodic fragments to Graikos, Latinos, and Agrios,²⁷ to Bithynia,²⁸ to Caria perhaps²⁹ to Egypt,³⁰ the Pygmies and Troglodytae,³¹ etc. The naming of eponyms for these foreign nations had begun, but we do not know how far progress had yet been made in

²⁰ Il. 2-5.

²¹ Il. 64. 'Daneke (i.e. the prologue to Euripides, *Phoenissae*, for which see below) lists sich in der aus verschiedenen Quellen entnommenen mythographischen Hauptkunde bei Apollodor ein hesiodischer Kern mit Sicherheit auscheiden,' *Gründr.* p. 828. But he applies this to the entire story of the search, and the founding of Phoenicia, Cilicia, Thasos, and Thebes, which may not be from Hesiod; while he actually omits in his quotation the two passages given above which do show some similarity of language. Nor need Euripides be deriving from the Catalogue, as Grundriss directly asserts (see also his remarks on p. 827).

²² Fr. 235. It is classed among the doubtful fragments by Kinkel, and as a fragment of the *Asvonomía* (17) by Kinkel. Cadmus may have been mentioned in the *Nilvlogia*, Hes. Fr. 161.

²³ l. 2. 34, p. 42 (cf. Apollod. l. 1), Aegyptus in Arabia).

²⁴ Fr. 29. In *Od.* iv. 84, Zenoetus wanted to read Ἀραβία xε for καὶ Ἑρμῶν (in connexion with this Arabia, see. to Eustathius ad *loc.*, p. 1484, 50 ff.).

²⁵ Apollodorus knows nothing of her (she is not mentioned in the article Belus, in Roscher). Tümpel (ap. Roscher, s.v. Cassiopea, II. p. 989) would identify her with Thronia, eponym of the Locrian town Thronium (Didymus on *Il.* II. 533).

²⁶ x. i. 8, p. 447. Most probably Strabo, or his authority, is relying on learned theory; we cannot show that Hesiod's Arabes had anything to do with Euboea; presumably not, as Strabo quotes him with reference to Arabia.

²⁷ *Theog.* 1015; Fr. 4. (On these verses see Wilamowitz, *Hermes* xxiv. pp. 609-11.) Cf. Fr. 6-7.

²⁸ Fr. 52.

²⁹ Fr. 11.

³⁰ Fr. 24 and 25.

³¹ Fr. 60, 62.

introducing them into the genealogies of Greek heroes.²² Of the other heroes who later had their place in the Cadmus legend, Hesiod mentioned Phineus, though not as any relation to Cadmus;²³ and called Adonis the son of Phoenix and Alphesiboea.²⁴

The late epic poet, Asius of Samos, who perhaps lived at the end of the seventh century,²⁵ makes Europa a daughter of Phoenix and Perimede, daughter of Oeneus; her mother is Greek, not Phoenician.²⁶ He brings her into connexion with the *eponymy* of local places thus:—



Europa is not yet the sister of Cadmus. Crusius relegates this to the class of local traditions of the Cadmeans:²⁷ “Dies bestätigt sich auch

²² The question is complicated by the fact that it is uncertain how much of the Scholium on Apoll. Rh. ii. 178 is from Hesiod: *Φοίνικος Ἀφροδίτης γὰρ καὶ Ἰέρης, ἢ Ἐλ- λάνης (Fr. 38) ἢ δὲ Ἡελίδος θυγατρὸς (Fr. 31), Φοίνικος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Κασσιόπης θυγατρὸς καὶ Ἀστυνοῦ (F.H.G. iii. 388) καὶ Ἀφρο- δίτης (um. Kinkel) καὶ Φερειδῆος (Fr. 41) πατρὸς δὲ δὲ Κασσιόπης τῆς Ἀράβου θυγατρὸς ΚΑΔΩ καὶ Φερει καὶ Δόρυκος, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης θυγατρὸς ἢ δὲ Διδὸς Ἀφροδίτης. Some suppose this last sentence to be from Hesiod (e.g. Stoll, *op. Roscher*, s.v. Agenor, i. pp. 102-103—not apparently s.v. Doryklos; Jussen, *ibid.*, s.v. Phineus, iii. p. 2369); others take it as belonging to Pherecydes, Asclepiades, and Antimachus only (e.g. Tümpel, *ibid.*, s.v. Kas- siopela, ii. p. 988); others that it belongs to the Scholiast only, e.g. Müller (F.H.G. i. p. 83, and *ibid.* (Hesiod, add. anal. et min. 1902)), neither of whom prints it. The first view is probably the right one; partly from the way the Scholiast makes the remark, partly because in the later mythographers generally followed by scholiasts, s.v. Apollodorus, Ollis and Phineus are sons of Agenor, not of Phoenix; and Doryklos is only mentioned here; nor is Atymnus (cf. Apollod. iii. 6) ever named among the numerous heroes afterwards given as sons to Agenor or Phoenix, and as brothers to Cadmus. The view that is certainly wrong is*

Tümpel's. If this sentence is Hesiod's, then according to him clearly Phineus, Ollis, Dory- klos, and Atymnus were the only sons of Phoenix and Cassiopea, and are not brothers of Cadmus or of Europa (as Jussen, *l.c.*, sup- poses, who merely amalgamates authorities in the fashion of Apollodorus or Lemprière. See above, p. 56, n. 19. Cassiopea, daughter of Arabos, is from Hesiod (Fr. 23, above), and for Pherecydes, see below, p. 86.

²³ Fr. 31. This is the Thracian Phineus, of the Harpy legend, whose story Hesiod seems to have told at some length (Fr. 52-59, 151); but, if we may judge from his relationship to Phoenix and Ollis, who later appear in the Cadmus legend, he was not in early times distinguished from the Eastern Phineus.

²⁴ Fr. 22. No later authority seems to have followed Hesiod in this respect; and this Phoenix may have been to him a Greek hero. It is instructive to note how—geographically—the area widens. Panyassis (Fr. 25) said Adonis was the son of Theia, ‘king of the Assyrians.’ Later Antimachus (Fr. 103) made him the son of Agenor. In Apollodorus (iii. 181 ff.) he is completely Oriental.

²⁵ So Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. There is but little evidence.

²⁶ Fr. 7, *op. Paus.* vii. 4. 1-2.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 573, under ‘Isolierte Lokal- bezeichnungen.’

dadurch, dass *Asios* die Eponyme der samischen Burg und Altstadt zur T. des Phoenix und Schwester der Europa macht und von ihr die übrigen Eponymen der Gegend ableitet.' But there is nothing to show that in *Asios* Europa played any part in the Cadmus legend;³⁸ and it is wrong to imply that *Asios* preserved local legends only. Europa as sister of Astypalaea may be local, but not as daughter of Perimede. *Asios* wrote about Samos, as this fragment shows;³⁹ but also, like the writers of 'Catalogues' about the heroes of many other places besides.⁴⁰ He is to be taken with the other Epic poets, as representing part of the epic tradition; and we still are far from the developed story of Cadmus brother of Europa and a Phoenician.

Of the other (presumably) late Epic poets, Eumelus wrote a poem about Europa, but we know nothing of it but that it mentioned Amphion and his lute, the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and the wanderings of Dionysus;⁴¹ while 'Musaeus' in his *Titanomachia* wrote how Cadmus made his journey from Delphi with the guidance of the cow.⁴²

³⁸ The Scholiast on Eur. *Phoen.* 5 (overlooked by Crinæus) preserves a genealogy that may be a *contaminatio* of *Asios*' genealogy and the one adopted by later mythographers. It is clear from the way Pausanias quotes *Asios* that the latter differed from this.



³⁸ Cf. also the two quoted by Athol. III. 125 a, cii. 525 x.

³⁹ Pausanias quotes him as authority for Thetis legend, for the genealogy of the Aesoul house, for Thastius the Astolian, for Polycaon of Messenia, for Alcmene, for Pelasgus, and for Peneus son of Athamas (see the fragments in Kinkel); and in the last case, at least, *Asios* has preserved an older and truer form of the legend as against the 'local' knowledge of Pindar. (Schol. ad *Pana.* ix. 23-6; Hofes *ap.* Roemer, III. 3268.)

⁴¹ Frs. 10-12, Kinkel.

⁴² Fr. 18, Kinkel (Schol. *Ap.* III. III. 1178). Crinæus (p. 348) supposes that Musaeus treated of the story of Cadmus in connexion with his support of Zeus against Typhoeus, a legend found in Nonnus, which may go back to the epic poet Pseudoer (a fragment not in Kinkel); and traces it back *supra* *supra* still further to the Hesiodic *Shield*, because 'Typhoeus' is near the Sphinx mountain, xv. 32-3. This keeps Cadmus in Boeotia.

We may give here the evidence of Stesichorus, who wrote of Europa in his *Europa*, and in it mentioned the origin of the Sparti: according to him Athena sowed the dragon's teeth (not Cadmus himself).⁴³ He followed Hesiod in his account of Arabos (and Cassiopea?) and his country;⁴⁴ and made Palamedes the inventor of the alphabet;⁴⁵ which did not, then, come from the East.

About the same date as that given to Asius is the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus, which opens with an interesting passage: 'People say that Dionysus was born of Semele in Drakones or Icaros or Naxos or on the Alpheus,

ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβῃσιν, ἄναξ, σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι,
 ψευδόμενον· σὲ δ' ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
 πολλὸν ἂν ἀπ' ἀθρῶπιον κρύπτων λευκώλενον Ἥρην.
 ἔστι δὲ τις Νύση, ἱππατον ὄρος, ἀνθεον ὄλη,
 τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτῳ ῥοαῶν.'⁴⁶

We could not have a clearer example of a learned theory, contradicting all traditions and other theories, with the proper help of the charge of *ψεύδεσθαι*. Indeed we might suggest that the connexion of Dionysus with the East as well as with Semele and Thebes may have been one of the causes for the ultimate attribution of a Phoenician origin to Cadmus. Anyhow we seem to have here the theory in the making; and not the final version, which generally preserved the tradition that Dionysus was born in Thebes, though bringing the father of Semele from Phoenicia or Egypt.

This ends the direct evidence from the early poets: Cadmus has still no parents; Europa is the daughter of Phoenix, but not certainly Cadmus' sister. Other figures, which later had more or less close connexion with these two, are known, Arabos, Belus, Phineus, Cassiopea, but not as related to either. Europa is carried off by Zeus, but there is no mention of any search after her. We do not hear of Cadmus and Thasos in Thrace; Cadmus is in Thebes, where Cadmeans are firmly planted and married to Harmonia. His 'Phoinikertum,' and his introduction and invention of the alphabet are not told in the existing fragments; and, above all, we have no account of his consultation of Delphi, of his founding of Thebes (except in Musaeus), or the emigration of Cadmus and Harmonia to Illyria. All these matters may have been originally in the Hesiodic or Cyclic epic, but we cannot be certain. We have perhaps the beginning of the Phoenician theory in the opening passage of the Hymn to Dionysus; it is as yet inchoate.

⁴³ Fr. 15, Bgk. (Scholl, *Exc. Phoca.* 670).

⁴⁴ Fr. 64 (above, p. 325): he agreed with Hesiod too in the theory that Iphigeneia was the same as Hecate (fr. 88, Bgk. fr. 109).

⁴⁵ Fr. 84 from the *Orestes*. He has been thought to refer to the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia in fr. 36, also from the *Orestes*.

Alman (fr. 84, Bgk.) refers to Ixo as a sea-goddess, but in what connexion we do not know.

⁴⁶ Hymn i. 5-11. In the fragment of the other hymn to Dionysus, of the same date according to Sykes and Allen, (vii. 57) Semele is called *Kadmeia* simply.

(b) *The Logographi and the Tragedians.*

When we come to consider the evidence of the Logographi, we arrive almost at once at the fully developed Phoenician theory. There is indeed no evidence that Hecataeus knew of it, though *a priori* we should be inclined to think that he did, and supported it. Some scholars have assumed that he asserted the introduction of the alphabet into Greece by Cadmus and his Phoenicians, but on no strong evidence. There is a long passage on the subject of the invention of the alphabet in Bekker's *Anecdota*,¹⁷ where some interesting theories are reported: the learned differ—Palamedes was the inventor according to Stesichorus and Euripides, Prometheus according to Aeschylus, Phoenix the pedagogue of Achilles according to Duris of Samos. Dosiades said it was invented in Crete, Anticleides the Athenian by Egyptians; the letters were called φοινίκεια γράμματα, say Herodotus and Ephorus, because Phoenicians invented them, or, as Euphronius says, because they were first written μὲντοι ἢ ἔσται χροῖα τι φοινίκεον, ἢ ὡς Ἑσέωνες καὶ Μένανδρος, ἐν πετάλοις φοινικοῖς, ἢ ὅπερ κρείττω ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι φοιτίσεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νοῦς ἥτοι λαμπρύνεται (is this last an addition of the glossator's own?); and so on; then:—¹⁸ τῶν στοιχείων εὐρετὴν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἐφωρος ἐν δευτέρῃ Κάδμον φασί· τινὲς δὲ Φοινίκων εὐρίσκεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς διόσκορον γεγενῆσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι Φοίνικες μὲν εὗρον τὰ στοιχεῖα, Κάδμος δὲ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ εἰς Ἑλλάδα. Πυθόδορος δὲ ἐν τῇ περὶ στοιχείων καὶ Φέλλιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ περὶ χορῶν πρὸ Κάδμον Δαναὸν μετακομίσαι αὐτὰ φασιν· ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τούτοις καὶ οἱ Μιλησιακοὶ συγγραφεῖς Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἐκταταῖος, οὗς καὶ Ἀπολλόδορος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ παρατίθεται. And then more theories. Now it is clear that the authors to whom Hecataeus and the other Milesian historians bear witness are Phillis and Pythodorus, not Ephorus or Herodotus and Aristotle. Yet the contrary has been supposed. In the fragments of Hecataeus¹⁹ indeed Müller prints only the first and last sentences of this passage; and without mark of omission; so that ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τούτοις would refer to Ephorus and others who said Cadmus was the inventor. In the fragments of Ephorus²⁰ he does not quote the passage at all, nor refer to it. In the fragments of Dionysius²¹ he prints it at length, and rightly takes Hecataeus with Pythodorus and Phillis. Crusius is still odder: he takes the trouble to quote the entire passage (as it were to guard against the first error of Müller), but takes the Milesians with Ephorus.²² Obendreich lässt sich die weitverbreitete Ansicht, dass "Kadmos der Phoiniker" die Buchstaben in Griechenland eingeführt habe, auf milesische Ueberlieferung, in letzter Instanz auf Hekataios zurückleiten, vgl. Hek. u. Dion. v. Milet,

¹⁷ pp. 781-3.¹⁸ p. 783.¹⁹ Fr. 261, *F.H.G.* i. p. 28. He bases upon it, moreover, arguments as to the contents of the third book of Hecataeus' Genealogica. Seehis note *ad loc.*²⁰ Fr. 128, *F.H.G.* i. p. 276.²¹ Fr. 1, *F.H.G.* ii. p. 5 (cf. Anaximander, fr. 2, *ibid.* p. 87).²² *Op. cit.* p. 574; so too p. 578.

Bekker, *Anecd.* I, p. 783 Auch Herod. v. 58, 59 geht von Hekataios aus,²² wenn er sagt: *οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, . . . ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀκρήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐσθήσαν διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἔοντα πρὶν Ἑλλήσι ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χροῶνται Φοίνικες.*²³ Ebenso können im milesischen Religionswesen weitere "Kadmeische" Spuren nachgewiesen werden, u. s. w. Crusius does not explain his interpretation of the passage; but perhaps the origin of the mistake is a statement in Diodorus:²⁴ *Διονύσιος ὁ συνταξόμενος τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας κ.τ.λ. . . . φησὶ τοίνυν Κάδμου κομισάντος ἐκ Φοινίκης τὰ καλούμενα γράμματα κ.τ.λ.* If this be the same Dionysius, either Diodorus or the writer in Bekker's *Anecdota* must be wrong as regards him, but it is possible also to suppose that both may be right and referring to different writers,²⁵ and in any case, even if this is not so and if it is the writer in Bekker and not Diodorus that is wrong, it does not necessarily follow that the former is also wrong about Hecataeus.

There is nothing in this fragment to show even that the theory that Cadmus introduced the alphabet into Greece had yet been advanced; for though the words *πρὸ Κάδμου* may belong to Pythodorus and Phyllis, who are clearly correcting a current theory, they do not in any way come from Hecataeus. He, as far as we know, merely said that Danaus brought the alphabet to Greece, in opposition to the claims, not of Cadmus, but of Palamedes or Prometheus, and probably now for the first time suggesting that foreign origin of the Greek alphabet which later came to be so widely believed; and it may be significant that he suggested Danaus from Egypt (we know how impressed he was with Egyptian antiquity) rather than Cadmus from Phoenicia. Perhaps the latter was not yet surely established as the Man from the East.

Herodotus, however, speaks of him as so definitely Phoenician, that it is manifest that the theory was well known before he wrote; and it will be easier to take his evidence first and then note the traces of the growth of the theory before him. At the beginning of his history, where he gives, with so much humour, the view held by Persian authorities²⁶ of

²² Von Herodotus war wohl Sophokles angelegt, wenn er von Phoeniciern γράμματα spricht, fr. 471. Sophokles kannte ja keinen andern Autor als Herodotus!

²³ Bahr, of course (and Müller in the Dionysius fragment), rightly supposes Herodotus to be, as often, directly contradicting Hecataeus; the words *οὐκ ἔοντα πρὶν Ἑλλήσι* &c. ἐμοὶ δοκέειν (omitted by Crusius) are pointed.

²⁴ III. 66, 6, 67, 1.

²⁵ So Müller in *F.H.G.* II, p. 5. Pausanias distinguishes Dionysius of Milete, contemporary with Hecataeus, the one here quoted by the grammarian in Bekker (and once elsewhere in conjunction with Hecataeus,

Hellenicus, and Eukleus), who wrote *Perrion*; the *εὐκλεεργαίος*, called a Samian by Athenaeus, III-II cent. B.C., the author of a mythological handbook much used in the Hellenistic period; and, thirdly, Dionysius Scytobrachion, the writer quoted by Diodorus, of the same period.

²⁶ *Περσίων εἰς λόγους* cannot be lightly dismissed as fragments of Greek imagination. There was at the least a tradition (at Hellenistic or elsewhere) that the Persians had their own view of the Io myth, however Greeks may have smiled at it. Herodotus gives the story in some detail: the Phoenician mariners were five or six days off Argos before the king's daughter came down to barter; in the attack most of the women escaped, but some were cap-

the causes of the old hostility between East and West, two perfect unities, he says: the Phoenicians began it by carrying off Io. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινὰς (οὗ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγγέσθαι) φασὶ τῇ Φοινίκῃ ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ θυγατρὶ Εὐρώπῃ· εἶσαν δ' αὖ οὗτοι Κρήτες, adds Herodotus. Then the West attacked again by carrying off Medea, to which the East retaliated by the rape of Helen (for Paris heard of the refusal of the Greeks to give up the Colchian). But the Greeks were so unreasonable as to go to war for the sake of a woman; and hence the hostility. But the Phoenicians said that Io went with them willingly, through an amour with the skipper. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἱριῶν ὥς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κῶς ταῦτα ἐγένετο. Herodotus had his doubts about the pragmatic accounts of foreigners, but evidently none concerning the pre-Homeric trading of Phoenicians with Argos or the Phoenician origin of Europa.

Nor is there any question with him but that Cadmus came from Tyre to Boeotia: it was Melampus that introduced the Dionysiac rites into Greece. It is my opinion (δοκίει μοι, ἐγὼ μὲν νῦν φημι) that, becoming a wise man, he learnt them from Egypt, for the Greek rites were certainly borrowed from the Egyptian. πυνθίσθαι δὲ μοι δοκίει μάλιστα Μελαμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην χώραν.⁴⁸ Where Melampus learnt the rites is Herodotus' own deduction and theory: the Phoenician origin of Cadmus (together with the close connexion between Phoenicians and Egypt) is assumed, and is to give probability to the theory. It does not follow that it was universally accepted at this time, but perhaps only that Herodotus considered that all enlightened men believed in it now. He seems to insist on it: οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι . . . ὥς ἐγὼ ἀναπυρθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην . . . οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, κ. τ. λ.⁴⁹ This is closely parallel: a deduction by Herodotus (that the Gephyraei were not autochthonous but Phoenicians,⁵⁰ and that the Phoenicians introduced the alphabet), supported by the assumed Eastern origin of Cadmus. Again when Theseus, a Cadmean in origin, landed in Thera, he found the island occupied by the descendants of Memblaræus, a Phoenician, and kinsman of Cadmus, son of Agenor. For in the search for Europa Cadmus put in here, and left some of his companions behind.⁵¹

The story of the search is assumed by Herodotus to be known to his hearers: 'I went to Tyre to learn the real truth about Heracles . . . and saw there a temple of Heracles Thasius. ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ

traced along with Io. And *σὺν αὐτῇ* Ioῦν ἐς Ἀθῆνας ἀπικόμενος λέγουσι Πέρσην, οὗ ἐκ Ἑλλάδος. There was probably in any case a large Eastern element in the stories of Io, Europa, Cadmus, and others. This may be part of it, but rejected in Greece.

⁴⁸ II. 49. Crœsus suppresses this to be straight

from the epic: 'Herodotus drückt hier einfach sprachliche Ueberlieferung in seiner Weise aus' (p. 878); a misguided theory.

⁴⁹ v. 57, 58.

⁵⁰ For this, see below, Part II.

⁵¹ iv. 147.

ἔβρον ἱόνον Ἡρακλῆος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἰδρυμένον, οἳ κατ' Εὐρώπῃσι ζήτησιν ἐκπλῶσαντες Θάσον ἐκτίσαν.⁴² He has one phrase which perhaps indicates that the idea of Europa as a Phoenician was not very old or everywhere accepted: 'Europa is clearly from Asia'—It is not known how one division of the world came to be called Europa: εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίας φήσομεν Εὐρώπῃ λαβεῖν τὸ οὐνομα τῆς χώρας . . . ἀλλ' αὐτὴ γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τε φαίνεται εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπικαμένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἧ τις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπη καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην.⁴³ But Herodotus himself is not in doubt. He also knows of Cilix, son of Agenor, a Phoenician (and so brother to Cadmus): the Cilices got their name from him;⁴⁴ and of Cadmeans in Illyria, by whom the Dorians were driven from Histiaeotis.⁴⁵

Hellanicus, the contemporary of Herodotus, told at some length the whole story of the founding of Thebes, as known to us from later writers: the account in Apollodorus agrees for the greater part almost word for word with that of Hellanicus as given by a Scholiast.⁴⁶ Cadmus son of Phoenix (in Apollodorus he is son of Agenor and brother of Phoenix), leaves Sidon in search of his sister Europa. The search fails, and he inquires at Delphi. On the oracle telling him not to bother about Europe but to found Thebes, he follows a cow⁴⁷ till he comes to the destined site, and sacrifices the animal to Athena: to do this he has to send his companions to the spring guarded by the dragon, which he kills,⁴⁸ to the anger of Ares, and Athena (or Ares)⁴⁹ advises him to sow the dragon's teeth, from whence sprang five men (and five only), the Sparti Udaeus, Chthonius, Pelor, Echion, Hyperenor.⁵⁰ Zeus prevents Ares from punishing Cadmus, and gives Cadmus Harmonia to wife, though he must do penance first. All the gods come to the wedding, and give presents to Harmonia, and the Muses sing. In another fragment he

⁴² li. 44. The island was named after Thasos 'the Phoenician,' or 'the son of Phoenix,' cf. 47.

⁴³ iv. 45. Serpedon, a son of Europa in Herodotus as in Hesiod (see above, p. 56), led the colonists from Crete to Lybia (l. 173). Modern scholars will recognize the type of phrase, 'Europa is manifestly Asiatic,' as a step in the argument.

⁴⁴ vii. 91. "Agenor" was nothing if not "a man" (here ἀνδρὲς Φοίνικας). Momms.

⁴⁵ l. 56; cf. v. 61. In l. 148, he just mentions the Cadmeans, as inhabitants of Boeotia, who helped to colonize Ionia: cf. Hellanicus, fr. 95 (Cadmeans at Priene). It is perhaps worth noting that Herodotus never makes the Persians put forward the Phoenician origin of Cadmus as a reason for the Thebans joining them, as they do Perses son of Perseus to the Argives (vii. 150): especially if the last three books were the first written, as Macan contends.

⁴⁶ Fr. 3: Apollod. iii. 3-4, 21-5; Schol. B.

l. 494. Cf. fr. 2 (Schol. Ap. Rh. iii. 1173, 1185) and 9 (Schol. Eur. Phoen. 656).

⁴⁷ Boeotia from Boia first appears here.

⁴⁸ With a stone (as Eur. Phoen. 583), whereas Pherecydes said, with a sword. On this difference Germans have built up theories as to the contents and tendencies of the lost epics of the Theban cycle.

⁴⁹ In fr. 2, from the Scholia on Apollonius, he says by the advice of Ares, in fr. 8, from the Homeric Scholia, by the advice of Athena. The Homeric Scholiast is following the more ordinary story and may be misrepresenting Hellanicus. There is another similar difference between them: see below, n. 73.

⁵⁰ 'Hellanicus hat offenbar in summarischer, auf genealogische Zwecke gerichteter Darstellung das ihm unverständlichen Spartanenkampf ausgemergelt' (Census, pp. 328-9). On the contrary, it is clear that he told the story in detail, even if his object was genealogy, which is quite uncertain.

says the Thebans were autochthonous;⁷¹ which probably refers to the Sparti and may mean that according to Hellanicus only the royal house in Thebes was foreign. He also mentions Phineus, as a son of Agenor, and a ruler in Paphlagonia in Asia, not in Thrace.⁷² Elsewhere he said that Harmonia was the daughter of the Atlantid Electra, in Samothrace, and sister of Dardanus and Eëtion,⁷³ who went thither from Crete;⁷⁴ this is the first indication we have of this part of the myth, of Cadmus in Samothrace and Harmonia at home there.

Almost all the elements of the story popularized by the late mythographers are thus to be found in Herodotus and Hellanicus, and are mostly assumed as well known. The one element wanting in Herodotus is the story of Cadmus consulting Delphi and founding Thebes, and the fight of the Sparti. But this was known before him. We can find some traces of the whole legend in earlier writers. In the *Seven against Thebes* Aeschylus refers to the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia daughter of Ares and Aphrodite,⁷⁵ and to the Sparti, the real autochthones: from the survivors sprang Melanippus and Creon.⁷⁶ He followed the common story of Semele's giving birth to Dionysus at Thebes in his *Semele*;⁷⁷ in the *Europa* the scene was laid in Caria, and the tragedy concerned the death of Sarpedon, son of Europa and Zeus, and brother of Minos and Rhadamanthys.⁷⁸

Passages in Pindar indicate that the story of the marriage of Cadmus with Harmonia, like that of Pelens and Thetis, was one well known at this time.⁷⁹ He refers too to the sorrows of the daughters of Cadmus, Semele and Ino,⁸⁰ and the birth of Dionysus at Thebes;⁸¹ and to the Sparti, the real autochthones from whom the great Thebans were sprung, though not to the story of the dragon killed by Cadmus, and their mutual strife.⁸² The Cadmoi are regularly the inhabitants of Thebes.⁸³ He recounts the heroes of Thebes in the fragment of a lost hymn—

⁷¹ Fr. 77. Harpocrat. s.v. *Ἀδριόχθοον* *αὐριόχθοον* *ἔστι* *καὶ* *Ἀπιδίαι* *ἡμεῖς*, *καὶ* *Ἑλλάδα* *καὶ* *Ἰωνία* *καὶ* *Αἰγυῖον* *καὶ* *Θυβήαν*. The last words probably belong to Hellanicus.

⁷² Fr. 58 (Schol. Ap. Rh. II. 178).

⁷³ Fr. 129: this also is from the Scholia on Apollonius (l. 916), and may represent Hellanicus better than the Homeric Scholiast (who is quoting Apollodorus too, who does not agree in all details with Hellanicus). The full account of this story is in Diodorus, v. 47 ff., who draws partly upon Hellanicus, partly on local tradition. Crusius (p. 856) decides "durchaus neu ist es, dass Harmonia nach Samothrake gewiset wird. Im übrigen fügt sich die Uebersetzung in die bisher behandelte Sprache ein."

⁷⁴ Fr. 58.

⁷⁵ Il. 135 ff.

⁷⁶ Il. 412-4, 476. Aeschylus gave the names of the five surviving Sparti (fr. 376), in agree-

ment with Pherecydes (fr. 44) and Hellanicus (fr. 2). Nauck rejects this fragment, from no good cause (it comes from Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 942—generally a trustworthy source). (It is to be noted that Aeschylus is not consistently archaic in the *Septem*, as Verrall suggested: the Delphic oracle, for example, plays a part in the references to the Oedipus-Laius legend, Il. 745 ff., 800 ff. Yet in his *Oedipus* (fr. 173) he placed the Cleft Way at Potniae, the suburb of Thebes—presumably an older version of the story.)

⁷⁷ *Arg. Semele*, Nauck³, p. 73.

⁷⁸ Fr. 99.

⁷⁹ *Pyth.* III. 14-21. Cf. *Ol.* II. 86, and fr. 32.

⁸⁰ *Ol.* II. 24-33; cf. *Pyth.* XI. 1 ff.

⁸¹ *Ol.* II. 30; *Isthm.* VII. 3-5; fr. 75.

⁸² *Pyth.* IX. 82; *Isthm.* I. 30; vii. 19.

⁸³ *Nem.* I. 61; iv. 21; *Isthm.* III. 71, etc. Cf. *Kádmos* *εἰς* *αὐτὴν* (as in the Tragedians); *Pyth.* VIII. 47; *Isthm.* VI. 75.

Ἰσμερὸν ἢ χρυσαλάκατον Μελίαν,
 ἢ Κάδμον, ἢ σπαρτῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἀνδρῶν,
 ἢ τὰν κυανάρπυκα Θήβαν,
 ἢ τὸ πάντολμον σθένος Ἡρακλῆος,
 ἢ γάμον λευκωλένου Ἀρμονίης ὑμῶσομεν.⁵⁴

There can, I think, be little doubt that Pindar regards Cadmus as a true Theban, blessed by his marriage with a goddess:⁵⁵ there is no hint of a foreign origin; which is significant. Europa is not mentioned by Pindar (except the daughter of Tityus, mother of Euphantus)⁵⁶ The actual dates of the third Pythian and the second Olympian Ode are 482 and 476, and so some years before Herodotus wrote. It is conceivable that the Phoenician theory, which presumably originated in Ionia if anywhere, made its way to the mainland about this period.

Pherecydes of Leros and Athens may be the link between Ionia and Attica. He is a little older than Herodotus⁵⁷ and already to him Cadmus and Europa are both Phoenician. He has the following genealogy:⁵⁸



Europa was to him perhaps, as to Hesiod, daughter of Phoenix and so niece of Cadmus. Her mother was probably Telephassa (not Cassiopea⁵⁹) but this and how he told the story of the search are doubtful; Agenor sent his sons to look for Europa, συνεξῆλθε δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῆς Τηλέφασσα ἡ μήτηρ καὶ

⁵⁴ Fr. 25.

⁵⁵ Theognis, too, refers to the presence of the Muses and the Graces at Cadmus' wedding (ll. 15-18). It is a plausible idea of Crasimus (p. 828) that the story was told by one of the epic poets, though he may not have been of the Hesiodic circle.

⁵⁶ *Pyth.* iv. 46.

⁵⁷ Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* II.² p. 4; cf. I.² p. 156.

⁵⁸ Fr. 40, 41.

⁵⁹ The name Melia is known at Thebes too as that of an Oceanid, sister of Caeanus, and mother by Apollo of Iameus and the seer Temnus. Caeanus is a double of Cadmus; he was sent by his father in search of his ravished sister Melia, whom he found in the arms of Apollo. He attempted to storm the temnos and the god slew him. His grave was shown near the Iameion. *Paus.* ix. 10. 5; cf. *id.* ix.

26. 1; *Strabo* ix. 2. 34, p. 413. She is sister of Iameus, and mother of Temnus in *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* xi. 5, 6; *Tzetzes ad Lyc.* 1211; an Oceanid, mother by Poseidon of Amycus, king of Bebrycia, who challenged strangers to box with him, and was killed by Pollux, acc. to *Hyginus, Praef.* p. 11 (ed. Schmidt 1852), *Fab.* 17, 157; an antichthon in *Callimachus, Hymn. Del.* 80. The article in *Roscher* by Stoll is contaminated, and inaccurate at that: these references are given as though they all agreed, and no mention is made of Caeanus, Poseidon, or Amycus. A daughter of Niebe was also called Melia according to Pherecydes (fr. 102 b)—presumably from the spring of that name at Thebes.

The name Argiope is known at Plataea (*Hdt.* ix. 57; *Macan, ad loc.*).

⁶⁰ See above, p. 58, n. 32.

Θάσος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δὲ Φερεκύδης φησὶ Κλάκος.⁹¹ His account was peculiar in one respect: he said that the necklace which Cadmus gave to Harmonia was given to him by Europa, who had it from Zeus: the usual story was that it was given him by Hephaestus, the maker.⁹² It has generally been supposed that this means that in Pherecydes Cadmus found his sister, and in Boeotia.⁹³ But it may be that Pherecydes had no account of any search,⁹⁴ which may be a comparatively late story, not accepted by him. Still more interesting is a fragment, in which he stated that Ogygus and his wife Thebe, autochthones of Attica, went to Egypt and founded Egyptian Thebes, introducing there the worship of Isis, and giving names to the gods Isis and Osiris, reversing the usual legend.⁹⁵ In Corinna Ogygus is a son of Boeotus,⁹⁶ and he is generally at home in Boeotia:⁹⁷ like Cecrops, another early Attic hero, he is found sometimes there, sometimes in Attica. Pherecydes was clearly not averse to giving learned theory.

He told too the story of the dragon's teeth: how after Cadmus had killed the dragon,⁹⁸ and was settled in Thebes, Ares and Athena gave him half of the teeth, the other half to Aetes (to trouble Jason); and how he sowed them and armed warriors sprang from the ground, and in fear he threw stones among them, which they thought were thrown by themselves; so they set upon one another, till only five were left. These were the true Sparti, whom Cadmus made citizens.⁹⁹ Pherecydes in general seems to have been much occupied with Boeotian legends.¹⁰⁰ He also gave an account of the Cabiri and Cabirades of Samothrace,¹⁰¹ which may be significant in view of the fact that later at any rate Cadmus became closely associated with them. Acusilaus before him had said that the Cabiri were sons of Camilus, son of Cabire and Hephaestus; and certainly afterwards Camilus came to be

⁹¹ Fr. 42; Apollod. iii. 8. Apollodorus cannot be following Pherecydes in all details, for he makes Europa sister of Cadmus, Phoenix, and Cilix, and all children of Agenor and Telephassa (iii. 2): he adds, *τοὺς δὲ ἑσπέρους ἀπὸ Ἀγένορος ἀλλὰ Φαίνορος λέγουσι*. Agenor and Phoenix share one another's children in the varying accounts: to Pherecydes Cilix is a son of Phoenix, son of Agenor (fr. 41), as above, p. 58, n. 32.

⁹² Fr. 45; Apollod. iii. 25.

⁹³ E.g. by Crassus, pp. 826, 842-3.

⁹⁴ It is just possible that this version is to be connected with that of Hegesippus, in which Cadmus found an Europa (not his sister) ruling in Thracis (fr. 6, *F.H.G.* iv. p. 424; from Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 229): see Crassus, pp. 863 f.

⁹⁵ Fr. 1 a, *F.H.G.* iv. 687 (from Schol. Aristid. p. 313, Dind.). The Scholiast is quoting from Antiochus and Pherecydes, and Müller would refer these words to the former only; but unnecessarily.

⁹⁶ Fr. 31.

⁹⁷ Paus. ix. 5. 1 (the first king); Aristodemus *ap. Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1113, etc.: the Ogygian gate at Thebes. See Roscher, s.v. Ogygos (1).

⁹⁸ This is not among the fragments of Pherecydes in the *F.H.G.*, but is to be found under Helianthus, fr. 9 (Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 662), where *Φερεκύδης* should certainly be read (with one MS. apparently) for *Φερεπέρης*. See Valckenner's note given by Dindorf, *Schol. ad Eur.* iii. p. 186.

⁹⁹ Fr. 44; Apollod. iii. 24-5. The names of the five were the same as those given by Hellanicus. For the parallels between the Cadmus and the Jason legends, see Crassus 836, 843, 848: he makes the interesting suggestion that in one form of the story Cadmus wins Harmonia from Ares through his victory over the dragon, and so rules in Thebes. This may be due to Pherecydes, but that it goes back to Hesiod (*ibid.* p. 849) is pure supposition.

¹⁰⁰ Fr. 1, 5, 27-30, 44-56, 61, 79, 84, 87, 102-3; and perhaps 2, 25, 112.

¹⁰¹ Fr. 5.

identified with Cadmus.¹⁰² The scanty fragments of Acusilaus do not even tell us whether he treated of the legend of Cadmus at all, though he mentions Europa and the bull.¹⁰³

Of the contemporary poets, Simonides refers to the rape of Europa, and may have told her story.¹⁰⁴ Bacchylides certainly did, and in a way similar to Hesiod;¹⁰⁵ and in one of the Odes Minos is the son of Zeus and Europa, daughter of Phoenix, born near Mount Ida; Europa is called *κοῦρα Φοῖνισσα*.¹⁰⁶ Cadmus also is a Phoenician or Egyptian; for Bacchylides told of the famed descendants of Io in Egypt, of whom Cadmus, son of Agenor, was one: he came to Thebes and there begat Semele, who became the mother of Dionysus.¹⁰⁷ Sophocles would appear not to have been interested in Cadmus or the Phoenicians: in his three Theban plays he has but an allusion to the Thebans as *ἀνδρῶν σπαρτοί*,¹⁰⁸ and an ode in honour of Dionysus, son of the *Καδμεία νύμφη*.¹⁰⁹ It is possible he thought that the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phoenician, though there is nothing to show that he agreed with Herodotus that Cadmus introduced it.¹¹⁰ He may have said Palamedes was the inventor, like Stesichorus and Euripides;¹¹¹ he attributes to him the invention of mathematics, astronomy, and gambling;¹¹² in this he is opposed to Herodotus (and doubtless represents the older view: according to the historian the Greeks borrowed astronomy and mathematics from the Egyptians and Babylonians).¹¹³

Euripides on the other hand was much taken with the Phoenician theory. He states it concisely in the prologue to the *Phrixus* (presumably spoken by Ino):

Σιδώνιον ποτ' ἄστυ Κάδμος ἐκλιπών,
'Αγήνορος παῖς, ἦλθε Θηβαίαν χθόνα
Φοῖνιξ πεφυκώς, ἐκ δ' ἀμείβεται γένος
'Ελληνικόν, Διρκαῖον οἰκήσας πέδον,
ἧ δ' ἦλθ' ἀνάγκη πεδία Φοινίκης λιπών,
λέγοιμ' ἄν ἦσαν τρεῖς Ἀγήνορος κόροι
Κίλιξ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Κιλικία κικλήσκειται.
Φοῖνιξ θ', ὅθεν περ τοῦνομ' ἡ χώρα φέρεται,
καὶ Κάδμος.¹¹⁴

¹⁰² Fr. 6: both from Strabo, x. 3. 21, p. 472. Pherecydes clearly did not take Acusilaus' view. The reading is uncertain, but the sense is fairly clear.

¹⁰³ Apollod. II. 94 (above, p. 56).

¹⁰⁴ Fr. 28: 'Poeta in dithyrambo aliquam Europae raptum videtur enarrasse.' Bergk; who suggests that Horace, *Ode*, III. 27, may be following Simonides or Bacchylides.

¹⁰⁵ Fr. 10: see above, p. 56: 'merit dithyrambus eius argumenti, sicut Europa Simonidis fuit.' Blass.

¹⁰⁶ xvi. (ed. Teubn.) 28 ff., 53 ff.

¹⁰⁷ xviii. 39 ff.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.* Col. 1533-4.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.* 1115 ff. He mentions the worship of Dionysus at Nysa in Asia, as well: fr. 874 (Strabo xv. p. 687).

¹¹⁰ Fr. 471: see above, p. 62, n. 53; Herodotus (who quotes the fragment) gives his own view, *ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ Κάδμος αὐτὰ ἐκ Φοινίκης εἰσαγαγεῖν*.

¹¹¹ Fr. 578.

¹¹² Frs. 396, 389 (which doubtless belongs to the *Palamedes*, not the *Nauplius*), 428.

¹¹³ II. 82-3, 103. (In fr. 557 Sophocles may be thinking of Cadmus and a sister Eidothea, wife of Phoenix, in Thrace: but this is doubtful.)

¹¹⁴ Fr. 819. The MSS. reading (from Schol.

This is clear and emphatic: Euripides wished to make the theory known to the audience. No less emphatic is he in the *Phoenissae*: the title suggests the theory, and he harps on it throughout.¹¹⁵ Jocasta actually comes on the scene on hearing the Phoenicians speaking, as though Greek was still a strange language to the royal house after three or four generations¹¹⁶; and there is the famous chorus—

Κάδμος ἔμολε τάνδε γὰν
Τύριον . . .

with the full story of the killing of the Dragon and the founding of Thebes and the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia, much as Hellanici had told it.¹¹⁷ Euripides in this play insists on the Phoenician origin wherever he can. In the *Suppliants* he does not mention it, in the *Bacchae* only incidentally,¹¹⁸ though Cadmus himself is one of the characters, and the Eastern origin of Dionysus is emphasized; Cadmus seems to be thought of as a Theban towards the end of the play.¹¹⁹ There is of course frequent mention of the Sparti and the dragon's seed, and in the epilogue Dionysus tells of the exile of Cadmus and Harmonia into Illyris, their transformation into snakes, their leading a horde of barbarians into Greece, and their defeat and ultimate happiness in the Isles of the Blessed.¹²⁰ Euripides wrote other plays concerning the House of Cadmus,¹²¹ but fragments relevant to the present question have not survived. In one play, perhaps the *Andromeda*, he called Cepheus and Phineus sons of Belus, and brothers of Aegyptus and Danaus, and so brought them into the Cadmeian genealogy.¹²² The story is now very like that adopted by the later mythologists; the genealogies varied in detail:

Eur. *Phoen.* 6) for the last word is *Θέσσι*, which Dindorf, Nauck, and Crunius would keep, against Schneidewin's emendation. Thases is indeed sometimes the son of Agenor (e.g. in Paus. i. 25. 12; in Herodotus vi. 47—cf. ii. 44—referred to by Crunius, he is probably the son of Phoenix and nephew of Cadmus; but if Agenor has three sons, and Cadmus is one, and Cilix and Phoenix are two of them, Thases cannot be a fourth (unless perhaps Euripides went on to say that Cadmus was the son of a second wife, as Pherecydes did, above, p. 66). He appears to have told the story of Europa too in the *Phrixus*, perhaps in a chorus: she was taken from Phoenicia to Crete (Fr. 820).

¹¹⁵ Il. 4 ff., 202 ff. (esp. 216-9), 244 ff. (where the chorus hardly recognizes that they too are descended from Inachus, and are really kinsmen of the Argives), 289 ff., 291 ff., 301 ff., 698 ff.; and *Id.* 676 ff., 828-9.

¹¹⁶ Yet in 497-8 the chorus speak as though they were foreigners to Thebes.

¹¹⁷ Cf. too 818 ff., 931 ff.

¹¹⁸ 170-2.

¹¹⁹ Cf. esp. his speech, 1302 ff.

¹²⁰ 1330 ff.; cf. perhaps Fr. 930. Crunius (pp. 849-852) supposes that this story too (found in many later writers, e.g. Apollonius Rhodius, Apollodorus, etc.) goes back to the 'Cretan' type (Eumelus, etc.) and the Cretan legend; but on the very flimsiest evidence.

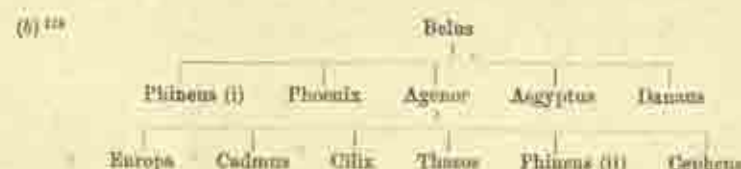
¹²¹ Including the *Chrysippus*, which was written, according to Prof. Murray (*H²*, 626, *Lit.* p. 283), 'in condemnation of that relation between boys and men which the age regarded as a pederastic, and which Euripides only allowed to the Cyclops.' Compare the passage in Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 21: *ἔπε δέ, φασί, τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀγάθωνος τοῦτο καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν καὶ τὸ Χρυσίππου τὸ δράμα αὐτῷ χαρακτηρίζεται ἀγέραι καυματοῖσι.*

¹²² Fr. 821 (Apollod. ii. 11): in the Schol. *Arach. Suppl.* 317, quoted by Nauck, *4* *Εὐριπίδης πέντε φασὶ παιδῶν εἶναι ἑξέων, Αἰγύπτου Δαναοῦ Φοίνικα Θυσία Ἀργεῖον. Phoenix may be a mistake for Cadmus, if Euripides was consistent (Phoenix being a son of Agenor in the *Phoenissae*); or the Scholiast careful in his statements: though see further, *ib.* p. 225d.*

Phoenix is now the son, now the brother of Agenor, Cadmus at one time the brother, at another the uncle of Europa, Cilix, Cadmus, Europa alternately the children of Agenor and of Phoenix. Three variations are interesting as showing the results of late contamination and theory—



Tyro, Side, Cadmus, Phoenix, Syrus, Cilix, Europa, and Aegyptus are all eponyms.



And finally



Last of all the theory reached Tyre itself, where we have coins of the reigns of Severus and Elagabalus representing Cadmus killing the dragon, introducing the alphabet to the Greeks, founding Thebes, and joining hands with Harmonia.¹³²

This review of the evidence seems to show that we can only be certain of two elements in the story having been treated or assumed as known in the Epic, the rape of Europa in 'Hesiod,' followed by later poets like Stesichorus and Bacchylides, and the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia.¹³³ Stesichorus knew of the Sparti, 'Musaens' of Cadmus at Delphi, and the injunction to him to found Thebes. But that is all. It is pure dogmatism when Crusius and others assume that 'unmittelbar aus der epischen Quellen sind die einschlagenden Stellen der euripideischen *Phonissen*, besonders

¹²⁹ Johannes Antioch. in *F.H.G.* iv. p. 544.

¹³⁰ Nonnus, iii. 296 (Roscher, s.v. Phineus, iii. p. 2356). 'Die fünf Brüder kommen sonst nicht nebeneinander vor,' says Crusius, p. 276, overlooking the Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 217, here quoted.

¹³¹ Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 217.

¹³² B.M. Cat. *Phoenicia*, p. cxlii., no. coins of Sidon, with Europa and the Bull (*ibid.*, p. cx), and a coin of Aegusa, with Cadmus founding Thebes (B.M. Cat. *Calicia*, p. cxvi).

¹³³ Cf. the sixth-century vase figured in Roscher, ii. p. 842; and the throne of Amyclae (Paus. iii. 13. 12).

des Charlied v. 638 ff.¹²⁰ or that a genealogy based on a convenient combination of Hellanicus, Pherecydes, pseudo-Apollodorus, and a probably misunderstood fragment of Hesiod, represents the genealogy of the Catalogues,¹²¹ or that 'die Sage von den Wanderzügen des Kadmos liegt völlig im Gesichtskreise dieser zuerst von Kirchhoff für die Kataloge in Anspruch genommenen Genealogie, darf also schon deshalb dem Kataloge zugesprochen werden. Zur Bestätigung dient, bei der schon oben erhärteten Abhängigkeit des Euripides von den Katalogen, der Prolog des *Phrixos*.'¹²² Hence in the account of Apollodorus 'lässt sich ein hesiodischer Kern mit Sicherheit ausscheiden': only the details may be un-Hesiodic; and the entire story as told in the later hand-books is traced back in this way to the Catalogues, while it is denied to the *Theogony*, as though the relative dates of these poems were assured: a conclusion as improbable as it is arbitrary. We cannot even be sure that 'die "hesiodische" Ueberlieferung von der Kadmoshochzeit lässt sich aus der Nachbildung der Lyriker und Dramatiker mit Sicherheit erschliessen'; for later poets may have treated a well-known story in a different manner. It must be remembered that the Cyclic epic and the Hesiodic poems were in all probability extant at a time far later than the majority of the writers from whom come our fragments of the Catalogues and of the Logographi,¹²³ and it is entirely improbable that trustworthy authorities, like Pausanias or the Scholiasts on Apollonius or Euripides' *Phoenissae*, who quote Hesiod when they wish to, should quote Hellanicus or Pherecydes as an authority for a story or a detail, if those authors were only writing down in prose the accounts already to be found in the Epic.¹²⁴ I would then emphasize the fact that it is not till the fifth century that we

¹²⁰ Crusius, p. 827. In quoting he omits [*Kádmos*] *ἐκείνη τὰς γὰρ τόποις*: presumably of set purpose, because this is not from the epic (although he considers that the *Phrixos* prologue is); yet if Euripides could diverge in this, he may not be following it elsewhere. It is interesting to note that Pausanias preserves a variant version of the foundation of Thebes: Cadmus comes with a Phoenician host and drives out the Hyantes and Aones (ii. 5. 1). This is inconsistent with the story of the Delphic oracle.

¹²¹ The one given (Crusius, p. 833) differs widely from all these authors, and the only link with Hesiod—Cassiopea as mother of Europa—is doubtful, to say the least.

¹²² *Id.* p. 833. The best example of Crusius' method is his treatment of the evidence concerning the rock Sarpedon in Thracæ (in later writers connected with the son of Europa, and with the Cadmus legend): 'die Schol. Apoll. Rh. (i. 216) heiten den Namen des Σαρπηδόνα πρὸ τῆς ὁρμῆς Βασιλέως, Μελαῖον Πάτρυν, ὅς; wie das Schol. zu 211=Pherec. fr. 104 zeigt, steht dahinter Pherekydes, d.h. das Epos.' Yet

even the reference to Pherecydes is conjecture only; for fr. 104 only has *κατὰ δὲ τῆς ὁρμῆς Σαρπηδόνας πύργου, ὅς; πρὸς τῇ Αἰνῷ ὁρεῖ ἵσται, Φερικίδης φησὶ κατὰ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἱεραῖον τῆς Ὀρείδας*: and the same scholiast also quotes from Simonides (fr. 3) that Oreithyia was taken from Brilessus to the Sarpedianian rock in Thracæ.

¹²³ See T. W. Allen, *Cl. Quart.* ii. (1908) 64-74, 81-8; III. 239-8. And see his opening remarks for our evidence as to the contents of the Epics.

¹²⁴ An example would be Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 9, where the Scholiast says Pindar is borrowing from the *Eclogæ*, and quotes the opening lines (*Her.* fr. 128). There is no such note on Pindar's lines about Cadmus and Harmonia. Or, again, we may assume (till further knowledge upsets the assumption) that when a scholiast (on Ap. Rh. i. 45) says that neither Homer nor Hesiod nor Pherecydes says that Iphigenia was one of the Argonauts, Pherecydes was regarded as an authority, and an independent one, not merely as a transcriber of the epic.

hear of the Phœnician theory, or of the connexion between Cadmus and Europa—the two cardinal points of the later story;—and suggest that the silence of Pindar and Aeschylus, and perhaps of Sophocles, the insistence of Herodotus and Euripides, and the curious variants in Pherecydes, may be significant, and mean that the theory had not long been formulated, nor as yet universally accepted.

A. W. GOMME.

THE BOSTON COUNTERPART OF THE 'LUDOVISI THRONE'

[PLATES III.—VI.]

THE counterpart of the well-known 'Ludovisi Throne,' now that it is exhibited in Boston, and has been admirably published in the Berlin *Antike Denkmäler*, is accessible to study and criticism, and has naturally attracted a great deal of attention. All further discussion must be based upon that published by Prof. Studniczka,¹ who gives an accurate and sympathetic description, a full quotation of illustrative material, and a judicious and convincing criticism of earlier theories. There is, however, one aspect of the matter which he passes over very lightly, and this is the question of the genuineness of the new portion now in Boston, as a portion of the same structure with the Ludovisi relief in the Terme at Rome. He refers, indeed, to some doubts that had been expressed; but he thinks they are not to be taken seriously, and are sufficiently refuted by his general discussion of the monument; he regards them, in fact, as on a level with the doubt at first expressed by some authorities as to the genuine archaic character of the Ludovisi relief. The question cannot, however, be dismissed so lightly. The beauty and simplicity of the Ludovisi relief have almost universally impressed artists and amateurs as well as archaeologists; and these qualities are conspicuously absent from the Boston portion, their place being taken by an affected and complex composition and a mingled collection of types, some of them archaic, some of them showing the influence of later art. The artistic impression produced is so different that it seems worth while to analyse its sources; and it is particularly to be noted that Prof. Studniczka's learned and exhaustive study fails to produce any very close parallels to the subject and character of the work.

So far as external evidence goes, there is nothing very decisive, nor was much to be expected from the conditions. The Ludovisi portion is said to have been dug up in 1887; and it was in the Ludovisi Gallery until the contents of that Gallery were transferred to the Museo delle Terme. The Boston portion is said to have turned up in the hands of a Roman dealer; but how it came there we have no evidence. The condition of the surface certainly appears at first sight to imply that it had been exposed to the

¹ *Jahrb. d. k. d. Inst.*, 1911.

weather for a considerable time; but how far such an effect can be produced by artificial means is a difficult question. Thorwaldsen, or rather the marble-workers he employed, succeeded in producing an apparently weathered surface on the restored portions of the Aegina marbles, so that he himself found it difficult to distinguish them from the original portions. Our ultimate conclusions must rest upon a study of the style and subject of the reliefs themselves.

The rest of this article will be devoted to a study of the difference between the Boston and the Ludovisi reliefs; but, for the sake of clearness, let us begin by investigating the possible causes of this difference, if it can be assumed to exist; for then those various possibilities can be borne in mind with reference to each special point.

It is obvious that the two reliefs cannot be of independent origin, but that the one was made to match the other. This being so, it will probably be granted that, if they are not both parts of a single design and composition, the Ludovisi is the original portion, and the Boston portion was made as its counterpart. Upon this supposition there are three possible alternatives to consider:—(1) That the Boston portion was made early in the fifth century, as part of the same general scheme, by a contemporary artist of different school or tendencies. Those who assert this may point to the great difference in style and character between the different portions of the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi; it is, however, still a matter of dispute whether these all belong to the same building. (2) That the Boston portion is a product of later, probably Neo-Attic, Hellenistic, or Graeco-Roman art. In that case the further question arises whether the sculptor who made it had only the Ludovisi portion before him, or had also as model some obliterated or damaged remains of the original counterpart, made at the same time as the Ludovisi portion. In this connexion we may remember that the Ludovisi relief has been asserted by some authorities to be an archaistic work; but even if such a supposition were admissible on grounds of style, the difference between the Ludovisi and Boston portions would remain inexplicable. (3) That the Boston portion is a modern imitation, made subsequently to the discovery of the Ludovisi portion in 1887. Our choice between these three alternative explanations must depend upon a detailed study of the reliefs themselves.

It is necessary to begin with a brief consideration of the subject of the reliefs, partly because of the strange theories that have been suggested to explain it, partly because the connexion in meaning between the two portions, and the peculiar subject of the Boston portion, may be used as arguments for the unity of the whole composition. Fortunately Studniczka's criticism of previous theories is so clear and convincing that there is no need to do more than refer to his article, in the hope that no more will now be heard of the more fantastic among them. Prof. Studniczka himself prefers, for the Ludovisi relief (Pl. III.), the interpretation of Aphrodite arising from the sea. But the other representations of a similar subject which he quotes seem rather to show that the scene represented is that which appears in many slightly

varied forms as the rising from the earth of Persephone, or of Pandora, as she is sometimes called. The great advantage of this interpretation is that it harmonises at once with the figures on the two short sides (Pl. V.), which evidently have reference to the seasons of summer and winter, whether we prefer to describe them as Nymphs or Horae. The identification of the emerging figure as Aphrodite, and the consequent explanation of the two seated figures as symbolic of Aphrodite *γαμήλιος* and *Ἑταίρα*, of Sacred and Profane Love, is based rather on a reminiscence of Titian's famous picture than of any classical analogies.

The subject of the Boston portion (Pl. IV., VI.) cannot be left out of our present argument, for its very strangeness has been used as an argument in favour of its genuineness. Here the completeness of Prof. Studniczka's comparisons and the ingenuity of his explanations leave us with an uncomfortable feeling of wonder that no nearer analogies can be found. This is particularly the case with the motive of the scales. In all the other instances quoted the symbolism is clear and obvious; the little figures in the scales, being weighed in the balance against each other, are the souls or the fates of the heroes, or, it may be, the loves of two rival suitors. But in this case the choice is on the other side: it is the two goddesses who are rivals for the love of Adonis; and how can this state of things be symbolised by the two young athletes who balance each other in the scales? There is no clear and logical explanation of the symbolism, such as is obvious in all other examples that can be cited of a similar motive. The whole composition is, in fact, a mechanical repetition of a familiar motive by an artist who has not understood the symbolism that underlies it; and this tells very strongly against the Boston relief being part of the same original design as the Ludovisi relief.

Then again, when we consider the expression of the motive, the pose of the two principal seated figures is affected and theatrical to a degree which it would be very difficult to parallel among Greek reliefs. The position of the two figures, even to the veiled head resting on the hand, in the mourning 'Persephone,' and the raised hand with outstretched fingers, as a sign of joyful surprise, in the 'Aphrodite,' finds an almost exact counterpart in the Ajax and Odysseus on the well-known vase by Duris,² who show in a similar manner their interest in the decision indicated in the middle of the scene. But the art of Duris, however great its decorative beauty and delicacy of line, is marked by just these qualities of convention and affectation, which yield in later vases to the 'ethos' due to the influence of Polygnotus—an influence which may also be seen in the simple and noble style of the Ludovisi relief. At first sight this comparison may seem to indicate that the solution of the problem lies in the attribution of the two parts of the relief to two contrasted but contemporary schools. But the affectations of the Attic vase-painters are not, as a rule, to be found reproduced in sculpture, and it seems more likely

² Pottier, *Douris*, Fig. 16.

that the resemblance to the work of Duris is to be explained in another way—either by direct imitation or by a survival in later times of similar mannerisms.

It is in the style of the work, above all, that the ultimate criterion must be found; and we must now analyse this in detail. The Ludovisi relief is



FIG. 1.—HEAD OF 'ATHENEION'

one of the most characteristic examples of early Greek technique in low relief; it shows clearly the principle, ably discussed by Loewy in his *Nature in Greek Art*, that the relief is compressed, as it were, between two planes, the plane of the background and the original front plane of the slab; and that all details are added on these by very low relief, the depth of the main contours being more or less made use of to indicate in perspective what

lies between the two planes. There is no doubt that much of the harmony and simplicity of early Greek relief work is due to this principle; and it was not, as Loewy points out, violated until a comparatively late stage of development. Now, the Boston relief shows no trace whatever of this principle. The various parts of the different figures are in varying degrees of relief, each worked for itself without any relation to an actual or ideal front plane; such things as the right hand and the face of Eros are almost in the round; so are his knees also, and his legs below the knees are extraordinarily awkward and clumsy for this same reason. I do not believe it would be possible to find any genuine early Greek relief in which the projection of the figures varies so much and the planes of relief are so completely ignored. And this is not a matter of detail: it is perhaps the most essential characteristic of early Greek sculpture. The figures are not designed in low relief: they are a series of figures in the round clumsily flattened by various devices against the ground of the relief.

When we turn from relief technique to composition, we find the same contrast between the Ludovisi and the Boston reliefs. Here, again, the Ludovisi relief is one of the most perfect examples of simple and harmonious design, and of its adaptation to the field it has to decorate. In the Boston relief, especially on the front, we find many artistic defects. The two seated figures project beyond the edge of the field of relief at each side, and they actually lean their elbows and their feet upon the ornamental scrolls which are properly no part of the figure design. The wings of the Eros, instead of filling the vacant space of the background, are awkwardly hidden behind the two seated figures; and the scales with the small figures in them project in a very clumsy manner in front of the knees of these same seated figures. These are all faults of design such as it is very unusual to find in Greek work. Another peculiarity in the three figures on this side is the attempt to render them three-quarter face, in the heads of all three and in the upper part of the bodies of the two seated figures. This is by no means common in early reliefs, though it is not unusual, as regards the head, on vases of the Polygnotan age or a little later; we find, however, again a complete contrast with the full-face body and profile face of the central figure on the Ludovisi relief. The peculiarities of early perspective are also to be seen clearly in that figure, with its two breasts turned outwards so as to show in profile on each side. The treatment of the breast in the two seated figures on the Boston slab is not only unlike this, but unlike any other example known to me. Though the chest seems to be seen three-quarter face, the breasts are set a full and even exaggerated distance apart; yet they are not in profile, but rise directly towards the front, the effect, especially in the right-hand figure, being a most unpleasant anatomical distortion. Other early conventions of this kind may be equally incorrect anatomically; but we are reconciled to them by a habit of early art to which our eye has become accustomed and which it can readily interpret. Here we have a mere deformity, based on none of those principles of memory and presentment that can always be traced even in the cruder examples of archaic work.

Here, then, we seem to see the work of an imitator by whom these principles are not understood. Great breadth between the breasts is of course characteristic of early Greek sculpture; and it is sometimes increased by the profile treatment which we see in the Ludovisi Persephone; but I know of no effect in genuine Greek art at all similar to the full-face breadth which we see in the breasts of the mourning figure of the Boston relief.



FIG. 2.—HEAD OF 'PERSEPHONE.'

Another characteristic that must give pause to anyone familiar with early Greek sculpture is the expression of the faces in the Boston relief. The seated 'Aphrodite' (Fig. 1) shows what is evidently a deliberate attempt to indicate joyful surprise, that of 'Persephone' (Fig. 2) a somewhat sulky grief, while the standing 'Eros' has a cheerful grin, which at first sight recalls the

'archaic smile,' but is evidently intended to be dramatic in effect. Such attempts at dramatic expression are alien to early Greek sculpture. The familiar 'archaic smile' and the equally familiar 'stolid type' are never used with any dramatic intention, but are the outcome of conventions and methods which it is needless here to discuss. But the author of this relief has deliberately made use of them to express the emotion of the different figures in a scene, the result being painfully incongruous with the early character of the work in other respects, and suggesting a feeling of caricature such as never occurs to the trained observer even in the crudest attempts of archaic art. This is more particularly the case with the 'Aphrodite'; and it is enhanced by the way in which all three figures are more or less three-quarter face. The same feeling of caricature occurs in the old woman on the left return face; the nude lyre-player on the right return shows a somewhat clumsy effort to imitate the simplicity of the central figure of the Ludovisi relief, the sculptor here having no particular emotion appropriate to the figure. Throughout there is the greatest possible contrast to the simple and unaffected treatment of the face which we see in the three extant heads of the 'Ludovisi Throne.'

A study of the drapery confirms the impression produced by other portions of the work. Here again at first sight the style appears early, being imitative of various early reliefs, including those of the Ludovisi portion; but it shows also in many places, notably in the folds below the knees, a familiarity with the devices of a later age which betrays it; it is hard to believe that the sculptor had not seen at least the frieze of the Parthenon and the Attic tomb-reliefs.

Again, the treatment of the hair in the Boston relief is inconsistent. For the most part it is represented in a series of separate masses, each of them covered by a number of parallel striations; but on the other hand, the hair of the Eros is treated in a totally different manner, though one not unusual in archaic and transitional art. The system of parallel wiry striations, which is also to be seen in the central figure of the Ludovisi relief, occurs again on the old woman of the Boston relief; in her case the hair is confined by a band which presses into it in a manner most unusual before the latter part of the fifth century. The hair of the lyre-player with its small flat curls all over the head, sub-divided by parallel grooves, is very like that of the athlete head from the Sabouroff Collection—a head which it also resembles in other respects. In short, the hair, like other things, is imitative and eclectic.

The treatment of hands and feet is also very different from what we see in the Ludovisi relief, and is a curious mixture of affectation and realism. The affected gestures and expression of the 'Aphrodite' have already been alluded to; the treatment of the hands in this figure is particularly characteristic; the left with its fingers extended and separated, the right drooping languidly by the side, and both treated with a knowledge of anatomy and perspective and a realism in details such as is hard to parallel in early reliefs. The same criticism applies to the hands of the

other figures, notably those of the Eros and the extended fingers of the lyre-player. In the case of the feet the contrast with the Ludovisi relief



FIG. 3.—FIGURE IN BALANCE (LEFT).

is equally notable. They are soft and supple, and adapt themselves to the contour of the surface they rest on, while in the Ludovisi relief the soles are flat and firmly planted on the ground. The feet of the Eros are most remarkable. Their position, as is pointed out by Studniczka himself, is one which it is almost impossible to parallel in Greek art, even in works in the round. And the position of the feet in this relief, turned outward and with the toes slightly bent over so as to grasp, as it were, the margin of the relief, is contrary to the principles and the practice of Greek relief work of any age, and particularly of an early period. They are very cleverly foreshortened, but show no recognition whatever of the ideal front plane of the relief. Like the rest of this figure, they are a work in the round, set against a background and slightly foreshortened, but not translated into relief at all, much less thought out in relief. The way the toes of the lyre-player curl round and grasp the end of the volute is similar and equally strange.

Perhaps the most remarkable things in the whole relief are the two scales and the diminutive figures standing in them. The cone in which these figures stand is formed by filling in the space between the strings supporting the scale of the balance, a peculiar convention for which I know no parallel in ancient or modern art,

nor is any quoted by Studniczka. The two figures carved on these cones, evidently intended as standing in the scales and supporting themselves

partly by holding on to one of the strings of the balance, are in extremely low relief; but this relief is not flat and incised, according to the almost universal practice in early Greek work, but very delicately modelled. The proportions and character of the figures remind one more of Burne-Jones than of Greek work. If ancient, they certainly cannot be early. In the left-hand figure (Fig. 3) the graceful poise of the body, with its curved median line, and the studied absence of symmetry between the two sides, combined with the slender form, are all late characteristics; and the right-hand figure (Fig. 4), with its careful anatomical study of a suspended body almost but not quite in profile, seems to show a reminiscence of the hanging *Marsyas* of Pergamene art. How a figure in a similar position, though with a different motive, is treated in Greek relief may be seen in the two satyrs on the throne of the priest of Dionysus in the theatre at Athens. These two figures in the scales alone suffice to prove that we have not here a genuine early Greek relief.

If it be granted that the work is imitative, it may be asked where the models for the various figures are to be found; and this question is not very easy to answer. The imitator has made a free use of his knowledge of a number of early types in sculpture and relief, and apparently in vase-paintings also. This last would be rather difficult to explain in an artist of Graeco-Roman period; but the designs familiar to us on vases may have been preserved in other ways that it is now difficult for us to trace. In the case of some of the figures a more precise identification is possible. The *Eros*, though not an exact reproduction of any extant work of the school of *Pasiteles*, recalls several of them in its form and gestures. The identity of the 'Persephone' with the well-known 'Penelope' type has been generally



FIG. 4.—FIGURE IN BALANCE (RIGHT).

recognised; and here there is a curious coincidence. We have already noticed the extraordinarily bad proportions of this figure; the trunk is so short that the width between the breasts is actually greater than the height from the breasts to the line of the thigh. Now in the restored drawing of the Penelope by Michalek, in the text to *Antike Denkmäler* I. p. 17, exactly the same fault in proportion is to be seen; and this is explained in the text as due to the fact that the restoration was made from a photograph taken from below and too near to the figure. If the Boston relief should prove to be modern, this fact would be significant; in any case the coincidence is a very curious one. Another resemblance to the 'Penelope' is in the identity of head-dress on the head now known to belong to the type with that seen both on the 'Aphrodite' and the 'Persephone' of the Boston relief—a close-fitting cap or scarf, showing only on the forehead above the hair, with a loose fold of the himation over it, forming a projecting fold in the middle. This is a very unusual arrangement, and it is remarkable that it should appear twice in the same relief, on figures otherwise resembling the best-known—perhaps the only—ancient statue on which it occurs in just this form.

It would not be difficult to continue this list of criticism as to details; but perhaps enough has been said already to show that any theories as to the Boston relief must be received with circumspection, and that it cannot without further investigation be assumed to be the original counterpart of the Ludovisi relief. The possible alternatives have already been indicated at the beginning of this paper; and their respective probability has been considered in relation to the detailed evidence enumerated.

It remains for us to summarise this evidence, and to consider how far it is possible to come to any conclusion as to when or by whom the Boston relief was made. The arguments in favour of a date contemporary with the Ludovisi relief have for the most part been taken as self-evident, and therefore have not been formally stated. They consist, in the main, of the similarity of the two in shape and in architectonic structure, of the analogy of their subjects, and of a supposed similarity in their style and artistic character. The first two of these arguments must be granted, and, if the two reliefs are not contemporary, as two parts of a single design, the similarity must be explained as due to an imitation of the one by the artist who made the other. With the third, the argument from style, we have already dealt in detail, and we have observed that the differences are so great and so essential in nature as to preclude the possibility of the two reliefs being from the same hand or from the same school. Another possibility, that the Boston relief is approximately contemporary, but the work of a different school, cannot be so lightly dismissed. We have noticed that several characteristic features in the Boston relief can be paralleled in early fifth century vase-paintings, though not in relief sculpture, and many difficulties would be overcome if we supposed the Boston relief to be the work of an original but ill-trained sculptor, with some knowledge of painting and of sculpture in the round, but with little knowledge of or feeling for the strong and rigid traditions of early Greek sculpture in relief. Perhaps some will be inclined

to this solution; and it is at least preferable to a theory which regards the Ludovisi and Boston reliefs as two portions of a single uniform work. But there are very grave objections to it: we have noticed the three-quarter faces and the caricatured expressions of the principal figures, and the extreme improbability of such figures as those in the scales as part of a work of the early fifth century. And, moreover, it is very unlikely that any individual would break away so completely from the technical tradition of his art at a time when tradition was so strong and vigorous.

If we regard these considerations as fatal to the possibility of a fifth-century origin for the Boston relief, we are still left to choose between the two alternatives of a later classical, probably Neo-Attic, and a modern imitation. The difficulties we have to face are again very great in either case; but they may be diminished by the hypothesis, already suggested, that some more or less mutilated fragments of the original counterpart of the Ludovisi relief may have been known to the imitator, and have served as a basis to his composition, which he carried out with the help of a somewhat superficial acquaintance with the devices of archaic art. Thus perhaps we can best explain the curious mixture of originality and misunderstanding, of clever technique with unskilful and even clumsy adaptation. But, even with the help of this hypothesis, many people may find it difficult to accept either a later classical or a modern origin, and perhaps, without further external evidence, it is impossible to reach a final conclusion. The difficulty of interpretation, and the peculiarity of many details of type and technique, are arguments that may be used with almost equal cogency on both sides; for it may be urged that anything which seems to us improbable in the work of an ancient artist is even more improbable in the case of a modern imitator who wishes his work to be thought ancient. If, however, this paper must remain to some extent inconclusive, it has at least one clear result. We need not confuse and contaminate our impression of the Ludovisi relief, one of the most simple, beautiful, and characteristic works of Greek art in the early fifth century by associating with it, as part of the same original design, the Boston relief, which, in spite of all its technical ingenuity, is full of defects and affectations such as belong essentially to a decadent and imitative age.

E. A. GARDNER.

ELPIS-NEMESIS.

[PLATE VII.]

THE two objects figured on Plate VII are casts from the two sides of a limestone mould in the British Museum (Fig. 1). The mould is grooved round the edge, where it is a good deal broken away. The diameter is 11.4 cm., the thickness 1.9 cm. The mould was acquired by the Museum in 1910. Its provenance is not known. The descriptions which here follow apply to the casts.

(a) On the one side Elpis is represented, holding out a flower in her right hand and grasping with the left hand her skirt and embroidered chlamys which falls over her right arm. The attitude is practically that of the normal *Spes* type, except that the goddess here seems to grasp both the skirt and the chlamys, instead of the skirt alone. She wears a sleeveless chiton with apoptygma, girt at the waist with an ornamental belt. She has a bracelet on each wrist and an armlet on her left arm. Her hair is confined with a diadem. Behind her are a wreath and a palm-branch. Round the edge of the disk runs an inscription:—*Ἐχω ἐλπίδας καλὰς*.

(b) On the other side is a seated female Gryphon, with her right paw raised, resting on a wheel. The tail is in the form of an uræus. Round the edge runs an inscription:—*Νέμεσις Σικεα*.

The combination of Elpis and Nemesis is fairly common in Graeco-Roman times. The moral conveyed is an obvious one. It is the *Spes fallax dulces malum*, or, as it is expressed in the Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 146):

*Ἐλπίδα καὶ Νέμεσιν εὖνους παρὰ βωμῶν ἐτευξα,
τὴν μὲν ἴω' ἐλπίζης, τὴν δ' ἴσα μηδὲν ἔχης.*

The same idea is expressed in monumental form on the Chigi Krater (Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. *Nemesis*, 155, Fig. 5).

The types point to an Alexandrian origin for the mould. Elpis occurs frequently on Alexandrian coins from the time of Domitian onwards (*B.M. Coins of Alexandria*, p. 36, Pl. VIII.). The treatment of the embroidered chlamys as it appears on some of these coins (*e.g.*, *op. cit.* Pl. VIII. No. 714) is very similar to that on the mould under discussion, and the palm-branch also appears in the field on the coins (*op. cit.* No. 1620). This fact would, I think, favour the view that the significance of the wreath and palm-branch

on the mould is general, and that their appearance does not necessarily imply any connection with athletic competition.¹ The exact type of Gryphon with the uræus-tail also occurs on a coin of Alexandria (Dattari, *Monete imperiali greche. Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, Pl. XXXII., No. 3318). The lettering of the inscription, with its semi-cursive M, points to a date in the second or third century after Christ.



FIG. 1.—LIMESTONE DISK IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Nemesis, as she appears in Græco-Egyptian Art, has recently been dealt with by M. Paul Perdrizet in an interesting article in *B.C.H.* 1912, pp. 248 ff., and the present monument confirms his conclusion that the female Gryphon resting her paw on a wheel is not merely a symbol of

¹ M. Paul Perdrizet in response to a communication of mine has kindly suggested that the disks produced from the mould were intended

as talismans for competitors in the amphitheatre or circus.

Nemesis, but actually Nemesis herself. The Gryphon is the embodiment of sharp-sighted watchfulness.

The real difficulty lies in the interpretation of ΣΙΚΕΑ, and it must be admitted that no thoroughly convincing explanation can be offered. Certain suggestions may be made.

(1) That the epithet is local, though the locality cannot be determined. Cf. the Συμπναῖαι Νέμεσις of *Anth. Pal.* xii. 193.

(2) That the word is a corruption of Ἰσιᾶκή. The combination of Nemesis and Isis is frequent at the period to which the disk belongs. Ἰσις Νέμεσις occurs, for example, on three inscriptions from Delos (*B.C.H.* VI. pp. 336-8). The uraeus-tailed Gryphon would be suitable in such a combination (cf. Roscher *Lex. s.v. Nemesis*, 164). The corruption of ἸΣΙΑΚΗ into ΣΙΚΕΑ is, however, a formidable one to account for.

(3) Another suggestion has been made independently by Mr. G. F. Hill and Mr. A. B. Cook, viz., that ΣΙΚΕΑ is a corruption or dialectical variant of ΔΙΚΑΙΑ. ΖΙΚΑΙΟΣ for ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ occurs in inscriptions in the Elean dialect (*G.D.I.*, I. No. 1152 etc.), and, as Mr. Cook points out, the wreath and palm-branch would be suitable in connection with Elis. I am not, however, satisfied as to the occurrence of an Elean dialectical form on an object produced in Egypt in the second or third century after Christ.

Nemesis is, it is true, sometimes associated with Δίκη, as for example by Nonnus, who was probably born at Panopolis in Egypt in the fourth century after Christ. Compare his *Dionys.* xlviii. ll. 378 ff.:

καὶ τροχὸς αὐτοκύλιστος ἐν παρὰ ποσσὶν ἀνάσσης,
σημαίνων ὅτι πάντας ἀγέρορας εἰς πέδον ἔλκει,
ἰψόθεν εἰλυφόωσα δίκης ποινῆτορι κύκλῳ
δαίμων πανδαμάτιρα, βίον στροφόωσα πορεύην.

ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ πεπότητο παρὰ θρόνον ὄρνις ἀλάστωρ,
γρῦψ πτερόεις.

(4) M. Paul Perdrizet, in connection with the above mentioned suggestion that the mould was intended for the production of talismans, is inclined to think that ΣΙΚΕΑ should be interpreted as ΝΙΚΕΑ, the N having been miswritten by the engraver. This Νέμεσις Νικαία is the Nemesis to whom the competitor prays for victory.

I do not feel confident that any of the above suggestions solves the difficulty. It is probably wisest to suspend judgment until some further evidence can be produced.

F. H. MARSHALL

THE SCULPTURES OF THE LATER TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

THE sculptured drums of the columns of the Ephesian temple are important works both in scale and in beauty. Each of them was nearly twenty feet in circumference and six feet high. The most perfect of the drums, now in the British Museum, had eight life-size figures filling this space (Fig. 1): one of them is obviously Hermes, and the drum which bears it may conveniently be named from this figure.



FIG. 1.—DESIGN OF THE HERMES DRUM.

A few weeks after the first consignment of the Ephesus Sculptures arrived in England, an excellent account of them, which seems later to have been forgotten, was printed in *The Saturday Review* (Jan. 11, 1873). In a reference to it in Didron's *Christian Iconography* (English ed. vol. ii. p. 153) the author of the article in question is said to have been Sir Frederic Burton. He suggested that the subject of the most perfect drum was connected 'with the katachthonian deities.' The seated figure on the right of what seems to be the centre of action was identified as Pluto, the next in front as Persephone, and the beautiful winged youth as Thanatos. 'This mysterious figure has been thought to represent Eros, we should venture to call it Thanatos. . . . The head strongly answers to the character of the Genius of Death as conceived by the Greek imagination. We think,

however, that the presence of the sword decides the question, and we recall the passage in the *Alkestis* of Euripides where Thanatos appears armed with the sword, ready as "priest of the dying," to sever the lock from the victim. The author spoke further of 'this unique illustration of this unique passage' but he just missed the full implication of his own words and proceeded to identify what is probably the central figure as Demeter instead of Alkestis. Sir F. Burton further spoke of the figures as showing 'the pathetic character of the new Attic school'; he referred to the feminine softness of the figure which he called Thanatos and the *Schwärmerei* of its expression. He thought that the object in the hand of 'Persephone' was a diadem, and he noticed a resemblance between this figure and 'the noble statue at Munich known as the *Leukothea*,' which is now understood to be the Eirene of Kephissodotos. He described the sculptured square blocks, out of which Wood tried to make a frieze, as having belonged to a podium sculptured with the Labours of Hercules. Altogether this was a remarkable essay; Dr. Carl Robert called it a 'beautiful article.'

No official notice was taken of this excellent piece of work and, in 1877, when Wood published the account of his excavations, no identifications were offered. In 1879 Dr. Carl Robert independently identified Thanatos, Pluto, and Persephone. He suggested that the whole subject on the Hermes drum represented the passage in the story of *Alkestis* which Sir F. Burton had been reminded of, and went on to name the central figure Alkestis.

This identification of the subject is still accepted with hesitation in English books—thus in Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States* (v, p. 57) it is said that 'the only certain figure in this enigmatic scene is that of the youthful Hermes'; but it is allowed that 'the theory of Prof. Robert holds the field.' For an interesting contribution to the discussion see Mr. A. H. Smith's article in *J.H.S.* xi, p. 278, from which the drawing reproduced in Fig. 1 is taken.

The fact that Burton and Robert reached nearly identical results quite independently must go far to establish their interpretation, which might now be accepted without reservation. The figures which were on the part of the Hermes drum opposite to him are broken away, but it is certain that there were eight figures in all, as stated in the British Museum *Catalogue*. From the way the drum is now set up above a square pedestal it is easy to see that four of the figures are placed exactly centrally above the four sides of the pedestal, with another four facing the angles. The first of the figures to the right of the Hermes, of which any large part remains, was a majestic male, seated, draped and having sandals with open-work sides. These sandals are identical with others which appear on two copies of the temple statue of Asclepius at Epidaurus. They are more elaborate than, but of the same type as, those worn by the Hermes of Praxiteles. Compare also a bronze foot in the Greek Dress collection at the British Museum, which must, I think, have belonged to a fourth-century statue. By a curious chance of chronological arrangement, illustrations of one of the Epidaurus reliefs and of the Ephesus drum come next to one another in Mr. Hill's *Masterpieces*.

The remains of the Ephesus figure would perfectly suit the identification with Pluto. (See 'Hades' in Reinach's *Répertoire*.) Four or five years ago I pointed out that the figure between Pluto and Hermes, called Persephone by Burton and Robert, closely resembled the statue of Eirene by Kephisodotos, and I have recently found that Sir F. Burton, as mentioned above, had observed the same fact. The likeness between the two figures is so remarkable that no accident, or even vague memory, could account for it. The relief on the Ephesus column is essentially an adapted copy of the statue. The figures stand in the same way, are of similar proportions, are draped alike, and the figure in relief, like the statue, may have looked toward her left. The upper garment of each, which is very full, is fastened on both shoulders. The turned-over part is dragged across from the right shoulder to the middle, forming a wide flap there; beneath this show two or three inches of intricate folds falling over the girdle and forming an arched line across the figure; then the drapery falls in heavy, straight masses to the ground, which it nearly touches. It is strained tight by the right thigh, and the right leg is partly withdrawn behind a big vertical fold at the side. The toes of the feet and the sandals break the lower edge of the drapery into pretty ripples. Behind the shoulders the drapery, falling straight, frames the figure in upright lines.

How can we account for this resemblance? And is it possible that there is more in it than the imitation of an attitude? If it were possible to suppose that the figure was a type and that Eirene herself could appear here to mediate between Alkestis and Pluto, it might be suggested that the unexplained curved object which she held in her right hand was a horn. The Eirene relief in the Theatre of Dionysos again follows the same type and holds a cornucopia. Further, enough remains of the drapery of another figure which stood behind Pluto to show that it was a female, and this might be Persephone if the other were not. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the two figures on the column resemble so closely figures of Persephone and Pluto on several vases, where she is shown standing before him as here,¹ that the balance of probability is in favour of this identification. On these vases Persephone usually carries a torch.

It does not seem possible to decide what the object was which was carried by the female figure in the relief. All that is certain is that the left hand holds a short cord or strap which seems to have been connected with a curved object held in the raised right hand. Possibly Persephone gives Alkestis—who is putting on her mantle—a diadem or head covering.

In view of other points to be mentioned below, it should be remembered that Kephisodotos was the father of Praxiteles.

The beautiful figure of Hermes which comes next has much to remind us of Praxiteles. Besides the characteristic attitude, points of detail like

¹ See especially the Munich vase figured in Miss Harrison's *Mythology of Athens*, Fig. 38. This group in turn is like figures of Zeus and Athena which are found on more than one vase,

and it may derive in the first place from the central group in the East front of the Parthenon (see *J.H.S.* 1907, p. 244).

the modelling of the knees and the fullness over the eyes recall the *Hermes of Olympia*. It seems, however, to have been still more like an *Eros* said to be after *Praxiteles*, which is represented on a coin; this had the bent left arm and the drooping right arm (see *Collignon*, vol. ii., Fig. 141). Dr. Farnell thinks that 'the face is slightly *Scopas* in character,' and he suggests that 'this *Ephesian* relief may have become widely known as a recognised type of *Hermes*.' It may not be doubted that this figure is a master's work and closely connected with the art of either *Praxiteles* or *Scopas*.

'*Alkestis*' is an extremely beautiful figure. Professor E. Gardner has criticised it as 'incongruous with the scene of so much pathos. The artist seems most concerned to find a graceful motive for each figure: the lady is even fixing her mantle over her left shoulder.' (*Greek Sculpture*, p. 421.) The gesture, however, is surely expressive for one who is being called to go on a journey. It is, indeed, one of many points which confirm the identification of the subject. The design of this figure should be compared with the *Artemis of Gabû* in the Louvre, who 'with a charming gesture adjusts on the right shoulder a mantle' (*Collignon*, vol. ii. fig. 144). The original of this statue is ascribed to *Praxiteles*. This master, however, did not invent the gesture, which may be traced back to the great Fifth Century. A figure extraordinarily like the *Alkestis* of the *Ephesus* column appears on an *Attic* vase in the Vatican, which has been illustrated by *Michaelis* (p. 139) as a parallel to a metope of the *Parthenon* (Fig. 2). The figure on the vase is



FIG. 2.

Aphrodite. It is not certain that the corresponding figure on the *Parthenon* metope was closely similar, but there must have been some great original from which these several versions derived. It is just possible that some draped *Aphrodite* of *Praxiteles* followed this type, as this might account for its appearance on the *Ephesus* column. The figure of *Alkestis* suggests this master by the remarkable realism of the drapery. Besides the beautifully arranged folds, which skilfully indicate stuff of fine texture, the surface is modelled with slight transverse wrinkles which almost suggest silk, if that were possible, and give a wonderfully real effect, yet it is carved with swift mastery. This characteristic is found again in the drapery of the *Hermes of Olympia* and that of the *Venus of Cnidus* (copy). Such drapery could only be the work of a master of technique

such as *Praxiteles*, *Scopas*, or some unknown of their circle. The late Mr. G. F. Watts remarked that 'in the *Hermes* of *Praxiteles* there is evident endeavour to suggest the texture and sheen of the peculiar fabric.'

The figure of '*Thanatos*' may be a creation for its place, and, if so, it is a very noble one. The idea and execution should mark its author as a great master. The head is fortunately nearly entire. The right arm, which hung loosely in front, may be traced. The body has an astonishing softness of texture, as if there were flesh under a thin skin. Notice the creases above the plump feet; and the undulations of surface; these last

probably give the remarkable 'atmosphere' to this figure. The copy of the Venus of Cnidus has something of this same quality, but probably no other existing original equals in this respect the Thanatos, which thus reflects light back on the original Venus. A Maenad of Scopas, and an Amazon of the Mausoleum frieze, also show something of the same intention. It must be a mark of the movement in sculpture at this time. The softness of the Thanatos was an essential part of the idea. Sir F. Burton noticed the 'almost sexless face' and long, wavy hair. This type is found again in the Madrid Hypnos, an original work by a contemporary of Praxiteles (Collignon, vol. ii, p. 359), and in the Apollo of Praxiteles known in a copy. Professor E. Gardner has remarked of the Apollo that 'the copyist has exaggerated the softness of the figure almost to effeminacy,' but our Thanatos is evidence that just this characteristic was original. The comparison with the Madrid Hypnos is, further, good evidence to show that the Ephesus figure is rightly named Thanatos, for he and Hypnos were often treated like twin brothers. A difficulty has been raised as to the identification of Thanatos because this personage, on some of the vases, is bearded, but this was not obligatory, as is shown by a pair of these figures on a vase (Reinach, i. 149). On another vase (Reinach, i. 410) appears a winged Eros-like figure with a sword pursuing a woman, and it seems possible that this represents Thanatos and Alkestis. Compare also the beautiful cnp E. 12 in the British Museum.

Still further to the left, next to Thanatos, was a standing male figure with the lower part of his body draped. The garment passed across the body and was wrapped over the left arm leaving the shoulder bare. Only a little of this figure remains, but it must have been something like several of the 'magistrates' of the Parthenon frieze. In the British Museum *Catalogue* it is said that this figure leaned on a staff, but I cannot find sufficient evidence for this. The oblique lines on the marble are, I think, accidental, the result of fracture.

The other sculptured drums of which parts were found were of inferior style to that of the Hermes column with the possible exception of one which shows the remains of several female figures voluminously draped. I have before suggested that these must have represented the Muses. These figures are more closely set than are the eight of the Hermes column, and there must have been in this case nine or ten figures. Enough exists to show that there was a beautiful group of three, two being seated on either hand of a standing figure. Beyond, on the left, was another standing female, and doubtless there was yet another on the right, five at least alternately standing and sitting. They are like the usual type of the Muses, in groups of whom it was very usual to make some seated while the rest stood. This is so, for instance, on a pedestal from Halicarnassus which stands in the Gallery just opposite to the Ephesus drum. The Ephesus figures should especially be compared with the Muses of Mantinea, which are understood to derive from originals by Praxiteles. Just enough remains of the seated figure to the left to show that she rested her right hand on her knee,

while the upper part of her body was twisted around towards the central standing figure, to whom she probably looked up. The seated figure on the right seems to have had the right leg thrown over the other. For these attitudes compare the Halicarnassus pedestal.

Two heads of the figures on the Hermes column are so nearly complete that it would be easily possible to restore plaster casts of them. A third important fragment of a woman's head (No. 1239) rests in a case where it is difficult to see it, but it appears to be a beautiful work. As the hypothesis on which Dr. Murray proceeded when he placed the sculptured drums above the sculptured pedestals has broken down, it would be very satisfactory to students if the drums could now be set on a lower level where they might be readily seen. The two beautiful heads are now about twelve feet from the floor.

The sculptured pedestals seem to have been of a more uniform style than the drums. The subject on one of them (No. 1200) has been called the Combat between Heracles and the Amazon, but, as noted in the *Catalogue*, neither figure is of the usual type. A fully draped woman pulls violently at the arm, or the lion-skin mantle of a male figure seated before her. He has a stick which is certainly not the club of Heracles although it might be part of many other things from a spear to a distaff. Next to the woman was a figure which in the *Catalogue* is called a female, of which only the arm covered with a long sleeve remains. Such a sleeve should belong to either an Amazon or an Oriental male. The supposed Heracles seems to be falling backwards in a helpless kind of way which suggests a Bacchic subject. I venture to suggest that it represents Heracles and Omphale.²

The female figure which is nearly perfect is a wonderful piece of vigorous workmanship, the drapery is very true; a loose flap under the right arm shows that the chiton was of the split form. This figure resembles in some degree one on the balustrade of the Temple of Nike at Athens, and it has been pointed out that some figures of Victories leading animals to the sacrifice on another of the Ephesus pedestals resemble others on the Nike balustrade. On this same restored pedestal a fragment (1201) has been fixed, which is described as Heracles seated; 'a small part of the left thigh, and the left hand are preserved.' Is not the 'thigh' rather a part of a serpent? In this case the subject might be Heracles and the Hydra, or the Garden of the Hesperides.

On the left side of block 1204 was a female figure with a stag which may be compared with a figure of Artemis on a vase (*J.H.S.* 1905, Pl. II.); and also with the well known Diana of Versailles. On the front of the same pedestal is a combat between Heracles and a giant . . . This group is in very high relief and large masses . . . were separate pieces attached by

² Compare an illustration under 'Heracles' in Darnberg and Soglio where Omphale wears the lion's skin and Heracles carries the distaff. It is there said that it was a favourite Alexandrian subject.

For Heracles and the Amazon compare the fine sarcophagus in the B.M. with the metope of Olympia.

dowels' (B.M. *Catalogue of Sculpture*). The evidence seems rather to suggest a work of repair. No. 1205 is 'a combat between some male figure—perhaps Heracles or Theseus—and a Centaur.' Some mane-like hair which appears where the human and beast-like parts join spreads down over the shoulder of the composite creature and shows again at lower points just in front of the knee of the male figure and again at the angle still lower. It evidently formed a sort of fringe around the junction of the two parts. Such a treatment is unusual for a Centaur although there seems to be a suggestion of something of the sort on one embossed on a silver vase of late Hellenistic work found at Bernay. Enough remains of another pedestal, as skilfully fitted together at the Museum, to show that there was a Nereid riding a hippocamp on each of the four sides. The Nereid on fragment 1209 is described as having 'the right arm extended holding a fold of her mantle.' The drapery falling from her right hand passed in a mass of folds across her lap. The body was covered with a tunic of thin material clinging close to the forms—wetted drapery was obviously appropriate here. (Compare the Xanthos Nereids.) This Nereid floated clinging to her steed and clasping its neck with her left arm, the tresses of her hair were blown out horizontally. This figure when complete must have been very like one on a vase figured by Reinach (ii. 309 = Fig. 3). It also resembles the Aphrodite riding on a goat as represented on a mirror after an original supposed to be by Scopas (see Collignon, vol. ii. Fig. 116). Here again we have the drapery flying out from the head, held by the hand of the bent right arm and returning in a mass across the lap. Fairly accurate restored diagrams could be made of two of these Nereids. Another of the pedestals was sculptured with the Victories leading animals to the sacrifice mentioned above (see *Catalogue*). Here as on the Nereid pedestal one general subject doubtless filled all four sides of the block and this was probably the case with all of them.



FIG. 3.

Four or five years since while working at the architectural characteristics of the Temple of Artemis I made one or two small observations in regard to the sculpture. One point mentioned above was the striking resemblance between the shoes worn by the seated Pluto-like figure on the Hermes column, and the shoes of two figures in relief on slabs found at Epidaure which are accepted as being representations of the temple-statue of

Asclepius (Defrasse et Leclat, *Epidaure*, pp. 84, 85). The shoes are of open cut-work and are identical in pattern, see A and B in the illustration (Fig. 4), from Epidaure and Ephesus respectively. As Scopas, who worked at Ephesus, was associated also with Timotheus at the Mausoleum,



FIG. 4.

it seems possible that both may have worked together also at Ephesus. In turning over the plates of Defrasse and Leclat's account of excavations at Epidaure, I have been again impressed

with details of likeness between the sculptures and architectural forms at Epidaurus and those at Ephesus.

A remarkable block sculptured in relief, described as a votive monument or part of an altar, is in its principle of design extraordinarily like the sculptured pedestals discovered at Ephesus (Defrasse et Lechat, p. 87). As a capping it has a bold Lesbian leaf moulding, practically identical in form and use with those surmounting the pedestals at Ephesus. Beneath on the vertical surface are figures in relief a good deal like those of the sculptured drums of the columns of the Artemision.

The most remarkable point of coincidence, however, is that figures of the Epidaurus sculpture were applied to the block so as to turn the angle. Thus a figure of Victory has the body on one face of the square stone block, while a wing and a flying mass of drapery are continued past the corner on to the other side. The conception is entirely parallel to the sculpture of 'Heracles and the Amazon' on the pedestal from Ephesus at the British Museum, for in this, too, the action of the group turns the corner of the square stone. The two works are really extraordinarily alike in conception and detail. As pointed out in the British Museum *Catalogue* the Nereids at Ephesus resemble 'the Nereids of Timotheus from Epidaurus' (see Defrasse et Lechat, pp. 74 and 76).

Again, the lion-head spouts of the cymation at Ephesus were closely like those at Epidaurus (Defrasse et Lechat, pp. 111, 123, 166, 167). In both places we have similar deeply set eyes, frowning brows, wrinkled muzzles, and stiff locks of hair. Those at Ephesus, while little like those at the Mausoleum, seem as if they might have been carved by the same sculptor who wrought those of Epidaurus. Further, the whole design of the cymation at Ephesus might have been derived from Epidaurus. The gutter-front of the Mausoleum follows an older fashion in having carved palmettes rising vertically, but the gutter at Ephesus follows a type initiated at the Erechtheum and developed at Argos, Epidaurus, and elsewhere. In this type acanthus bracts and palmettes spring from scrolls which spread laterally along the gutter front.² Sometimes the scrolls sprang from the centre of each length and terminated against the lions' heads, at others they issued by the lions' heads and met together in the midst between them as at Ephesus (cf. Defrasse et Lechat, pp. 125, 123, 167). The character of the scroll-work in the last is remarkably like that at Ephesus. Frequently an antefix with a palmette carved on it was set over the centre between two lions' heads above the joint in the stone gutter. This may have been the case at Ephesus, for Wood says that he found part of a palmette antefix.

I have before pointed out that the sculptured ornament of the gutter front at Ephesus was copied at Priene, and from that its pattern may be completed. In the Museum basement are several small fragments in addition to the large piece shown in the Ephesus Gallery. With the help of these a nearly complete restoration might be made. It should be noticed that in the

² The source for the continuous meandering scroll of later days.

Museum the lion's head (1234) is fixed too low in relation to the rest of the cymation; the bottom of it should probably not come below the 'bed' of the gutter and the total length of a gutter stone should be about 5 ft. 8½ ins., that is three stones to a columniation. As set up now each stone would have been about 5 ft. 10 ins. long.

Our comparisons may help to settle the date of the later Temple of Artemis. I doubt the stories that the older temple was burnt on the night of Alexander's birth, and that the newer temple was built by his architect, Deinocrates. At least both these tales may be myths.⁴ It seems certain that the temple must have been completed with its roof before the smaller but somewhat similar temple at Priene, for the gutter of Ephesus was copied at Priene but in a much inferior style. This gives us a lower limit of time at about 330 B.C. On the other hand, the roof of Ephesus had probably not been reached when the Mausoleum had its gutter set in place, for that, as said above, is of an older type.

From these comparisons a date about 340 or 345 may be suggested for the roof of the temple of Ephesus, but this vast structure must have been many years in course of construction, perhaps twenty or thirty. Timotheus seems to have been working at Epidauros about 370, and Kephisodotos wrought his Eirene about the same time. Now, if Timotheus was at the Mausoleum with Scopas about 350, it may be suggested that he also worked with Scopas at Ephesus before that time. The sculptures at the Mausoleum seem to me to be later in style than those at Ephesus, although the riding Persian found at the Mausoleum is very similar to the Amazon of Timotheus at Epidauros; as has often been pointed out. The pedestals and sculptured drums of the columns at the Temple of Artemis would, I think, have been wrought as the works neared completion, and not when the blocks were set in place at an earlier time. Yet I cannot think that these sculptures were wrought later than the middle of the fourth century.

A sculptured lion's head of noble style now exhibited in the Ephesus Room, No. 47 [53] is described as having, perhaps, formed part of the gutter, and it is assigned to the archaic temple, but this I do not think possible either in point of time or of function. It seems to me of fine central style and it probably formed part of a sculpture in the round. At the back a part of the shoulder is still attached; and it is clear from the parting of the mane that the neck was sharply turned from the shoulder almost at right angles. This appears to be the head described by Wood as having formed part of a statue.

It will be remembered that Wood thought that the blocks of the square sculptured pedestals were fragments of a frieze. It is absolutely certain, however, that they made up square blocks a little over six feet wide on each side, and each in four pieces, for all, or nearly all, are angle pieces; and the average dimension of the completer ones is a little more than three feet measured horizontally. It seems not to have been remarked that Wood gives

⁴ Deinocrates is said also to have built the wonderful tomb of Arsinoë.

us sufficient information to show that all these were dug up at or near the entrance front, that is, the west end of the temple. Thinking, as he did, that they formed parts of the frieze he would have been glad to tell us of any fragments found elsewhere, but he does not. The sculptured drums of columns, on the other hand, were found both at the east and at the west ends of the temple. According to this evidence there were square sculptured pedestals at the west end but not at the east end, although there were sculptured drums at both ends. Now it is almost impossible to suppose that similar sculptured drums would be elevated in one case on pedestals and in the other be set six feet lower in level on the pavement. This same difficulty, indeed, applies equally to the inner row of columns on the entrance front. Unless the pedestals and the drums were built to range at the same level,² the pedestals taking the place of the drums in the outer row, an awkward question as to level must have arisen. It is difficult to see how any reasonable arrangement other than this can be suggested except that of Dr. Murray, who placed the pedestals entirely beneath the level of the platform; but that solution is impossible having regard to the evidence and the structural necessities of the case, for the platform was a great foundation, and it is unthinkable structurally that the enormous weight-bearing columns should have been built outside this foundation.

W. R. LETHBRIDGE.

² The drums are 'exactly six feet high' inch less, while the pedestals are stated to be according to Wood; in the British Museum six feet one inch. *Catalogue* they are said to be a quarter of an

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM NEO-PHRYGIARUM.—II.

THE present paper is a continuation of my article in vol. xxxi. of this *Journal* (1911), pp. 161-215, and it contains the inscriptions promised on the final page of that article. The sixth inscription (No. LXXII) was recopied by Sir W. M. Ramsay and myself in 1912, but we added little to Professor Callander's copy. Several further texts discovered in 1912, and careful revisions of many of the known inscriptions, are reserved for treatment in another place. The inscriptions in my former paper are referred to as Nos. I, II, etc.

XXXIX. (a). (R. 1891, C. 1911). At Kutadilli, near Lysias.

Α
ΦΑΗΑΔΕΛΦΗΑΥ
ΝΗΜΗC Χ Ν
ΙΟCΝΙC ΟΝΤ ΚΝΟΥ
ΜΑΝ ΚΑΚΟΥΝΤΗ ΔΒΑ
ΚΕΤΛΙΟC Ε ΖΕΜΕΩC
ΚΟΙΤΕΙ ΚΜΕΝC ΕΙ
ΤΟΥΑΤΤΗ ΚΕΑΔΕΠΟΥ

5 ^ααν μνημης χ[αρι]ν
 ιος νι σ[ε]μ[ου] τ[ου] κρου-
 ματ[ε] κακουν τι [αδ]δα-
 κετ, [δ]μος [κ]ε [σ]ζ[ε]μ[ελ]ως
 10 κε τιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικεμ[ε]ως κ[α]-
 του, Αττην κε αδειτου.

The stone bearing this inscription had been deliberately hacked all over, and it was difficult in many places to distinguish the modern chisel-marks from the original letters. It might have been possible, had it been worth several hours' work, to read the Greek portion completely: it is obviously an epitaph of the ordinary type.¹ I worked long at the Phrygian portion, and convinced myself regarding every letter I have given as certain; the restorations, many of them supported by traces on the stone, follow as a matter of course. In the copy only two points call for comment. There was an apparently ancient symbol between the third and fourth letters of *αὐδᾶκετ* (line 7). It was probably an 'ivy-leaf'; if a letter, it was part of C or Ε. Between Ε and Ζ in line 8 there is space for a letter, which appeared to be C; indeed, if the space was engraved at all, C is the only possible letter, but it was difficult at this point to distinguish between the

¹ In line 2, with Prof. Ramsay's copy before me, I regarded ἀδελφῆ as certain.

ancient engraver and the modern mason. If we read *κε σζεμελως*, we may compare it with forms like *ἐνοραίσζω*, *Σώσζονται* (Laodiceia Combusta, unpublished), etc., which are fairly common on Greek inscriptions of Anatolia.

With *σερουν του κνουμα* (or *κνουμανι*, not *κνουμανει*) compare Nos. II (note), X, LXI. With *δινς κε [σ]ζεμελως κε* compare *Αττιη κε δινς κε* in No. LXII. The syntax of this inscription (see *Addenda* to my former paper) confirms my argument for the division *Αττιε αδειτου*. The name of Attis is mentioned separately after it has been included by implication in [σ]ζεμελως, as I have pointed out on LXII (p. 208).

LXVIII. (C. 1911.) At Karadilli.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ

Ἀπολλώνιος (καὶ ἡ δεῖνα
σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶν-)

ΤΕΣΚΤΙΦΡΟΝΟΥ
CAN IOCNIE
ΚΟΥΝΑΔΑΚΕ
ΕΤΙΤΕΤΙΚ

τες καὶ φρονοῦντες ἀνέστη-
σαν, ὡς νι (σ)εμ[ον κνουμανι κα-
5 κουν αδακε[τ, δινς ζεμελως
ετι[τ]τετικ[μενος ειτον.

The stone on which this inscription was engraved had just been broken into fragments to build into the wall of a new mosque. I was able to find only the above two pieces. It is uncertain how many lines are lost after the first line; the edges did not fit exactly, and a thin piece had been lost. Probably the engraver omitted *Σ* in *CEMON*; or should we read the Greek *ἐμοῦ* or *ἐμῶ*?

LXIX. (B. and C. 1911.) At Kudin Khan, west of Laodiceia Combusta. In the front wall of the ruined Khan.

ΕΙΝΕΜ
ΔΟΥΞΕΥ
ΝΕΤΕΙΡΑ
ΡΕΟΙΤΑΔΕ
ΝΑΤΩΚΙΗΥ
ΜΑΝΙΕΚΡ
ΩΔΑΔΩΝΕ
ΙΟΝΟΥΕΩΣ
ΡΟΙΤΑΛΕΝΤ
ΑΤΙΙΣΔΕΟΥΕ
ΙΑΣΜΑΝΕΙΣ
ΔΑΔΩΝΚΕ

ΟΚΚΑΥΓΟΙ
ΟΥΡΜΟΥΣΑΕ
ΝΙΟCΣΑΙΚΑ
ΚΟΝΑΔΑ
ΚΕΤΜΑΝΚ
ΑΙΙCNI
ΖΩCΙCΕΤ
ΕΙCΚΕΤΙΤΕ
ΤΙΚΜΕΝΟC
ΕΙΤΟΥ

Εἰνε[α]μ-
δους Ξευ-
ν' ἐπειρα-
ρε οπαδε-
5 ν' ατ ω κ[νο]ν-
μαν[α] [ε]κρ-
ω Δαδων[ε]-
Ονουεως ε-
ροι τ[ε] Αλεπ-
10 ατ[ο]ς Δεουε-
ιας Μανεις
Δαδων κε

Οκκα νγοι
ουρμ[ο]υσασε-
ν. ιος σαι κα-
15 κον [α]δδα-
κετ μανκ-
α[ν], το[ς] νι
ζως κε π-
20 εις κε τιτε-
τιαμενος
ειτον.

This inscription (discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay) fills the two lower panels of a doorstone. The upper panels are broken across the middle, but there is no Greek inscription on the part which remains, and the above is very probably the complete epitaph. The letters are rudely and irregularly engraved, but, except in a few places where the stone is worn, they are clear. We copied the inscription several times, and I delayed my departure from Kadin Khan for a day in order to secure a favourable light for photographing the stone. The above text, on which, after repeated consideration of every letter, we finally agreed, is, with the following reservations, fairly certain.

The last two letters in line 1 run together, and no cross-bar was engraved (a frequent omission, cf. No. LIII.); but the shape of the group makes decidedly for [A]M as against M[A] (I reject AM as impossible). In line 6, two letters are completely lost between N and E. The last letter in line 7 is undoubtedly C, that at the end of line 8 is I; it is shorter than the other letters, but appeared certain. In line 9, the third letter from the left side might be I or a badly-formed Y. We thought however that the apparent oblique stroke was a fault in the stone, and I secured the more probable reading. The fifth letter in line 9 appeared to be C, but the stone was much worn at this point. YCOI, not YIOI, is certain in line 13. The restoration in line 18 is obvious, but no trace of TO remained. The only difference between our copies is that in line 14 I doubtfully read a small O between M and Y; Sir W. M. Ramsay regarded the space between these letters as empty.

The text falls into two parts. The words down to *avp[σ]v[σ]αev* describe the preparation of a tomb by several persons, the remainder is a variation of the usual curse against violation of the tomb. Some details in the first part are hard to explain, but I think the general sense can be recovered.

Supposing *κταv[σ]α[α]* to be correctly restored, it is the last word in a rough hexameter, concluding with two spondees. There follows a series of personal names, which violate the metre, as frequently happens in Greek metrical epitaphs of this locality. With the order of the words in the protasis of the curse, reminiscent of metre, compare No. LX.

The following translation, conjectural here and there, appears to give the general meaning.

Xeuna, daughter of Eincandō, fitted up a substructure (*σπαδεν*) on which (*ατ[τ]ω*) a tomb to . . . Dadōn, son of Onous, (she) and the children (?) (*ιποι*) Aleupates, Devias, Manis, the grandchildren (?) (*υγoi*) Dadōn and Okka, set up. Whoever does harm to this monument, let him both when alive and his posterity be accursed.

The name Xeuna (with final -a elided before *ερεvαπε*)² is common in Phrygia (see on No. XXXI). I take *Εινκαvδov* to be the genitive of a proper name Eincandō or Eincandou, which reminds us of the Anatolian town-names Oinoandos, Oiniandos (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*,

² Or perhaps -a is dropped as in *Βαvα* for *Βαvαα* in Old Phrygian.

p. 386); it is probably not a Phrygian name. The verb *επειραει* can hardly be other than the Greek *ἐπείραει*, and *οπαδεν* (compare the accusative *κακεν*, No. XL and *ζεμελεν*, Hesychius) a word corresponding to Greek *ὀπαδός* and meaning some accessory and subordinate part of the monument. The use of *ατ ω* in line 5 is exactly like that in No. XLIX; in both inscriptions it means 'on which.' The next word is probably *κρουμα[α]* accusative governed by *ουμ[ο]υσαει*; for the form, compare No. XXXI. The following word has lost its initial letter. It may be the name *Πουκρος* (compare *κακεν* for *κακουν*) which occurs in No. XXXI, but is more probably a word in the dative meaning 'husband.'²⁸ If our general scheme of interpretation is correct, we should expect the relationship of Xeuna to Dadōn to be expressed. *Δαδω[ε]* is probably the next word; the second last letter is *ζ*, not *ε*, but I suspect negligence of the engraver here. *Δαδων* could be the dative of a name *Δαδω*, just as *σεμουρ* is constantly used for *σεμου*,²⁹ but *Σιουουεως* is a very unlikely name. *Οουουεως* is the genitive of a name *Οουουης*, with which the Phrygian **Ουνης* (Nicol. Damasc. *fr.* 54, Kretschmer *Einführung*, p. 344) may be compared. The next word, *ιποι*, means 'children'; it is identical with *ειποι* in No. VII, where I should now prefer the explanation given there as an alternative *ειποι* *Ατις* *τιττητικμενοι* *ειν[ου]*, giving *ειποι* the sense of *τέκνα*,³⁰ see on No. I, and compare the very frequent Greek curse *ὀφθαρά τέκνα λιποτρο* etc. After *ιποι* we should read *τ[ε]*, connecting Xeuna with her children as joint subject of *ουμ[ο]υσαει*. The enclitic conjunction *τε* occurs also in No. LXIII. *Αλενπατες* is evidently a Persian name. *Δεουεας* is to be compared with the name *Δεουας* in Perrot, *Exploration de la Galatie*, i. p. 52 (similar doublets are **Αππας* and **Αππās*, *Παππας* and *Παππās*, etc.). Perrot connects the name with the Sanskrit root *dīv* which appears in modern Persian as *dev*. The name probably came into Asia Minor with the Galatians; compare the Celtic river-name *Deva*. *Manis* and *Dadōn* are well-known Phrygian names, and *Οκκα* occurs frequently in the form **Ακκα* (Kretschmer, *Einführung*, p. 351); of the pairs **Αννα* **Ουνης*, *Νάννα* *Νούνης*, *δακερ* *δοκερ*, etc. The ethnic **Οκνός*, implying a form **Οκα*, occurs in Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.*, No. 155.

The position of *ογοι* in the epitaph demands a meaning like 'grandchildren,' 'sons-in-law' or some such term of relationship. The regular order on Greek epitaphs recording the preparation of a tomb by a whole household puts the wife and sons and daughters first, and the sons-in-law or daughters-in-law and the grandchildren next. *ουμ[ο]υσαει* (or *ουμυσαει* according to R.'s copy; the divergence is immaterial) is a verb in the aorist, third person plural, meaning *ἀνέστησαν* or *κατεσκεύασαν*. Perhaps it is connected with the Greek *ἐρμα*; a peculiar use of *ἐρμαιον* = 'tomb' is attested in S.-E. Phrygia.³¹ The word in that case means 'piled-up,'

²⁸ Mr. Frazer suggests *αεσω* (*αἰσώ*).

²⁹ See Scholzen in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* N.F. xiv. p. 50.

³⁰ The same word is perhaps compounded in *Δαδωα* 'daughter of Δαδω': see J. Frazer

Phrygian Studies, Trans. Camb. Phil. Soc. Vol. vi. Part II, p. 21.

³¹ Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* Nos. 501, 586, fantastically taken by Burchanov in *Comment. Wolflin*, p. 356, to mean 'burn.'

* constructed. With *σας . . . μανκα[ν]* contrast *σαν . . . μανκαί* in No. LX. *μανκα[ν]* appeared to fill the space better than *μανκα[ι]*. We find *τος υ* in Nos. III, VI, XXV. On the use of *υ* in Phrygian, see Prof. Richard Meister in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, 1909, pp. 315 ff., a paper with which I became acquainted only after my former article was published.⁸ *ζων* is most probably the Greek word which sometimes replaces *ζων* on inscriptions; *πεις κε* is added somewhat awkwardly, but the sense is clear 'let him both when alive and his posterity. . .'. This inscription supports Seetzen's reading (ΠΕΙC) against Hamilton's ΠΕΙEC in No. XII. I took *πεις* in that inscription to mean 'children'; Torp (*Phryg. Insch. aus röm. Zeit*, p. 18) connects the word with Greek *ὄπισ-θεν*, and translates 'die Kindeskinde'. Either meaning suits excellently, and the general sense is 'posterity,' the *τέκνα καὶ ἐκ τέκνων τέκνα* of No. I.

LXX. (C. 1911.) At Laodiceia Combusta.

ΙΟC	ΙΟC [νι σεμονυ
ΚΝ	κυ[ου]μαρει κ-
ΑΚΟ	ακο[υ]ν τι αδδα-
ΚΕΤ	κε[τ] τ. τετετια-
ΜΕ	με[ν]ος Αττι-
ΕΑ	ε α[δ]ειτου.

This inscription was engraved on a round pillar; there was no Greek inscription accompanying it. The erasure of most of the letters appeared ancient, and was carefully executed. The text presents no unusual feature. The restoration is fairly certain; only [σεμον του] may be the correct supplement in the first line; compare No. LXL, also from Laodiceia Combusta.

LXXI. (R. and C. 1911.) At Saghir (Sagone ?) on an Imperial Estate near Antiochia ad Pisidiam. On a *bomos*.

T I C K E Γ E P E I	τις κ(ε) εγερε[τ] ε-
T I T T E T I K M	τετετιακμ[ε]-
N O I I N N O Y	νος ιννου.

There is a space, due apparently to an ancient fault in the stone, between the first and second letters in line 1; no certain trace of a letter could be made out in this space. At the end of line 1, two letters are lost; at the end of line 2, one letter. The third line is complete and certain.

⁸ With Prof. Meister's novel and ingenious treatment of the Phrygian inscriptions in this article, in *Berichte Sachs. Gesell. Wiss.*, (Leipzig), 1911, pp. 21 ff. and in *Zeits. Néol. et*

éol., pp. 165 ff., I hope to deal at length elsewhere.

The construction (singular relative clause denoting a class, with the principal verb in the plural) is common in all languages. The inscription opens with the Greek $\tau\omicron\varsigma$, used as a relative, as often in inscriptions, and the Phrygian particle $\kappa\epsilon$, which is also found with $\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ($\tau\omicron\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$ No. XXXVI of LIV.). The form $\mu\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ in this inscription shows that in No. XII Scetzen's $\epsilon\text{IHN}\Omega\Upsilon$ is nearer the truth than Hamilton's $\epsilon\text{IHN}\Omega\Upsilon$. In that inscription we must now read $\alpha\delta\epsilon\alpha\{\nu\}\rho\upsilon\upsilon$,* and $\epsilon\upsilon\{\nu\}\rho\upsilon\upsilon$ must likewise be restored in No. VII. There is no longer any epigraphic support for the intermediate form $\epsilon\text{I}\tau\tau\rho\upsilon\upsilon$, which seemed to follow naturally from Hamilton's copy of No. XII.

The verb $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\pi\epsilon\{\tau\}$ evidently means 'does harm,' 'violates' (the tomb). Mr. Fraser has communicated to me, and will shortly publish,³⁶ an explanation of No. LVII, in which he takes $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau$ to be the verb in the protasis, and understands that the inscription is incomplete. This explanation of $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau$ is supported by an Old Phrygian text discovered by Chantre at Enyuk in Cappadocia, published by him in *Mission en Cappadoce*, pp. 174 ff. and discussed by De Saussure, *ibid.* I observed some time ago that the reading $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau$ in that inscription had very poor support on the photograph of the stone, and that $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau$, which was given as a variant, was probably the true reading. This observation was confirmed by a new copy of the stone made by Sir W. M. Ramsay and myself in the Museum at Stamboul in May, 1912. The inscription should be read as follows:

otuvoviveteitgnait
«ios ni alenan eyeset(i)»
 (one letter lost) [n or t]irterko[s]asickmor
otgnasetivobri.

In line 2, $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau$ is absolutely certain. A letter is lost at the beginning of line 3, the following letter being probably n , possibly t . Part of the letter after $terko$ is lost, but the portion which remains can only belong to s . a and i of asi are certain, and the ghost of s could be seen. We looked carefully for $tekmor$, but the letter before e is i , not t . Line 4 is the last line, and o is the first letter in it; there is an ancient break in the stone in front of o . After ot , $gnas$ appeared fairly probable, but n and a are much worn. The relation of this inscription to the fragmentary and defaced inscriptions on the edges of the stone will probably never be determined; but it is important to remember that we cannot assume as certain (as Torp has done³⁷) that line 1 is the beginning of the inscription.

The most striking feature in this inscription is the similarity of the curse-formula to that in use about a thousand years later. The verb $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau$ or $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ is clearly the same as $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau$ in No. LVII, and probably $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\pi\epsilon\{\tau\}$ in the inscription of Saghir is a dialectic variety of the same word.

* The correct restoration of $\epsilon\text{IHN}\Omega\Upsilon$ has already been made by Meiser, *Delegem. Prov. asienica*, 1909, p. 317, n. 2.

³⁶ *Phrygian Studies* pp. 17, 48.

³⁷ In the paper quoted below.

The only serious attempt to interpret this inscription as a whole with which I am acquainted is Prof. Torp's essay in *Mindeskraft over prof. dr. Sophus Bugge*, pp. 210-215.⁸ He transcribes line 2 correctly, taking *akenan* to mean 'tomb' or 'body' or adopting Kretschmer's view that it is the proper name attested in inscriptions of the Roman period, and recalling the *Akenanolivos* of one of the old Phrygian inscriptions. But he makes the verb *evaseti*, which is no longer tenable. His translation of the third line 'Terkos möge ihm das Gerät heraus schneiden'—apart from the fact that it is based on an erroneous text—shows insufficient consideration of the nature of Anatolian religion, and especially of the punishments usually invoked on violators of the tomb. But it can hardly be doubted that *terkos* is the 'Hittite' *terku* meaning 'god' or a particular god, and it is very tempting to read the name of the god in the following letters. Whether we read *Asie kmor* . . . or *Asi ekmor* . . . we appear to be dealing with the dative of the divine name *Asis*, which is attested elsewhere, and may be not unconnected with the name which the Greeks gave to the lands east of the Aegean. The name *Zeus ACEIC* occurs at a much later date on coins of Laodiceia ad Lycum. Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 33) quotes the opinion of Longpérier and Waddington that this name is Semitic; Friedländer (*Zft. f. Num.* ii. pp. 108 f.) understands *Zeus ACEIC* 'as equivalent to *Zeus AYΔΙOC* at Sardis, comparing the Phyle *'Ασίας* at Sardis (Herod. iv. 45) and the *'Ασιος Λευκῶν* near Nysa in M. Messogis (Strabo, p. 650). Ramsay is probably right in taking *ACEIC* as a non-Phrygian name, if our interpretation of the Euyuk inscription is correct, *Asis* is the name of a god who belonged to the religion which the Phrygians found in the country when they entered it, and who was worshipped at the old Hittite centre of Euyuk at the date to which this inscription belongs. The same name is probably compounded in the village-name *'Ασιοκόμη* mentioned in an inscription⁹ belonging to the divine estate of Zizima near Laodiceia Combusta.¹⁰ The name *'Ασιοκόμη* expresses the proprietorship of the god *Asis* in a village on his estate, just as the village-name *'Ατυοχωρίον* in Phrygia indicates that the village belongs to *Atys*.¹¹ In the Lydian genealogies *Asies* figures as the nephew or as the brother of *Atys*: see Ed. Meyer in *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie*, ii. pp. 1579 and 2262. The name *Atios* occurs on an Old-Phrygian inscription (if Phrygian it be) found by Garstang at Trana, see Prof. J. L. Myres' interesting article in *Annals of Arch. and Anthrop.*, Liverpool, i. pp. 13 ff. The name is written with the symbol \wedge , which suggests that the names *Attis* and *Asis* were originally identical.

LXXII. (R. and C. 1912, using a previous copy by the discoverer, Professor T. Callander.) At Katiell (Hofunun) Yaila, in northern Lyconia,

⁸ I have not access to Kretschmer's paper in *Zft. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xiii. pp. 899 f., referred to by Torp.

⁹ *Revue de Philologie*, 1912, p. 72, No. 45.

¹⁰ See *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 367; 1915,

p. 2.

¹¹ Cf. *Dioskome*, *Misokome*, *Attrionkome*, Ramsay *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 284 n., and *ibid.* p. 332.

ΙΟC ██████████ ΕΜ ΟΥΝ
 Κ ΥCCKMONKAKOM
 ΑΔΛ ΚΕΤΙ ITITIKME
 ΧΟC ITIΛΛΕΙΤΟΥ
 ΚΟCΙ ██████████ ΚΚΙΤΟΡ
 ΚΕ ██████████ ΕΑ
 ΙΟC ΕΙΤΟΥ
 ██████████ ΝΟC ██████████ ΑΙΛΟΥ
 ██████████ ΑΤΩΔΙΩΠ
 Μ ██████████ CΕΝΕΚΕΝ



ιος[. . . . σ]εμου
 κουσσ[. .]εν κακον
 αδακετ [τ]ετ[ε]τεικμε-
 υ]ος [Ατ]τι [αδ]ετου.
 5 αι[?] κοσ[. . . αδδα]κκίτορ
 κε ε[ν-
 τ]ος ετου.
 κ[α]ι Λου-
 [κ]ιος και Β]α τῷ ιδίῳ πατρὶ
 10 μ[νήμ]ης ἐνεκεν.

This inscription is engraved on a round pillar. It is badly defaced, and several letters look more certain in the black and white of the epigraphic copy than we felt about them in presence of the stone. The last six letters in line 5 are, however, certain, and we thought that no letter had been engraved before Κ at the beginning of the next line. At the end of line 6 I have tried to reproduce exactly what we saw on the stone; we decided that this letter was probably Ν, shaped like the Ν at the end of line 2. The cross-bar, and the faint line on the right, which suggested ΑΑ, are probably accidental.

There is room for four letters between ιος and σ]εμου. An impression made by Prof. Cullander, which he has kindly put at my disposal, seems to suggest ΚΕ after ΙΟC; possibly [ΚΕΑΝ] should be restored. Both κε and αν are used with ιος (e.g. Nos. XXXVI and XLIV.), and they may have been used together in this inscription. Apart from a new word meaning 'the tomb,' unfortunately mutilated, there is nothing novel in the first version of the curse (lines 1-4). The second version apparently begins αι κοσ, like the curse in No. LXIV, and contains a fourth instance of the middle form of the verb (see on No. LXIII.). We have no means of restoring the apodosis of this curse. A cross was afterwards cut on the pillar, doubtless by the zealous Christian who defaced the pagan inscription.

W. M. CALDER.

NOTE ON THE COINAGE OF THE IONIAN REVOLT.

WHEN I wrote my paper on this coinage which was published in this *Journal* (1911, pp. 151-160) I was unaware that a find of coins had then recently taken place at Vourla (Clazomenae), which at once added to our knowledge of the coins of the Revolt, and confirmed my attribution of them. This find has been published in the *Revue Numismatique* (1911, p. 60), by M. R. Jameson, who being unacquainted with my previous paper published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* for 1908 (vol. iii, pp. 119-122) came independently to the same conclusions as myself and gave the find to the time of the Ionian Revolt. Such support as that of M. Jameson greatly strengthens my position.

The Vourla find contained thirty-eight coins, all with incuse squares on the reverse. Five are staters of electrum: four are of the known types of a sphinx, a cock, a sow, a horse: the fifth bears a new type, an archaic head of Athena to r. in close-fitting helmet. Twenty-one are hectae in electrum, all from one die on the obverse side: the type is the head and neck of a bull to r.; the weight 2.31 to 2.36 grammes (about 36 grains). Twelve are silver coins: type, forepart of a winged boar to r.; weight 6.50 to 6.70 grammes (101-103 grains).

I fully agree with M. Jameson that the stater with the head of Athena must be of Priene; and turning to my paper of 1911 I observe that I there wrote that we must expect to find coins of this class struck at Priene, which hope has thus soon been justified. The silver coins are precisely of the class of money of Clazomenae which I attributed to the Ionian revolt; and their appearance in company with the electrum staters strongly confirms this attribution.

The hectae of electrum are unpublished before. The type of a bull's head and neck occurs on the silver coins of Samos,¹ and there can be scarcely any doubt that these hectae were issued at Samos. They prove, what before was doubtful, that the Ionian League struck hectae as well as staters in electrum.

The archaeologist is so well accustomed to find theories which he put forth in full confidence wrecked by the discovery of fresh facts, that I may be pardoned if I feel some satisfaction in the quick confirmation of my views as to the coinage of the Revolt by new results of excavation.

P. GARDNER.

¹ Gardner *Num. Chron.* 1882, Pl. VIII: Babelon, *Troie*, Pl. XI: *Dr. Mus. Cat. Ionin.*, Pl. XXXIV.



FIG. 1.—OINOCHOE IN PARIS, PETIT PALAIS.

THE MASTER OF THE DUTUIT OINOCHOE¹

(PLATES VIII–XII.)

THE pretty vase figured at the head of this paper passed from Prince Louis Napoleon's possession into the hands of the late Auguste Dutuit, who bequeathed it along with his other treasures to the city of Paris. The same subject, a winged woman holding bow and arrow and bending to touch a fawn, is repeated with very slight variations on an unpublished lekythos in Syracuse. To judge from her weapons, the woman must be the winged Artemis who is familiar to us from primitive Greek art: but small, brisk, and dainty, she is greatly changed from the strong-armed Potnia Theron. Although it may often be observed that hunters love in a curious sort the fleet or violent people of the woodland whom they pursue and destroy; yet no one could think that this little lady ever used the weapons she carries to hurt or kill: borne on wings, she overtakes the swift feet, but the chase is not in earnest and ends not in death but in a caress: she is *kindly to the rough young of fiery lions, and delightful to tender forest creatures that love the breast*.

There is a third figure of a winged woman caressing a fawn on a neck-amphora in St. Petersburg (*Atlas du Compte-Rendu*, 1862, Pl. I.), but instead of bow and arrow, she holds a phiale in her left hand. The Syracuse vase is perhaps by the same painter as the Dutuit oinochoe.

¹ I owe my thanks to Mr. A. H. Smith, Mr. L. D. Caskey and M. Pether for kindly allowing me to publish vases in London, Boston, and the Louvre.

but I should not care to affirm it; I have not seen the Petersburg vase, but the illustration shows that it belongs at any rate to the same time as the other two. We may take it that these three pictures are not independent one of another: they must be copies of a common original, whether painting, relief, or vase-drawing, it is not possible to say. So much for the picture, and who was the painter? I am able to point out fourteen works by the Master of the Dutuit oinochoe. All fourteen are small vases, the largest a hydria of no great size, one of the rest is a lekythos and the others oinochoai or small neck-amphorae. There is no very important piece among them, but the artist draws neatly



FIG. 2.—VASE IN BRITISH MUSEUM (R. 5111).

with sharp and often very thin lines: his little men and women have an alert air and a naïf charm; and he is fond of animals, for besides a horse, and the fawn we have been talking about, there are no less than five snakes on his fourteen vases, also a lion, and a goat.

I. Oinochoai.

Shape see Fig. 2, 1, rounded handle; 2, 3, 4, ridged handle. On the back of the vase, 1, 2, and 3, rich motive of palmettes; 4, two palmettes

only, at the junction of handle with vase. On the front of the handle, 3 and 4 have a similar double palmette. Above the picture, egg and dot; below, all round the vase, band of pattern (in 1, two bands).

1. B.M. E 511. Pl. VIII. and Fig. 2.

Silen with oinochoe; Dionysos with cantharos and thyrsos (a snake twisted round the thyrsos); and a goat.

2. B.M. E 510. Pl. IX.

Seated silen with cantharos and pointed amphora, and maenad with snake and lion.

3. Louvre II. G 240. Pl. X.

Dionysos with cantharos and thyrsos, and maenad with oinochoe and branch.

Chief restoration, left hand of Dionysos.

4. Paris, Petit Palais 395. Fig. 1, from Froehner, *Vases du Prince Napoléon*, Pl. 1 = Froehner, *Musées de France*, Pl. 4 (with a few corrections).

Winged Artemis stroking a fawn.

II. Thin oinochoai.

Shape Furtwängler, *Cat.* Pl. VI. No. 208.

Ridged handles. Picture on the neck. On the lip, egg and dot. Below the picture, a band of pattern.

5. Louvre G 239.

Maenad with thyrsos and snake.

6. Munich 2445.

Eros flying with oinochoe and phiale.

III. Small neck-amphorae with double handles.

Foot: simple black disc. Mouth: in 7 and 8 curves inwards; in 9 outwards as in Nolan amphorae proper; only, the upper edge of the mouth is reserved, not black. In 7, the pictures are on the neck of the vase; in 8 and 9 on the body.

Below each picture, on 8, band of pattern: on 9, reserved line all round the vase.

On the neck of 9, three b-f palmettes each side: the neck of 8 black.

On 7, at each handle, a palmette.

7. Louvre G 137.

A. Nike running.

B. Nike flying with oinochoe and phiale.

8. Naples 3155.

A. Citharode.

B. Man leaning on stick.

9. Berlin.

A. Maenad with thyrsos and snake; Dionysos with cantharos and branch; silen with oinochoe and wineskin.

B. Man in Thracian cloak; and youth in Thracian cloak riding.

IV. Nolan amphorae.

Usual type, the mouth curving outwards, black disc-foot, triple handles. 10, rich palmette motive at handles, 12 a single r.-f. palmette: below the pictures, in 10, band of sideways palmettes all round the vase; in 11 and 12, band of pattern below each picture.

10. Louvre G 203. Millin, *Peintures de vases antiques* 2, Pl. 41.

A. Herakles with cantharos and club, and Athena with oinochoe and spear.

B. Hermes running with kerykeion.

11. Berlin 2330.

A. Dionysos with cantharos and thyrsos.

B. Maenad with snake and thyrsos.

12. Boston. Pl. XI. and Fig. 3. Sketch, *Röm. Mitt.* 2, p. 242: phot. Coolidge 15336.

A. Hephaistos polishing shield, and Thetis.

B. Nike running with oinochoe and phiale.

V. Lekythos.

13. Syracuse. *Mon. Luc.* 17, p. 394.

Woman with thymiaterion and phiale.

VI. Hydria.

14. B.M. E 179. Pl. XII

Nike flying with oinochoe.

Kalpis. Picture on shoulder and body. Mouth simple, with egg and dot. Foot simple black disc. Upper side of mouth reserved.

R.-f. palmette on each handle. Below picture, band of pattern.

The eye is long and narrow, often open at both ends. The lower line is often almost straight. The pupil is nearly in the middle. The ear has regularly the form shown in Pl. XII. The nose is slightly hooked and sharply pointed; the chin protrudes; the mouth is often open.

In 6 as in 12 (Pl. XI), the upper part of the median line below the chest is marked by a black line. Compare the torso of Hephaistos with the torso of the Silen on 1.

On 1, 2 and 12 (Pl. VIII, IX., XI.), the elbow is indicated by a curved black line against the reserved arm. This is an extremely rare rendering. A similar black line marks the knees on 1, 2, and both sides of 10: this is also rare.

For the right ankle of Hephaistos on 12, cf. 2: for Thetis', where the lines join, cf. 8. The ankle is often not marked; it is rounded on 1 and 4, simpler on 9. The toes are black arcs with a single curve except once on 8.

Clothes: the sleeve is nearly always bounded by two long parallel almost straight lines (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14). The chiton often has a short kolpos. Note the close resemblance between the himatia on 1, 3, and 12. Women usually wear saccoi of one kind or another (4, 7, 11, 12, 14, and 3, 13). For the loose hair of the maenad on 2 cf. 11.



FIG. 2.—NIKAI AMPHORA IN BOSTON (B).

In the closed frontal hand, the lower joint of the thumb is not indicated separately (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14).

The inscriptions are written perpendicularly downwards except on 12 and the *καλόν* only on 8. *ΑΡΧΙΝΟΞ* is written on each side of 7. *ΑΡΧΙΝΟΞ ΚΑΛΟΞ* on (A) and *ΗΟΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΞ* on (B) of 8; the inscriptions on 9, 10, 11, and 12 are meaningless.

The commonest pattern is a steep meander in 2's with cross squares touching the bounding lines above and below alternately (1, 6, 10; 3, 12; 4).

J. D. BEAZLEY.

THE GROWTH OF SPARTAN POLICY.—A REPLY.

I CONTRIBUTED to the first number of the *J.H.S.* for 1911 an article on the development of Spartan foreign policy, to which Dr. Grundy replied in the following issue. Inasmuch as my article was the promulgation of a new theory running counter to the views already published by Dr. Grundy, I looked forward to a reply from him which would establish on clearer grounds of evidence the views of that section of his *Thucydides* which deals with Spartan foreign policy; or, at any rate, if he did not care to work over old ground again, to an attempt definitely to controvert my evidence and conclusions. If his reply had at all conformed to my expectations, I should not have ventured to make any further demands upon the space of the *Journal*, since I cannot see that journalistic controversy adds anything either to learning or to the amenities of life. But Dr. Grundy's answer consists of little else than a repetition of *ipse dixit*, and a somewhat intolerant arraignment of my conclusions, supported by a wholly insufficient and even misleading representation of my arguments.

Dr. Grundy says, on p. 263, that my statements wholly ignore the fact that the new and restricted policy (of Chilon) must necessarily place the acquisition of the new *κλήροι* by the conquest of the new territory outside the design of the Spartan government. Now *κλήροι* on the Spartan plan meant new Helots; and Sparta had come to recognise that she had as many Helots as she could control. So far from ignoring the fact that Chilon's policy implied the abandonment of the acquisition of new *κλήροι*, I devoted the whole of pp. 23, 24, and 25 to pointing out that that was Chilon's deliberate intention. Nor are my arguments against Basolt's view that Chilon's policy was due to fear of more Helots answered by a mere contradiction.

A far graver instance of misrepresentation appears on pp. 266 and 267. I pass over the fact that the misquotation of my note on p. 24 makes it into nonsense. That was no doubt a slip. The comment on Thucydides iv. 80 is fair criticism, though a bad translation. There is no mention of 'policy' in the Greek, but of 'institutions,' a very different matter. But the statement of my evidence in regard to the plot of Cleomenes and the Helots is a travesty. It is true that there is a large body of conclusions based upon this fact, and it is quite open to Dr. Grundy to throw doubt on the conclusions by denying the fact, but he at least

owes me the courtesy of stating my evidence fairly. My first piece of evidence is from Plato's *Laws* iii. 692E and 698E. This is described by Dr. Grundy as vague and confused. I do not know why. For a historical tradition of the fifth century, Plato appears to me to be reasonably good authority. My second piece of evidence is from Pausanias iv. 15. 2. It is true that the name of Leotychidas is a gross anachronism, but I do not for a moment admit, as Dr. Grundy's comment suggests, that the tradition of a Messenian war in the time of Leotychidas is an anachronism. My third piece of evidence is from Pausanias iv. 23. 6, where another anachronism in date can be checked by Herod. vi. 23 and Thuc. vi. 4. The passage refers to the settlement of Messenians in Zancle by Anaxilas of Rhegium, and is to my mind a very important link in the chain. Dr. Grundy omits it entirely. I still believe that the evidence is sufficient for a Helot revolt in 490, during the period that Cleomenes was in exile and was tampering with the Arcadians. I still believe that, considering the later conduct of Pausanias, it is a legitimate conclusion that Cleomenes was concerned in the revolt. Dr. Grundy remarks that 'the evidence is so weak that, had not the thing appeared in print, it would be almost incredible that any writer would have ventured to found any hypothesis upon it.' Yet on pp. 349 and 350 of the third volume of the *Geschichte des Altertums* he will find that Eduard Meyer accepts the same conclusions.

Finally we read on p. 269, 'Mr. Dickins' hypothesis is to the last degree improbable.' His position is full of inconsistency; for he admits that by this time the fear of the Helots was affecting and limiting Spartan policy; and yet he would have us believe that in the years following the earthquake of 464, when that fear stood at its height, the Ephorate, out of what may be described as "pure cussedness," threw over the cautious policy which that very fear had inspired. This points to considerable haste in Dr. Grundy's reading of my article. On pp. 37 and 38 and again on p. 41, I date this *volte-face* distinctly and clearly in the year 468, the year of Archidamus' succession. Obviously the earthquake of 464 put a stop to any aggressive movements on the part of Sparta.

Dr. Grundy's theory of the growth of Spartan policy is quite different from mine, but it is capable of most persuasive presentation, as in Busolt's *Lakedaimonier*. He does not do it justice by hypothetical arguments based on *prima facie* probability (cf. p. 262), or by appeals to the dubious authority of Aristotle (cf. p. 261). Nor does he improve his own case by misstating mine.

GUY DICKINS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Ancient History of the Near East. By H. R. HALL. Pp. 602; 33 plates, 14 maps. London: Methuen, 1913. 15s. net.

By "Near East" Mr. Hall means, on this occasion, West Asia with Egypt, and the Aegean coasts so long as these possessed a culture which he regards as not of occidental type, i.e. the Minoan or Mycenaean. In the later (Greek) period he takes account of these coasts only in so far as they became involved in West Asian history, and he ends his record with the "climacteric year" of Salamis (or, rather, the following year of Plataea). He never explains precisely why "the Soul of Greece" was not occidental in the Aegean Age, but states that, in his view, there was neither East nor West before a certain period, early Egyptian civilization itself being not more of one than of the other. In describing, however, the representations of foreign envoys in Egyptian paintings he does appear to institute such a comparison between the Minoan man and character and the Semitic and Egyptian, as ordinarily is involved in a distinction of occidental society from oriental—a distinction primarily of geographical habitat but secondarily of social type not always coterminous with that habitat. If however he has been betrayed into a slight inconsistency by desire to include in his history a border-land civilization of which he has made a special study, the gain is ours: for all that Mr. Hall, with his wide knowledge of the Near East and specialist competence in things Egyptian, cares to write on Aegean civilization is valuable; and, moreover, the inclusion of the latter adds greatly to the Hellenic interest of his book. It covers, of course, a very wide field both in space and time, and its six hundred pages are not too many. It purports to impart "a competent general knowledge of the early history of the West oriental world," such as its author fondly holds to be still required of students in the School of *Later Humaniores* at Oxford. But he must be recalling a past day, a day when wider interests were recognized in the Oxford Schools. No knowledge of Ancient History before the first Olympiad is expected of the modern examinee, and seldom indeed has he the inward grace to trouble himself about anything that happened before that date.

This is not the place to deal with that larger part of the book which does not directly concern Greece. It need only be said of it that the author has taken great pains to be abreast of the latest researches and that he usually goes for the sanest view. He follows King in bringing early Babylonian chronology down by some hundreds of years, and he accepts all the implications of the "Israel stela". His enthusiasm for Egypt does not blind him to the qualities of her opponents—of the "Hittite Bismarck," or Ksarhaddon, or Nebuchadnezzar, and he is not too rigid an archaeologist to avail himself of literary evidence. Both the Hebrew Scriptures and Herodotus are very fully appreciated and used.

The chapters of special interest to Hellenists are II. (The Older Civilization of Greece), XI. (Renovation of Egypt and Renaissance of Greece), and XII. (Babylon and the Medes and Persians). Allusions to early contact of Greeks with the East come into other chapters, e.g. VI. to X., whenever the various "Peoples of the Sea" appear in Egyptian history (Mr. Hall definitely calls the Djakany of Dor Cretan pirates, brings the Palesti-

from Lycia via Crete, and subscribes to the West Anatolian origin of the Hittite allies at Kadesh) and Ionian pioneers encounter Sargon II. or Sennacherib in Cilician seas and lands.

Mr. Hall has no doubt that the Minoans were non-Aryan and had dwelt in Africa—his hints at the Nile Delta, or at some common origin of both the North Egyptians and the Minoans—and he accepts evidence of communication between Crete and Egypt as early as Dyn. III., despite Von Bissing and other objectors. If, as we believe, he is right, it was rather Cretans who adventured to the Fœnien than vice versa. With Montelius, Evans, Coffey and others, Mr. Hall ascribes the North European spiraliform ornament to Aegean influence passing up the Baltic amber route: but he is inclined to look to Egypt for the ultimate origin of the Aegean script. In a later chapter he appears to be not unwilling to endorse the derivation of Semitic writing from Aegean, as proposed by Evans: but he is orthodox about the later Greek acquisition of the alphabet from Phœnicians (to whom, by the way, he desires to be kinder than some recent critics while he paints their unproductiveness like an anti-Semite!). He finds both the artistic spirit and the social amenities of the Minoans superior even to the Egyptian, but suspects that their life had an ugly background, and thinks the artist who produced some of the Zakro seals had an "evil mind." He is sure the Keftiu were Minoans. On the whole this section gives the best short summary of Aegean civilization to date. For the succeeding age Mr. Hall's Egyptian knowledge is especially useful. But space fails us to pick out more points than this—that he agrees with the theory that the Homeric story of Argos is an archaistic ninth century metamorphosis of Achaean traditions of the Thessalian Argos. It is valuable to be assured by one of his special knowledge that all Nilotic indications point to complete cessation of communication between Egypt and Greece in the Geometric period.

With the Classical age Mr. Hall deals more summarily, but Hellenists must read his last chapters for their information about contemporary Egypt and Persia. Who the Medes were: who Cyrus was: what origin and influence Zoroastrianism had: what part Greeks played in the national defence of Egypt: why Persians were more successful in the latter country than Assyrians: how Jews also fared under them—on these and other much canvassed questions the reader will get welcome light. The book would bear a little condensation here and a little expansion there, and some mistakes—printer's errors and slips inevitable in the first redaction of so much material—will disappear from a second edition.

D. G. H.

Troy. A Study in Homeric Geography. By WALTER LEAF. Pp. 406; 27 plates, 6 maps. London: Macmillan & Co., 1912. 12s.

A long notice would be necessary to review properly this valuable and fair-minded book. After short journeys in 1903 and 1910, Mr. Leaf made a tour in April and May 1911, in company with Mr. Haduck, of the whole Troad with the exception of the Aesepus valley. This book is the result. The first part is topographical, and gives us a description of Troy itself and the Troad. The account of Troy has been read by Dr. Dörpfeld, and is extremely useful and readable. Mr. Leaf finds Homer's account agree with the facts in all points except the hot and cold springs, and the confluence of the Simois and Scamander. Some points may be noticed in this section. Pp. 149 seq. Mr. Leaf observes with truth that in Homer we gain the impression that Troy was a town and that the whole fighting force is received into it, whereas it was in reality a large castle, like Mycenae or Tiryns, capable of containing 2000 or 3000 men at most. The answer is that our impression is due to the epic manner: the allies camped outside, as is explicitly stated in E. Moreover if the Greek catalogue exaggerates the number of the combatants, so no less does the Trojan, with its hordes of Thracians and Asiatics. P. 155 the difficulty about the Scæan and Dardanian gates

is surely very slight. They are north and south respectively, and Priam may have issued by one as well as by the other. Outside the Trojan plain Mr. Leaf gives us a pleasant description of the south coast of the Troad, from Adramyttium to Larisa, a warm riviera where he locates the Pelægi, very plausibly. Excellent maps and photographs are added. Fuller topographical details will be found in the *Geographical Journal*, July 1912, and *B.S.A.* xvii.

The important part of the book (at least, the author calls attention to it in the preface) is the explanation of the greatness of Troy and the reasons for the Trojan war. Troy was great because it was a meeting of trade-routes, and its allies were the peoples with whom it traded. (This view was originated by Prof. Myers, at the end of an article in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii; cf. also M. S. Thompson, *Liverpool Annual*, v. 136.) Mr. Leaf disproves Bevard's idea, popularised in our handbooks, that the Greek traders feared the entrance of the Dardanelles and consequently limited their goods at Boska Bay; but his own view, that Troy stopped traffic coming from the Euxine through the straits, and vice-versa, which commodities were only accessible to the Aegeans in a Trojan market, is in its turn disproved in a review in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1912, where the writer (H. A. O.) makes out that Troy owed its importance to its position between Asia and Europe, precisely as Constantinople in later times. There does not seem to be evidence for Aegean-Euxine trade in the Heroic Age: the Greek stations on the straits and the Pontus were not founded till centuries afterwards. There is no reason why Greeks or Aegeans should have gone to Troy to receive Asiatic products: they traded direct with Carian Miletus, and Lydian or Hittite Smyrna. So some of Mr. Leaf's pan-pictures must come away, e.g. that of the trading at Assos, pp. 311 sqq. Nor do I think the object of the Trojan war was to force the Dardanelles. The Greeks did nothing with the Dardanelles when Troy was burned: they occupied themselves with continuing the colonisation of the islands which they had begun in the Sporades, and settling Ephesus and Smyrna. Hence I venture to think the reasons for the war were political, as I suggested in this *Journal* 1910, p. 388. Chapter vii, 'The Pelægian Name,' is not likely to stand the test of time. Mr. Leaf advances that Πελæγός was an attributive name = 'neighbour,' and suggests πῆλας as its root. It must be allowed that Mr. Leaf sins along with Krutshmar (πῆλας, πῆλας), and Giles (πῆλας), but even Strabo knew the futility of treating ancient place-names as Greek. I understand a connexion with 'Philistine' to be phonetically probable. One more point: the list of Paphlagonian coast-towns is regarded by H. A. O. L. as 'the continuation by sea of the land-route which comes down to the shores of the Euxine in the neighbourhood of Sinope.' This is probable, but it lends no support to Mr. Leaf's view of a water-borne trade through the straits; for why does the list stop westwards with Ezerai (=Hercles, according to Mr. Leaf)? Why but that the sea-route was short, and gave place to a land-route again at the mouth of the Sangarius? In this way an explanation is given and for the first time of the absence of Bithynia, Bosphorus, and Pontus in the catalogue.

Mr. Leaf thinks the present reviewer will 'disagree with much that he has said.' Why? It is the other camp that will gnash its teeth; τοῖς γὰρ σφύρι πύργος ἀνῶλετο. He rejects or ignores the *Rückspiegelung* (still in Beloch ed. 2), the Usener-Bothe faded-god hero theory so passionately propagated among us, likewise the tribal-daemon, and the odd view that the Hypoplacian Thebes never existed and that the Larisa of the Troad was Thessalian. I regret it is true that he thinks Ithaca was Leucas and the Achaeans came from the North. If we push Sir A. Evans' statements in the last number of this *Journal* to their logical conclusion, Achæan was what the Minoans called themselves.

The authenticity of the Trojan Catalogue might I think have been discovered from the armchair. But if seeing is believing let us hope Mr. Leaf will make a tour in Greece and rehabilitate the *δαιμόνιον*.

T. W. A.

Homerische Probleme. II. Die Komposition der Odyssee. Von Dr. E. BELZNER. Pp. 271. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. M. 9.50.

This second Part follows *Die kulturellen Verhältnisse der Odyssee als kritische Instanz* (1911) of which my knowledge is confined to the favourable review by C. Rothe, *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen* 1912, 168 sqq. Here the author endeavours by an analysis of the action of the Odyssey to arrive at conclusions upon the unity of the poem, and the genuineness of particular passages. His book may be considered a sequel to that of Blass published in 1904, and a protest against the hasty, ill-informed and sterile violence of Kirchhoff, Seeck and Wilamowitz. Patient observation of the mental habit and technique of the writer of the admittedly genuine portions enables him to formulate canons which when applied to disputed passages are sufficient in most cases to save them. The only extensive portions he attributes are parts of ϵ . 296- α , and π 281-298; he admits many smaller additions. It will be seen that this result approaches very nearly to that attained by the Alexandrian scholars: the instrument is *different*. With this the reviewer finds himself in hearty agreement. The reader will discover much acute and substantial literary criticism, too rare in this province, and a perception of the all-important fact that in early epic technique was behind feeling, style and invention. Two criticisms are all that I can find to make: one, that too much importance is paid to predecessors and their opinions, which is natural perhaps in Germany where the truth is not so clearly seen as here that all Homeric literature from Wolf to Kirchhoff, and much of the later output also, may be scrapped; and secondly, that in view of the weakness of all our minds reference might have been made to external facts or documents when coincidences with them exist. Thus Dr. Belzner shews with ingenuity (and other arguments may be added to those he gives) that the *ἄλκιμον ἀνδραγαθὸν* were in the tradition when Homer took it: this, by what inspiration who knows, was held by Polybius (ap. Strab. 24). With still greater ingenuity (and arguments which I have never seen before) he makes it probable that in the original poem or saga Ulysses' attack upon the suitors was open and above-board, *ἀπαφῶρ*, and that the disguises, *ωιδῆς*, etc., the *σπέρηδες*, were Homer's invention. Now in Dictys of Crete the attack is *ἀπαφῶρ*, Ulysses is assisted by Alcinoüs in five.

Part III. will consider the relation of the Odyssey to the Iliad.

T. W. A.

The Handbook of Cyprus. Seventh issue. Revised Edition by H. C. LUKACH and D. J. JARDINE. Pp. 307; 12 plates, 5 maps. Stanford: 1913. 5s.

This new issue carries even greater weight of official authority than its predecessors. Its revisers are, one, the High Commissioner's private secretary, the other a member of the civil administration, and illustrations have been furnished by the High Commissioner himself. The book, always most useful to both residents and strangers in Cyprus, has been considerably enlarged, a notable addition being Mr. J. A. S. Bucknill's chapter on the Natural History of the island. Members of the Hellenic Society will turn with especial interest to the sections which deal with ancient and mediæval sites and ruins, and will find there some new things, e.g., plans of the great Byzantine castles by Mr. G. Jeffery, the well-known curator of ancient monuments in Cyprus, some account of notable recent finds such as the famous Treasure of Karavas, discovered in 1902, and certain remarks on the application of the 1905 Law of Antiquities, which acquire especial significance from the official character of the book. The only thing we venture to regret, in general, is the paucity of native Greek equivalents for English or Latin names and words. Such equivalents are especially required in the Natural History section. The visitor will hear of birds, snakes, butterflies, plants, from native mouths, but will get little help towards identification from this handbook. How, for instance, is he to verify the famous, or infamous, *καυρά*? The Rautidi explorations, as the editors

say, have "evoked some comment"—perhaps enough to have justified a word or two more; and at this time of day, the section on the early history of the island would be the better for critical revision by an Aegean expert like Prof. J. L. Myres. But for the rest we have nothing but praise. This handbook ought to be in the pocket of every visitor to Cyprus, and in the libraries of all who take interest in the past, present, or future of one of the smallest but also most curious of our dependencies.

D. G. H.

Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst. By F. Poulsen. Pp. vi + 198. 197 illustrations. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. M. 12.

The author, well known already for studies on the Early Greek Iron Age, now writes a treatise to dispel what he holds to be the Minoan Mirage. We should guess that he has been incited thereto less by the writings of Cretan exporters than by Loewy's articles on *Typenwanderung*. In M. Poulsen's view Minoan civilisation was a brief growth which struck no deep roots in the Greek area, and the subsequent florescence of art in Hellas owed its impulse and most of its motives to West Asiatic culture, in particular to the *Mischkultur* of the Phoenicians, and to Hittite art.

M. Poulsen develops his attack by citing first three groups of objects which he believes to illustrate Phoenician art at its full vigour, in and about the 9th century B.C., when Tyrian sea-faring was at its boldest, and the Ionian and Carian cities were beginning reciprocally to explore eastward. These groups are, first, the chased bowls found in numbers at Nimrud, in Assur-nasirpal's palace, and sporadically on Greek and Italian soil; they are continued by a later class (8th and 7th century) found mainly in Cypriote and Italian graves. Second, the well-known ivories from Nimrud, now in the British Museum, grouped with ivories from Spain and others of uncertain provenance in the Louvre. Third, the class of engraved *tridachna* shells, coupled with goldwork (e.g. the Aegina Treasure), bronzes, terracottas, etc. Then the author turns to results—to certain groups of objects in which the Early Hellenic art shows itself in his opinion a pupil of Syrian. First, the Idæan shields and other bronzes from Crete. Second, Rhodian, Ephesian and Spartan ivories, gold plaques, vases, terracottas, etc. Third, Early Greek Geometric Art. Fourth, Etruscan and Cypriote. Finally he collects objects from all parts to illustrate the wide range of one Phoenician artistic type, the ribbed wig (*Magenperücke*) and its derivative, the beaded wig (*Proteperücke*), and has his final fling at the Minoan pedigree of Greek art by arguing a Phoenician pedigree for the archaic style of Crete itself.

This minute study of the stylistic features of Early Iron Age work in the eastern Mediterranean imports a much-needed precision into the archaeology of that class of antiquities and brings to the notice of students what will be very suggestive and valuable to them. But the hypotheses on which the author frames his study and his deductions seem to the present reviewer unconvincing for several reasons. To take hypotheses first. The author assumes as self-evident that all works of a *Mischkultur*, which combined Egyptian and Mesopotamian motives and treatment, were produced by either Syrians or their pupils; but this hypothesis is neither proved nor perhaps probable. It runs counter to the opinions of experts in Egyptology, who supported by metal work bearing decoration of meaningless hieroglyphs found in the Delta (e.g., at Tell Basta), regard as Egyptian the *Mischkultur* of the very bowls which are Poulsen's primary *pieces de conviction*. It runs counter also to the opinions of others, who cite the Nimrud and Eri-koni ivories to show that both Assyria and Cyprus, where groups of these bowls have come to light, brood *Mischkultur* styles of their own. Lastly, it leaves on one side the very serious objection that Phoenician, and indeed Syrian, soil has not yielded up any notable products of the particular type of *Mischkultur* on which M. Poulsen builds his theory. In fact, there is practically no object of importance used by him as evidence

which can be traced to a find-spot in Phoenicia or its neighbourhood or its colonies; though it is true that about eight of the metal bowls bear names (probably of owners or dedicators) which are Phoenician or Aramaic.

Again, the author begins and ends with another unacceptable assumption, that the taking over of artistic motives, or even only of details of treatment, implies an artistic indebtedness sufficient to justify the affiliation of one art to another. In his desire to expose the mirage Minoan he relegates archaic Greek art, and especially early Ionian art, to the position of *enfant de miracle* in which Bruun left it. Its putative parents are to be a hybrid Phoenician culture, on whose lifelessness M. Poulsen is never tired of insisting and the heavy wooden art of the Hittites, also, to a considerable degree, hybrid. In dealing with the Ephesus ivories, our author's own artistic sense compels him to exclaim that the Ionian craftsman had indeed left their Hittite models out of sight. By what virtue had they done this! Surely the borrowing of details of dress and hair will not explain the so rapid rise of a higher art from a lower.

Nor is it only M. Poulsen's hypotheses which suggest that the author is taking a side rather than examining a problem impartially with full sense of all that requires explanation; but also his deductions from details. If he has ignored the general identity of Minoan and archaic Hellenic arts in respect of spirit and methods, he has also ignored the prior claim of the former to many details of treatment which, appearing in the latter, are put by him to the credit of Phoenician art—as he believes it to be—and of Hittite art, whose products, used as evidence, are of much later date than the Minoan. Did space allow, a long list of these details could be given; but it must suffice to point out that the sphinx with erect wings or with spiral lock, the lion with open jaws, the "echt hittitisch" conical helm with plume, the bird attribute of divinity, the *terros hypaer* group with differing pairs of animal supporters, the *palox*, the coil ornaments over the ears of women—these and many other details communicated, according to M. Poulsen, directly by the East to Archaic Hellas, were features of Aegean artistic treatment and could have been communicated by less lengthy and arduous routes. When we consider the date of the Hittite art of North Syria or of the Phoenician of mid Syria or even of the Assyrian of the Middle and Late Kingdoms, it is more reasonable to suppose that details of treatment, found in Minoan art and found also in West Asian and Archaic Hellenic arts, were derived alike by each of the later arts directly from a common Minoan parent, than that archaic Hellas had to recover from the East what had pre-existed in the Aegean. One often wonders indeed, in reading M. Poulsen's pages, whether he is quite conscious how late most of his cited Syrian, and even Mesopotamian, monuments really are. At the same time, although we do not feel that M. Poulsen has reestablished the Semitic ancestry of Hellenic art, he has rendered excellent service by reopening a question which, in any case, is not free from difficulty. Especially are we grateful for his rediscussion of the Dipylon style, which still remains, on the whole, the most detached and unexplained phenomenon in early East Mediterranean art.

D. G. H.

Forschungen in Ephesos veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institute. I and II. Wien: Alfred Holder, 1908 and 1912.

After a six years' interval, the second volume of the Austrian Institute's magnificent publication of Ephesus has appeared. The Austrian excavation in, and exploration of, Ephesus began as long ago as 1895, and, except for three seasons (1908-1910), during which friendly relations with the Ottoman Service of Antiquities were interrupted by political complications, they have been carried on with exemplary consistency. The Institute has had the run of the whole site and its immediate neighbourhood with two important exceptions: The first was the ground bought by the British Museum some

forty years ago for the sake of its excavations in the Artemisium. Failing to get permission to explore this further, Benndorf, the first Austrian director, did what he could to advance knowledge of the surroundings of the great shrine by sinking pits outside the British boundary, and by publishing in the first volume of the *Forschungen* Wilberg's study of the superficial remains and a complete collection of ancient literary references to the temple and its cult. These articles proved of much assistance when the British Museum, recognizing its obligation, had resumed excavations in its plot in 1904-5, and came to prepare a volume of its own on the archaic Artemisia. It should be added here that, disappointed though the Austrian explorers not unreasonably were at being debarred from the most interesting site of all, they helped the British excavators, when these took up their work, in every possible way.

The second exception was that part of the hill of Ayasuluk on which Justinian's Cathedral stood. Here the presence of a modern chapel and burying ground unfortunately prevented research among ruins which probably contain architectural and sculptured fragments of the neighbouring Artemisium, besides very valuable Byzantine material.

The Austrians had, however, all the rest, and, for their main work, the site of the Græco-Roman city under Mt. Coressus. They began to dig this with the intention of ultimately clearing the whole vast area within the walls, and enabling the world to see the lay-out of the greatest city of Roman Asia. But experience both of the enormous expenditure of time and money, by carriage of debris to distant dumping grounds, and of the marshy nature of much of the lower site, modified their plans, till, in the event, they have restricted themselves to public buildings and main streets, and particularly to the great group of edifices of which the Theatre was the chief, lying in the upper part of the city. Here are the two main markets with their crown-jointed halls and colonnades, and thence ran two monumental roadways west and south.

With the second volume of the folio publication, now issued, they begin the account of this principal quarter of the city, the whole of the text and illustrations being concerned with the Theatre. The former volume, in addition to Benndorf's valuable historical introduction and the studies on the Artemisium already mentioned, was devoted to gathering up certain outlying or isolated monuments, including the fine Late Seljuk mosque near the Artemisium site. There were included also the long axial street, the Arcadiane, with its central porch and a freestanding circular monument high up the slope to southward of the Theatre, during the excavation of which a good many fragments of vases, terracottas, lamps, etc., came to light. Occasion was also taken to publish at once the fine bronze statue of an athlete, which was found by a fortunate chance in exploring trenches dug in the lower part of the city, in and about the ruins of the great *Thermae* of Constantine. This with the marble reliefs from the Library, whose definite publication is yet to come, constitutes the chief gain which the Vienna Gallery has reaped from the Ephesian enterprise.

In the systematic publication of the city's public buildings, naturally the great Theatre, still the most notable feature of the site, has been taken first. The aim of the Institute is to gather up all that is known of each monument, and therefore Wood's results are resumed and emended, and his inscriptions, published by Hicks, are republished with additions. This is obviously the right plan. The Institute desires further not merely to record all extant remains, but itself to derive from these their fullest result, and therefore it makes great use of architects and enjoins those to supply drawings of probable reconstructions. These in both the volumes which have appeared are, in the main, the work of Dr. George Niemann, and both in completeness and in the extent to which they are based on actual remains, they go beyond anything yet attempted by architect-excavators. The record of the actual remains of the Theatre, however, is by Drs. Wilberg and Haberland, to the latter of whom we owe further the careful account of the process of excavation and a long and thorough publication of nearly a hundred inscriptions, with two excursuses on the *Vibius Salutaris* texts, and on the Ephesian *prytanes*. In future volumes we may expect the Markets with their appurtenances, the Council House, the South Street with the Library and neighbouring temples,

and the interesting double Church in the north-west of the site. May we hope too for records of some deeper digging, if only over a small area, and for some of that light on the earlier Ionian city which Benndorf so greatly desired? Meanwhile we beg to congratulate the Institute on a publication worthy of the scale on which its operations in the field have been carried on these seventeen years.

D. G. H.

Histoire de l'Antiquité. By E. CAVAIGNAC. Vol. II. Athens (480-330). Pp. xv. + 512. Paris: Fontenay, 1913.

Prof. Cavaignac has made an interesting experiment in publishing the second volume of his *History of Antiquity* before the first. Such a *hysteron proteron* may at first bewilder a reader who is plunged into the middle of a story without adequate orientation as to its scope or purpose; but it has the great advantage of ensuring that the author should complete the central and most important part of his subject in good time, which in the case of a large treatise is a wise precaution.

In the preface to the present volume Prof. Cavaignac explains that his *History of Greece* was modelled by him on those of Bury, Beloch and Meyer. As a matter of fact it bears considerable resemblance to Beloch's work. It lays the same stress on material environment, while assigning a comparatively small part to the play of human personalities; and it reveals the same power of terse and compact narration. Though it does not break much fresh ground, except in the domain of Attic finances which the author has made an object of special study, it nevertheless conveys a general impression of originality in treatment.

Unfortunately it contains not a few inaccurate or insufficiently proven statements. Thus we read that the Spartans of the fifth century patronised art (p. 68), and that they treated their helots with patriarchal consideration (p. 129). The first of these assertions has been clearly disproved by the recent excavations at Sparta; the second cannot even appear plausible if we but remember the atrocities committed by the Cypriates in 424 B.C.—an episode which Prof. Cavaignac fails to mention in his narrative. As to the history of Athens, it is misleading to quote Niese's researches as disproving the existence of a pre-Themistoclean city-wall (p. 40, n. 1); and it seems an inversion of cause and effect to explain Pericles' prestige, not by his power of persuasion, but by the votes of confidence accorded to him on his re-election to the *epitragia* (p. 88). Thucydides nowhere relates that the Athenians captured Epidaurus in 418 B.C. (p. 135); on the other hand he says far more about the illegalities of the Four Hundred, as does Xenophon concerning the misgovernment of the Thirty, than Prof. Cavaignac has recorded. There is no good reason for supposing that Philip of Macedon skirted the northern side of Parnassus in order to pass from Naupactus to Chaeronis (p. 416), or that Theophrastus owed his recall to Athens to the intervention of Macedonia (p. 504-5).

From several of the above quotations it will be gathered that the author shows a distinct bias in his judgments on Greek constitutions. Further evidence of this inclination is to be found in such round assertions as these:—'all aristocracies are essentially pacific and conservative' (p. 102); 'the Athenian democracy was hostile to intellect' (pp. 295-7); 'c'est la démocratie qui enthousiasme le pédant et l'esthète' (p. 101). Demagogues are usually dubbed 'aboyeurs,' and diseste 'canaille judiciaire.'

In view of these features Prof. Cavaignac's book will require considerable caution in its use; but to an experienced student it should provide some attractive and instructive reading.

Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom. Von WOLFGANG HELBIG. Dritte Auflage. Herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung von Walther Amelung, Emil Reisch, Fritz Weege. 2 Vols. Pp. x+634 and iv+547. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. M. 24.

The third edition of Hefbig's invaluable guide has been anxiously expected for some time. Since 1896, the date of the second edition, many notable additions have been made to the Roman museums. The Museo Nazionale has been greatly enlarged, the small but choice Museo Barracco has become the property of the city, and the remarkable Barberini collection of Italian antiquities found at Palestrina has enriched the Villa Papa Giulio. Since 1896, too, Dr. Amelung has made good progress with his Catalogue of the sculpture in the Vatican, and the British School at Rome has published its catalogue of the Capitoline Museum. Moreover there has been a welcome activity among the directors of the Roman museums. Popular guides have been issued and scientific catalogues prepared.

Such additions and changes have made necessary a considerable increase in the number of objects described, which reaches 1934 in the new edition against 1534 in the second. Other occupations and, unfortunately, indifferent health have obliged Prof. Hefbig to entrust his book to other hands, but in Dr. Amelung and his colleagues it has found three admirable editors. They have carried out their work with the greatest industry and judgment, as may be seen in their careful discussion of such problems as the ambiguous "Fanciulla d'Anzio" and their wise selection from the vast literature. A useful chronological index has been added at the end of the second volume. It is impossible here to discuss the book in detail. It may be noted that the editors rightly reject the identification of the diorite head in the Museo Barracco (1075) as a portrait of Caesar. The statue in the Museo del Conservatori (885) is, although not contemporary, the only certain portrait of the dictator in Rome. They rightly accept the colossal head in the court of the Conservatori (887) as a portrait of Constantine in spite of Hefbig's doubts. The omission of the so-called head of Maccus from their description of the Sala degli Orti Mecenaziani in the same museum probably indicates that they condemn it as a modern work. This view is certainly correct, and the head will not, it is to be hoped, add one more to the many apocryphal portraits which illustrate English books on Roman history.

The new guide will no doubt like its predecessors be the familiar companion of all students in Rome, and deserves to appear without delay in an English translation.

A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. Vol. I. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino. By Members of the British School at Rome, edited by H. STUART JONES, M.A., formerly Director of the School. Text, viii+419 pp., and 93 Plates in separate volume. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1912. £3 3s. net.

The contributors to this catalogue, in addition to the editor, are Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Mr. A. H. S. Young, Prof. Percy Gardner, Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Daniel, and Mrs. Strong; and further help in collecting the documentary evidence was given by Dr. T. Ashby. The whole work has evidently been systematically planned and carefully edited, so as to ensure a great measure of uniformity. The system adopted is similar to that of Amelung's Vatican catalogue—a volume of reasonable size, with sufficiently full descriptions and references, and a large volume of plates, giving, on a small scale, an adequate photographic reproduction of every object described; these are grouped, as far as possible, as they actually stand in the galleries—an additional help to memory and identification. A notable feature throughout is the attempt to assign a date to the execution of the particular example as well as to the original from which it is derived. This is obviously

a matter for some divergence of opinion, and the amount of precision attempted varies in different sections of the catalogue; but the studies in Roman art for which the British School at Rome has been conspicuous have in this case proved very useful. The iconography also shows careful and judicious treatment. The School, by publishing this Catalogue, confers a great obligation on all visitors to Rome and all students of ancient art; the succeeding volumes, on the other Municipal Collections, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and the *Magazzino Archeologico*, will be eagerly awaited.

Greek and Roman Portraits. By Dr. ANTON HEKLER. Pp. xliii + 335 (311 Plates, Index and Tables). London: Wm. Heinemann, 1912.

This book meets a long-felt need, and meets it admirably. The well-known series of Beum and Arnult's *Griechische und Römische Porträts* is of course indispensable to all special students of ancient portraiture; but it is too expensive and too unwieldy for general use. Here, in a volume of moderate size, is a collection of portraits, well selected and excellently reproduced, which will prove invaluable to all who are interested in the subject. Dr. Hekler speaks with authority upon ancient portraiture; his identifications are always reasonable and well-founded; and he has added an introduction which gives an excellent summary of the history of portraiture from an artistic point of view. He distinguishes clearly the characteristics of the various periods of Greek and Roman portraiture, and even finds room to discuss in some detail a few of the more interesting types, such as those of Socrates or of Alexander. In so difficult and disputable a subject as iconography, it is not to be expected that all Dr. Hekler's conclusions will be accepted; in particular, he goes perhaps too far in denying individual character to early portraits, when, for example, he sees "nothing specially characteristic in the face" of the Anacreon. The List of Illustrations contains not only references for all the portraits reproduced, but also notes of restorations. An index of names of persons represented would be useful, though of course the long list of "unknown Greeks" or "unknown Romans" could not thus be identified. In such a selection probably anyone would miss some special favourites of his own; the fine Demosthenes in Athens and the British Museum Alexander are examples. But it would be hard to improve the choice as a whole.

Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik—eine Orientierung und ein Weg.
VON OTTO WASSER. Pp. 132. 4 Plates. Rascher & Co., Zurich and Leipzig, 1912.
M. 2.

In this little volume Dr. Wasser has printed the text of six popular lectures on Greek Sculpture, given in connection with the Pestalozzi Society of Zurich. Such lectures to teachers and others are familiar enough in England. The syllabus given to all those attending the lectures is also printed. This, and the lectures themselves, may give useful hints to lecturers; but it is evident that much of the effect of such lectures must depend on the selection of the lantern slides; a list of them is accordingly given at the end of each lecture.

Virgil. By T. R. GLOVER. Second Edition. London: Methuen and Co., 1912.

Lovers of Virgil will welcome this new edition of Mr. Glover's appreciative and enlightening study of the great Roman bard. Mr. Glover has, beyond all doubt, the first qualification of a critic of poetry—a proper sympathy and affection for his poet. With the merciless judgments of German scholars on Virgil fresh in mind, it is pleasant to find a critic, who will try to discover for us beauties as well as blemishes, and who will not at

one assume, if he fails at first to grasp the reason why a certain poem has been universally popular, that his first impression is right and that the deliberate judgment of generations is wrong. Not that Mr. Glover is in any sense a slave of tradition; we are sure that he feels as we do, that, if Virgil means nothing to us to-day, it is irrelevant to say that he has meant much to people in the past. But Virgil has in fact an enduring value; and Mr. Glover's attitude of mind qualifies him to discover that value for us.

The plan of the book is comprehensive and clear. It starts with a full account of the life of the poet, then proceeds to discuss the literary and political influences that moulded his thought, and, finally, treats of Virgil's interpretation of life, considered from various points of view. While the *Georgics* and *Eclogues* find a part in the book, it is the *Aeneid* which is the main theme of discussion. And we think that Mr. Glover has done wisely: Virgil must stand or fall with his great work, and, charming as his other poems are, they do not represent him as fully as the epic into which he put his ripest thought and work.

If we must criticize, we might observe that Mr. Glover occasionally abuses his happy power of literary quotation by false application of modern passages, and that he has, in a few cases, attempted to say yes and no to the same question. For example, in the chapter on Augustus, he defends Virgil's admiration for the Emperor; yet, at the same time, he identifies himself with a view of Augustus' character that seems to us to make such admiration indefensible. But such faults, if we are right in deeming them so, do not detract from the value of the book, and we can confidently recommend to all lovers of literature this pleasant blend of sound and able scholarship and clear and attractive style.

Greek Literature. A series of Lectures delivered at Columbia University, Columbia University Press, 1912.

This volume of Lectures embraces, under such large headings as "Epic Poetry," "Tragedy," "Philosophy," the whole field of Greek literature. In a book of this character we have no right to demand any high degree of originality; what we may fairly expect, and what we find here, is a thorough understanding and appreciation of the theme. As a whole, these papers show taste and insight; the initial one on "The Study of Greek Literature" is perhaps the best. The general style of writing is vigorous and lucid. But there are a few points that offend an English ear. Slightly archaic forms of expression occasionally occur in what seem to us quite inappropriate contexts; and we meet with a number of new coined phrases, e.g. "deponize a dream" where we should have preferred a more orthodox, if less ambitious, style. A pleasing American weakness—a somewhat exaggerated national pride—appears in an amusing form in one passage. On page 28 we find the Greeks described as "A highly-gifted people whose civilization, if measured by the standard of the number of perfected men it produced, may well be pronounced not inferior to our own."

But we would not end a review of a good book with censure, and will rather call attention to one great merit which its writers possess—a sound common sense, that refuses to be led astray by fads. In the first lecture, in particular, a very just protest is raised against the trick, so popular to-day, of finding our own ideas and sentiments in Greek authors. Certainly, to profit by Greek literature, we must be in sympathy with the writers; but, to do this, we must learn to feel with them, not force them to feel with us.

The Lascaris of Nicaea: The Story of an Empire in Exile. By ATICE GARDNER. Pp. xiii+312. With eight illustrations and a map. London: Methuen & Co., 1912. 7s. 6d.

Miss Gardner has produced, as the result of an examination of practically all the authorities and of a visit to Nicaea, a valuable treatise on the Empire which takes its

name from that picturesque town. Since the time of Finlay there had been published only *one* exhaustive monograph on this interesting subject, the history of the late Antónios Miliarskies, a work of great erudition and clearness. Thanks to Miss Gardner, English readers, innocent of modern Greek, are now able to have the latest information about the really remarkable rulers and scholars who kept alive in the West of Asia Minor, just as the Despots of Epeiros and the sturdy burghers of Monemvasia did in Europe, and the Emperors of Trebizond on the shores of the Black Sea, the sacred fire of Greek independence, temporarily extinguished at Constantinople by the short-lived Latin conquest. In another edition a certain number of small errors, especially in the bibliography, might be corrected. We should scarcely have summed up Hopf's *Chroniques gréco-romaines* as "generally showing ignorance of the East"; on the contrary, one of them, Samud's *Historia del Regno di Romania*, being largely based on personal knowledge, serves as an excellent means of correcting and checking the various versions of *The Chronicle of the Morea*. In her occasional allusions to Servian history, Miss Gardner does not seem to have been acquainted with Professor Jireček's admirable *Geschichte der Serben*, of which the first volume was published in 1911, and which would have enabled her to prevent several little inaccuracies with regard to the titles and marriages of the Servian rulers—a subject previously obscured by the antiquated work of Engel. Special commendation is due to her reproduction of the two coloured portraits of Constantine Asen, the Bulgarian Tsar, and his consort, a daughter of Theodore II of Nicaea, from the church of Bojans near Sofia. It can only be hoped that King Ferdinand will see his way to have a similar reproduction made of the valuable portraits contained in the illuminated "Codex Slave II," which is in the Vatican Library.

Aristotle's Researches in Natural Science. By T. S. LONES. Pp. 275.
London: West, Newman & Co., 1912. 6s.

After a consideration of the many published books having for their subject the researches of Aristotle, Mr. Lones concluded that a single work, re-examining Aristotle's statements, as far as possible by first-hand investigations, would fill a gap in Aristotelian literature. The present volume is intended to do this and to represent the nature and value of Aristotle's researches in the numerous branches of knowledge in which his master mind led his contemporaries. The author adds that in those parts of the work relating to anatomy, embryology and zoology, he has tested the statements wherever possible, by means of actual dissections and observations.

In these days of rapidly increasing specialization it is difficult to appreciate the position of Aristotle in a contemporary world in which his knowledge embraced equally all branches of science. His position in that respect was rather that of the modern elementary science master as compared with his pupils, that of a father personally instructing his children in all knowledge, than that of any modern authority. How wide his net spread will be realised when it is remembered that his labours covered physical astronomy, meteorology, physical geography, physics, chemistry, geology, botany, anatomy, physiology, embryology and zoology. On all these subjects he was the premier authority of his time. To us moderns he was the father of each of these sciences. If he did not originate them, he classified or reduced existing knowledge to order, and in every branch, but especially in zoology, he added original observations of his own making. It is no wonder that during all the long two thousand years since Aristotle flourished there have been no works that have throughout all that time continuously maintained a greater hold on the human mind. At times the subject of ridicule, at other times adopted by the Church almost as a part of her dogma, yet never neglected or forgotten, the mind of the great philosopher still influences us, albeit in a different manner, in this twentieth century. So great was at times the Aristotelian influence that in their keen desire to praise or blame him, men forgot the truth, and

either accepted blindly and without investigation all that he wrote as true, or boldly proposed that "Everything that Aristotle taught is false."

Nowadays a man's methods and objects rather than criticism of his inevitable errors attract and interest us. The nature and mental atmosphere of the man, many of whose conclusions are still sound after the lapse of two thousand years, still remain an enthralling study, and we think that there was room for this new book on an old subject, especially as the number of those capable of studying the master in the original Greek is decreasing, and that in spite of the increasing numbers who wish to read him.

Mr. Loane has summarized the contents of all Aristotle's works within the limit of 275 pages, including an index of 11 pages, so that it will be readily understood that in his 18 chapters averaging less than 20 pages each, there is condensed a vast amount of concentrated information leaving no room for picturesque writing. Part of the book therefore reads drily, but this could not be avoided when the amount of available space is considered. From the point of view of the student the concentration is an advantage.

Where almost the whole field of science is covered it is difficult to check thoroughly the work of the author; but, so far as we have been able to do so, his work has been accurate, he has consulted authorities on the various subjects when necessary, and the result is very often an interesting collection of information on, for instance, such out-of-the-way subjects as solid-hoofed pigs, knuckle-bones, the bones of the hearts of certain mammals, and the carriage of the legs of birds in flight.

The index seems to have been carefully prepared. There are ten helpful drawings to illustrate the text, and the book seems to be remarkably free from misprints. It may be most usefully consulted by those in need of information regarding the subjects with which it deals.

Four Stages of Greek Religion. Studies based on a Course of Lectures delivered in April 1912 at Columbia University. By GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. 223. New York, 1912. 6s.

Of the four essays in this book, the first, 'Saturnia Regna,' will have little interest for those acquainted with Miss Harrison's views; for, in spite of the width of his own reading in the literature of primitive religion, Professor Murray seems always to see with her eyes. The second essay also, 'The Olympian Conquest,' is mostly familiar matter, but it contains some eloquent pleading on behalf of the Olympians. Homer is treated much as in the 'The Rise of the Greek Epic.' Professor Murray thinks it likely that the *Odyssey* was largely composed at Athens in the sixth century: hence the prominence of Athena, hitherto unknown to Homer.

Far more interesting is the second half of the book. The third essay, 'The Failure of Nerve,' is a fascinating sketch of the general drift of Hellenistic religion and philosophy, and the fourth, 'The Last Protest,' deals mainly with problems suggested by Sallustius 'On the Gods and the World,' which Professor Murray is peculiarly qualified to discuss. The book ends with a translation of that treatise.

Le Credenze d'Oltretomba nelle Opere Letterarie dell' Antichità Classica. By CARLO PASCAL. Two volumes, pp. 261, 263. Catania: Francesco Ballato, 1912. L. 8.

This eloquent book deals mainly with the literary evidence for ancient beliefs about death, but considerable use is also made of archaeological material. Professor Pascal treats inscriptions as literary sources, and one of the most striking features of his work is his effective use of Greek and Latin grave inscriptions. Another is his familiarity with late Latin and mediæval literature; and he seems to know all the Roman poets by heart.

The first chapter, 'Il Fato Mortale,' gives a general picture of the various attitudes towards death attested by literature and inscriptions: the following chapters deal with such themes as the underworld and its rulers, the divinities of death, the religion of the tomb, and the *dei inferni*, and much stress is laid on some aspects of ancient belief rarely emphasized. Especially interesting are his chapters on the judgment of the dead. The second half of the book deals more closely with particular writers and particular classes of literature, and closes with two striking chapters on the fate of great souls after death, and on the deification of Caesar and Augustus.

As a book of reference 'Le Credenze d'Oltretomba' has serious faults. It is rather incoherent, and it has no detailed index. Moreover there are odd omissions. For instance, in the chapter on the Elysian Fields Professor Pascoli speaks of the Hyperboreans, but only as the subject of an utopian work by 'Hecataeus of Miletus.' There is no mention of Pindar, nor of the many earlier sources: and, above all, no mention of the one passage most relevant to the matter in hand, Bacchylides iii. 58, where Apollo carries Croesus and his daughters to the Hyperboreans. Nor is there a hint of the claims of Hecataeus of Abdera.

But the merits of the book are far greater than its defects. It is original in outlook and in treatment; it draws much on neglected sources, and it is marked by strong poetical feeling joined to a rare sympathy with the views of ordinary people.

Il Reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Per Cura di LUIGI ADRIANO MILANI, Direttore. Pp. 352. Vol. I. (Testo). Storia e guida ragionata. 2 plans and 31 cuts. Pp. 32, 100 plates. Vol. II. (Atlante). Guida figurata. Firenze, 1912. L. 25.

A new edition of Prof. Milani's guide to the Archaeological Museum at Florence is very welcome. It is much more complete than the old one, published in 1898, is brought fully up to date, and the whole contents of the Museum are now exhaustively treated and amply illustrated. The first volume contains a useful historical introduction to the collections, followed by descriptions of the rooms and their contents in order: it also includes the tombs and antiquities in the Museum garden. Its only defect is that there is no index. Volume II. is merely an Atlas accompanying the guide, in which all the more interesting objects are admirably reproduced. There is for instance an excellent plate of the François vase, considering that it is reduced to one-eighth size. The guide should be of great assistance to visitors to Florence. Too often Italian Museums, even the more important ones, are deficient in handy guides, or if such exist (as at Rome) they are often the work of foreign scholars. The price of the present work however is somewhat prohibitive.

De Hecataei Milesii Fragmentis quae ad Italiam Meridionalem spectant. By BERNHARD SCHULZE. Pp. 116. Leipzig: B. Neake, 1912.

This dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. at Leipzig deserves the attention of all who are interested in Ancient Geography. It collects and states clearly much valuable information not only as to individual places in South Italy, but also as to the races inhabiting it, and the boundaries of the respective tribes. Especially interesting is the skilful use of place names to show the reality of the old traditional connection between the Iapygians and Illyria (pp. 12 seq.). But the main purpose of the dissertation is to vindicate the genuineness of the fragments of Hecataeus by showing their accuracy: in doing this Herr Schulze states most clearly and courteously the arguments of his opponents. Whether he succeeds in his purpose is doubtful, because the fragments are most of them too brief and colourless to prove anything satisfactorily: but at all events he goes far to

show that the epitomator, Stephanus, and not the author, is responsible for the loss of the word $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha$ (p. 24); and he makes a new and very good point in connecting the minute knowledge shown as to places in South Italy with the close commercial relations between Miletus and Sybaris.

Jenaer medizin-historische Beiträge. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. THEOD. MEYER-STRIENES. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1912. Heft 1. *Chirurgische Instrumente des Altertums, ein Beitrag zur antiken Chirurgie.* Pp. 52; 8 Plates. 5 M. Heft 2. *Darstellungen normaler und krankhaft veränderter Körperteile an antiken Weiblichen.* Pp. 28, 4 Plates. Heft 3. *Kranken-Anstalten im griechisch-römischen Altertum.* Pp. 40. 1 M. 50.

Three short essays dealing with various aspects of ancient medicine and surgery, from the pen of the general editor of the series recently issued by the University of Jena. The subject of the first of these has been already treated in Milne's *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*; but the writer confines his remarks to specimens in his own possession collected from the Greek Islands and Asia Minor and, unlike Dr. Milne, makes no attempt to include the whole of the extant material. For the layman there are some suggestive passages on metal-working in antiquity.

Similarly the second volume is devoted to the publication of various ex-votos from Cos in the writer's collection. These include some terracottas on which are represented disfigurements caused by disease; in these cases the anomaly appears to have been of an incurable nature.

The third discusses briefly the literary and archaeological evidence for the hospital systems of the Greeks and Romans. There are descriptions with maps of the Asklepieion at Cos and the military hospitals of Neussium and Carnuntum. The development of comfort and in elaboration of plan during the Empire is well illustrated in the case of the successive rebuildings of the last-named.

An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography. By Sir EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, G.C.B., F.S.O., &c. Pp. xvi + 690. 250 Facsimiles. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. 8vo. 30s. net.

Ever since its publication Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Handbook* has been an invaluable text-book to students of palaeography, and its handy size and low price will doubtless ensure its continued popularity with at least the less advanced student even after the publication of this larger work. But the small size of the facsimiles and the fact that they are mere cuts, inset into the text, and therefore not really reproducing the appearance of the MS., was undoubtedly a drawback; and moreover, owing to the discoveries of recent years, in all branches of the subject and particularly in Greek palaeography, parts of the work were much in need of revision. This new volume, though not put forward merely as a re-edition of the former one, is founded on it and follows the same plan, but it incorporates much new material, and its larger size and higher price enable an immense improvement to be made in all that relates to the facsimiles. They are increased both in number, thus becoming more representative, and in size, thus affording a larger field for observation; and they are almost all of them photographic facsimiles, reproducing the appearance of the originals. Most, though not all, are taken from the fine plates of the Palaeographical Society, and they are for the most part admirably clear. It is unfortunate that, as already pointed out by a reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, Plate 20, a reproduction of a particularly difficult piece of Greek cursive, has been placed upside down; but this is a unique lapse. The material for a work of this kind has greatly increased in recent years, particularly in regard to the

Greek script, with which a review in this *Journal* must specially deal; and the author has brought his work up to date, entirely re-writing portions of it and overlooking little of importance. The value of papyrology, not only in itself but for its bearing on paleography in general, is seen in the treatment of the Greek minuscule hand of vellum MSS., whose origin can now be found with complete certainty in the late cursive of papyrus texts; and another striking example is the case of the Ambrosian Homer, which in the earlier work was ascribed, in accordance with the generally received opinion, to the fifth century, but whose date is now put back, on the strength of the papyrus evidence, to the third. It thus appears in the present volume as the earliest Greek vellum MS. of which a facsimile is given.

In dealing with a work of this magnitude a detailed discussion is impossible, but fortunately the Latin hand can here be disregarded. A few comments may be made on single points. On p. 19 the note concerning the practice of 'closing the authentic deed and leaving the copy only open to inspection' might be made a little clearer as regards the usage in Egypt. As at present worded it does not obviously suggest any connection between the earlier practice, as seen in the Elephantine Papyri, and the later, as seen in the B.M. papyri referred to. The fact is of course that the second is a development from the first. Originally the document was written in full twice over, the authentic deed (called by the Germans the 'Innenschrift') being rolled up and sealed; later the practice was introduced, for convenience, of reducing this 'inner script' to a mere abstract of the essential points; see Mitteis, *Papyruskunde* II. 177 f. On p. 25 reference is made to the illegible Byzantine 'protocols.' It is interesting to notice that the last fasciculus (tome II, fasc. 2) of Maspero's *Cairo Catalogue* contains a protocol which is apparently more legible than usual, and Maspero offers a tentative reading of two lines. The facsimile, which is to appear in fasc. 3, will be awaited with interest. On p. 44 the author remarks that 'the Greeks do not appear to have had any parallel expression [to the Latin *rotulus*, for the roll, rolled-up] at an early date; the word *rotulus* being comparatively late.' He should have noted that in the postal register in P. Hibeh 110 (*circa* B.C. 255) the term *rotulus* is regularly used, in contrast to *epistola* (a folded letter), of the rolled-up roll, or rather perhaps (Wilcken, *Papyruskunde* I. ii. 513) of a case for the reception of a roll. On p. 46 it is stated, in accordance with the prevailing view, that the surface of the inner side (*recto*) of a papyrus roll was more carefully prepared, and was easier to write on, than the other. Ischer in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* V. p. 191 has questioned this view, probably with justice. In papyrus codices, which were made by cutting up rolls of papyrus into sheets of the required size, and in which the writing was of course necessarily on both sides of the papyrus, it is difficult to see any great difference, as regards finish and ease of writing, between the two sides; and such elaborately written MSS. as the Oxyrhynchus Pindar, which is on the *verso* of a used roll, make it improbable that the vertical fibres were any impediment to easy and elegant writing. On p. 65, in speaking of palimpsests, the author remarks that 'specimens of rewritten papyri, even in fragments, are rarely met with.' It is probable that, as remarked by Preisker (*P. Strassburg* I. p. 102), papyrus palimpsests are far commoner than might be inferred from the editions. Several have recently been published among the Gissensis papyri and in Maspero's *Cairo Catalogue*, and probably a careful examination would reveal many among previously published papyri. On p. 71 the author leaves it an open question whether the Greeks had a system of true shorthand 'capable of keeping pace with human speech.' Apart from other evidence, such documents as the *ἐπιστηματισμοί* of legal proceedings, comparatively common among papyri, in which the speeches of advocates, evidence of witnesses, and sentence are reported verbatim, would seem to indicate the existence of such a system; and as a matter of fact we have explicit testimony for at least the fourth century of our era in the life of Porphyry of Gaza by Mark the Deacon, of which a translation has recently been published by Mr. G. F. Hill. In section 88, speaking of the debate between Porphyry and Julia, Mark tells us, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Κορηθίος ὁ διακὸς ἐπὶ Σαχίος ἀπομαρθεῖν, ἐπιστάμενος τὰ ἑκτόμην σημεία, ἐπιστηματικὰ πρὸς τοῦ μακροτάτου ἐκείνου/σου πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ ἀποτιθέμενα ἰσημιούτα, ἡμῶν

ἐν τοῖς ἀσκήσει βασιλῆς ἐπιμαρτυροῦσαν. Whatever we may think of Eusebius (one ingenious commentator would read *εὐσέβης*), the allusion would seem to be to a real system of shorthand. On p. 91 we read that 'to indicate thousands a stroke was added to the left of the numeral.' This was the Byzantine practice; but it would have been as well to mention the earlier one, by which one stroke of the latter was extended upwards and a stroke drawn through it at right angles. In chapter ix the treatment of the literary hand on papyrus ends with the third century. This was comprehensible enough in the *Hand-book* (where as a matter of fact a MS. of the fourth is given) and even in Kenyon's *Paleography of Greek Papyri*, for literary papyri of late date were then few and unimportant; but their number has been much increased since, and the later hand has received what we may call canonical rank by the discovery of the fragments of Menander and Eupolis. It is therefore regrettable that no later specimens are given. In illustrating the growth of the initial of early vellum codices from the book-hand of papyri it would have been as well to give a facsimile of P. Oxy. 661, the hand of which bears a closer resemblance to that of the great Biblical codices than any of the specimens given, and which has the advantage of being datable with practical certainty in the second century. Again it is to be regretted that no specimen of the Ptolemaic cursive of the first century B.C. is included. Documents of this century were very rare when the *Hand-book* appeared and are still far from numerous, but a fair number are now known. A facsimile of Lond. 883, of A.D. 88, was available. In the description of No. 32 (p. 170) it would have been better to mention that this document was written at Naples, a fact of some importance for a correct appreciation of the hand. The few Greek papyri found in Egypt which were written outside deserve careful study for the light they throw or may throw on local varieties of the Greek cursive. Thus we have in B.G.U. 316 a document written at Ascalon; in B.G.U. 887 one from Side in Pamphylia; in P. Cairo byz. 67032 one written at Constantinople. In the document under discussion the subscriptions offer material of some variety; thus it has been pointed out (Wilcken, *Papyriusculi* I. ii. 184) that the man from Myra writes a δ of a kind apparently characteristic of Asia Minor. But these minutiae are of course beyond the scope of the present work.

These are small points, but their smallness illustrates the care which the author has bestowed on his work. It may be added that the volume contains an ample bibliography and index. Special attention should also be called to the valuable alphabets of both the literary and the cursive hand of papyri.

Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Papyracea nuper Reperta. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit AETIVM S. HUNT. (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.) Oxonii: a typographo Clarendoniano. [1912.] 8vo.

This is the third volume in this series which we owe to the soil of Egypt, the others being Hyperides and the Oxyrhynchus historian. The occasion for the present one was the publication of the *Ichnusae* of Sophocles, but the editor has taken the opportunity to add some of the most important of the other tragic fragments recovered from papyri. By this collection of the fragments from various expensive works into a cheap and handy volume he has conferred a great service on classical students; and he has of course incorporated into the texts all corrections made since the first publication which seem to him acceptable. The volume would have been rendered more complete by the inclusion of the *Asiote* of Euripides found among the Petrie Papyri; but the editor states that he omitted it owing to lack of opportunity to collate the text with the papyrus, without which he considered a republication useless.

It cannot be said that the texts here collected add anything of the highest value to our stock of Greek literature. The *Ichnusae* is of course the most interesting, but its interest lies rather in its novelty than in any great comic power, though probably on the stage the action would give it a humour not felt when it is read. The fragments of the

Ægepylos, lines in themselves, are tantalisingly scanty. The extensive fragments of the *Hippolyte* of Euripides are distinctly disappointing, but on the other hand, the fragment of the *Cretans* furnishes us with a striking and characteristic speech of Pasiphaë, and the anonymous satyric fragment which concludes the volume is of considerable interest so far as it goes.

It need hardly be said that the editor's work is excellent, though there is of course room for differences of opinion on single points. There seems a good deal to be said for Pearson's arrangement of lines 199-203 of the *Ichneutes*, which would certainly add to the comic effect of the scene.

Greek Divination. A Study of its Methods and Principles. By W. R. HALLIDAY. Pp. 309. London: Macmillan & Co. 1913.

This book is yet another attempt to look at a side of Greek life through comparative spectacles—a side too, where a knowledge of other primitive cultures may be of more than usual assistance. To the general classical reader, the chief value of the work lies in helping him to a new point of view, to a realization of a psychological background against which small acts and sayings fall into their places and take on a new significance; to take a single instance, for one who has grasped the belief in the spoken word as moulding the future, the contents of such a formula as *τοῖς τοῖς ἐγὼ καὶ δι' ἐνδοκμήσεως* *foros* has been doubled. The importance of representing this background may excuse the otherwise rather detailed citation of modern savage parallels.

The author begins by emphasising the importance for divination of the pre-Olympian element in Greek religion. In the Lower Culture, magic plays a preponderating part. It is the setting in motion of a non-natural power which the magician possesses or controls, rather than a misapplication of the natural categories of cause and effect, while ritual is merely a form of expression best suited to give effect to the magic—to help it out. The belief that by describing what you want, you help to bring it about, *less* inevitably to mimetic ritual.

With the development of religious ideas this non-natural power is gradually transferred from the magician himself to higher beings. The restriction of the magician's power, coupled with the belief in the potency of the acted or spoken word, gives rise to the intimate connection, almost confusion, between magic and divination (*ἰατρία ὁλοῦς ἢ ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*) and to the tendency for the maker of the future to become its mere diviner. From this position we incidentally get one of those sidelights which for the general reader will form the chief interest of the book: the explanation of the acceptance of omens—for example, when the Greek envoys accept Xerxes' reply "*Μηδόντες ἔδε θεῶν δακρυ*"—and the rehabilitation of Onomacritus' character are both convincing.

The Mantis is studied in a special chapter; his degeneration from the primitive modern man and his collateral relationship through the same august source with the other *θυμωπύτοι*, the doctor and the poet, sketched in. The development of the mantic art is along two lines: while the magician tends to become the mere diviner, solemn occasions and anxious moments clothe small acts and chance happenings with a significance not their own. This is the origin of the subtile and of the observance of omens. Thus the drift is all towards formalism. The earlier we catch him the more spontaneous is the mantic (historically "inductive" precedes "deductive" divination), and, as is pointed out, it is from the backward parts of Greece, Aetolia or Acarnania for instance, that in classical times he mostly comes.

In further chapters particular forms of divination, chremancy, necromancy, lecanomancy, augury, etc., are lucidly dealt with, while the question of the borrowing of such methods as extispication from the East is discussed and decided in the negative, though due allowance is made for subsequent Oriental influence. Under the heading of

augury there is a thorough if somewhat sceptical examination of the evidence for the existence of bird duties in early Greece, the value of which is heightened by an appendix containing a list of proper names derived from birds.

The usefulness of the book as a whole is much increased by copious references, a subject index and full bibliography.

Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede. Von EDUARD NORDEN. Pp. ix+410. Teubner: Leipzig and Berlin, 1913.

Dr. Norden introduces this work in the Preface as a *τράπηνη* which he is not likely directly to follow up. Starting from the well-known difficulty of the 'unknown God' of St. Paul's speech at Athens (Acts xviii.), he was led into a general inquiry into the formulae of religious speech which led him far afield and promised results of value to many other inquirers besides students of the Bible. Formally the volume is divided into two independent parts, the first, an investigation of the Areopagus speech; the second, an attempt to trace the history of certain forms of phraseology descriptive of the might and majesty of the deity addressed in prayer or revealed to the uninitiated by priest or preacher. But the parts are not really independent. The whole is a unity, as Dr. Norden claims. The first part starts from the New Testament, but enlarges and expands in the fascinating twilight of Greek civilization until the wider enquiries of the second part are felt to be a necessity; and the second part throws light on much else in the New Testament besides the Areopagus speech. In the end the whole volume falls into its place as a continuation of the author's *Kunstproben* and a contribution of the highest importance to our knowledge of Hellenistic Greek and of the religious 'Syncretism' of the Roman Empire.

Dr. Norden's conclusions with regard to the passage which gives the volume its title may be stated as follows. The writer of the passage had before him the tract of Apollonius of Tyana *πρὸς θεοὺς* and on it modelled the speech which he put into the mouth of St. Paul, making for the purposes of his argument the necessary change of plural into singular. The actual form of the inscription seen by Pausanias and mentioned by other writers (always in the plural) was probably *θεῶν ἀγνώστου*. This contention is supported by careful and convincing arguments. The fragment of the *πρὸς θεοὺς* preserved in Eusebius shows that it was a work of considerable literary pretensions, and in an appendix Dr. Norden shows that the account of St. Paul at Athens 'attaches' in a degree not elsewhere characteristic of the style of the Acts. He also argues with considerable force that the author of *Romans* would not have treated an inscription to an 'unknown God' in the manner described in the Areopagus speech. On the way to these conclusions Dr. Norden carries through a most valuable historical investigation into the notion *ἄγνωστος θεός* (with its correlatives and derivatives) in Greek and Latin writers, the upshot of which is that it is not indigenous to Greece but sprang up in the regions where Greek and Oriental ideas met and mingled—a debatable land in which, it seems, not only Greek magic and mysticism but also a great part of Stoicism and Neo-Platonism were born. Our author seems also prepared to include in this 'orientalized hellenism' Heraclitus and the Pythagorean school.

The beginning of the Second Part is something of a surprise. It starts from the ode of Horace (iii, 21) *o munda mecum comite Mantus*, in which, it is shown, Horace apostrophizes the *pau tatus* as a god with the full forms of traditional religious Epiklesis. On this follows an investigation of the tradition which has much of the fascination of a detective story and must be of the very greatest interest to Liturgiologists as well as to many other classes of enquirers into whose provinces Dr. Norden's encyclopaedic learning and invincible energy carry him. The conclusion, in the author's own words, is 'the proof of the continued existence of a treasury of forms of religious speech (*einem Typenschatzen religiöser Rede*), to the coming of which Greece and the East equally contributed, which

the syncretist religions of imperial times, including Christianity, adopted. The adoption was not conscious and deliberate: there was little direct borrowing from accessible sources: human will was determined not by purpose but rather by 'the immanent power of Michelangelo's immortal forms.' The most important intermediary between Christianity and Hellenism was 'the orientalised *Stoa*, and above all *Posidonius*, from whom, in Dr. Norden's view, the Church first learnt its Platonism. Such influences have always been recognised in the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Norden argues that they are to be detected in the synoptists as well, and sees in a famous saying in S. Matthew (vi., 23 ff.) a product of 'the mystical-theosophical literature of the East.'

To give a full account of the innumerable interesting and controversial topics raised in text or footnotes or appendices in the course of this discussion would be a task no less impossible within the scope of a review than beyond the powers of the reviewer. Books longer than that before us might be, indeed have been, written upon many of them, and learning greater than Dr. Norden's would be required for their writing. We may, however, mention the following discussions of special interest to Theologians. The Acts of the Apostles is described as belonging to the rather neglected class of Greek records of travel (*Reiseberichte*), and interesting hints are given for the further investigation of this class of writing. Its composition is discussed in an appendix. Of the Fourth Gospel Dr. Norden writes: 'we are learning more and more to understand the Johannine speeches as products of a mighty theosophical-gnosophical-mystical movement'; and he shows by more than one instance how and by what aids he would investigate the origin of its ideas and phraseology. He also discusses at some length the origin of the Apostles' Creed and the pre-Christian formulations of a Divine Trinity. Finally, he investigates the history of the conception of *Messias*, proving its Oriental provenance.

The most characteristic feature of the book is perhaps the problem, always recurring, of finding stylistic criteria by which to discriminate between Semitic and Hellenic elements in Christian and Gnostic writers. On this question Dr. Norden gives us much valuable information, further developed in an appendix on Semitic and Hellenic Clause-parallelism. There is also an appendix on *λέξις εἰρῆς*, dealing chiefly with Herodotus and the early historians, the Sophists, and the Platonic imitations of the Sophists (the Protagoras Myth, etc.). Rhythmic Prose is never forgotten, and the author has kindly provided an index in which the chief passages dealing with this subject are set down.

From this cursory list of incidental topics it will be seen that we have in this book a quite bewildering mass of material for discussion. Even Dr. Norden has not, it seems, been able to carry through his enquiries without frequent recourse to the aid of colleagues in his own and other faculties. A reviewer who is not a master in every faculty must be forgiven if he shirks discussion. There is one general point, however, which we should like to raise. When Dr. Norden takes off the seven league boots in which he strides so easily from end to end of Greek and Roman literature (with occasional excursions into Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian domains), we should like him to give a more exact account of the nature of the Orientalism which he finds in earlier Greek literature, of its species and probable sources. We do not quite understand his attitude to the Greek *Prophetenstil* of Herodotus and other writers. Where a Jew is writing, or a convert to a Jewish faith, the sources of Orientalism are obvious. If the Stoics were, as he thinks, mainly Semitic, the same is true of them. But what does he mean when he writes, after Goethe, *Deus est Orychies* in the margin of his texts of Homer and Plato or the records of Pythagorean and other mystic religions? What is the Oriental source, and what is here our criterion for distinguishing Greek and Oriental? No doubt Dr. Norden has something of an answer to these questions, and he cannot be blamed for not answering them here: or if we blame him it is only because he has been so generous in answering many other questions that do not fall in the direct line of his investigation. To students of 'classical' Greece, however, the question is fundamental, and, while they rejoice over these ripe fruits of German learning and congratulate the author on the completion of his laborious *εργασίᾳ*, they may legitimately regret that the question seems to have been brought little nearer to a final answer.

Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture.

By ALEXANDER VAN MILLINGEN, M.A., D.D., assisted by RAMSAY TRAQUAIR, A.R.I.B.A., W. S. GEORGE, F.S.A., and A. E. HENDERSON, F.S.A. With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1912.

Byzantine Churches in Constantinople is a notable book, and worthily fills an undoubted gap. It is now more than fifty years since Fergusson, with his usual penetration, pointed out that the Constantinople churches well deserved to be studied. The process of subsequent research has secured that their publication should rather be the work of a system than the definite labour of a single mind, and so we find an able band of workers collaborating in the present book; yet no one deserves to be so centrally associated with it as Prof. Van Millingen, whose work on the Walls is already in the field, a good companion volume to the *Churches*.

Mr. Ramsay Traquair's first chapter on *Byzantine Architecture* is a stimulating, suggestive and most satisfactory piece of work, just the thorough preparation of the ground we should expect from him at this date. Nothing could be more admirable in its way than the first page, in which he summarises the great principles of Early Christian church planning, while this and subsequent pages show also the debt we owe to Strzygowski for definitions which are now regarded as truisms, but some ten years ago were quite new. As a result, through the whole field, we now have marshalled facts and orderly arrangement, enabling churches to be ticketed and placed exactly in their proper places, making possible also a minute comparison of each building in its relationship to others. The side lights of the subject as they affect the matter of this book are full of interest. Thus, in the apayed faces of the piers carrying the central dome in S. Mary of the Mongols, we see the germ of the great St. Peter's plan type of Renaissance times, and in St. Eirene, we see the type of building which the late J. F. Bentley re-created in the Catholic Cathedral at Westminster, true though it is that that building is founded more directly on the central basilica of St. Mark's at Venice, leaving out the cross arms.

In speaking of cross-churches outside of Constantinople, Mr. Traquair does not mention the remarkable plan of the church of St. Simon Stylites, in Syria, illustrated by de Vogue and Butler, which might be described as an octagon with large cross arms proceeding from it.

It is pleasant that Mr. Traquair is so exact in his definitions of architectural features. A common expression for all is as desirable in details as in larger issues. One of the most difficult matters is the "sancer dome," "dome on continuous pendentives," or "dome vault," by all of which names, in different places, Mr. Traquair describes a form of structure which is perhaps not exactly described by any of them. I venture to think that "dome from continuous pendentives" would serve the purpose best. Though the resulting structure contained true pendentives, it was a wide remove from the dome on pendentives, proper. (See Chap. I., p. 2 par. 2.)

There are very few things, however, that he does not note which are essential to the subject, and his exposition of the later form of plan, as seen in the Mount Athos churches and the eleventh century Greek ones, strikes me as particularly good.

The bulk of the book is occupied with detailed descriptions of the various churches, each occupying its own chapter, all the important ones being well illustrated by photographs. The careful geometrical drawings of every church, drawn after the manner in which Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley's book so worthily set the example, are a most valuable and indispensable feature of the book.

Of the more important churches we find nine, the identity of which is pretty clearly established, and seven whose ascriptions are more a matter of conjecture. In the former category, the most noteworthy all round, next to SS. Sergius and Bacchus, St. Eirene, and St. Saviour in the Chora, are the fine basilica of St. John Stadion, the church of St. Andrew in Krisei, and the remarkably interesting church of St. Mary Panchroutos. The completeness of the side chapel or "paroclesion" of the last

mined is so pronounced that it makes the photograph facing page 144 rather puzzling at first. This side chapel is a very beautiful piece of late Byzantine work. The author points out that the church is the one which Fergusson intended to describe as his "Church of the Theotokos," though in reality he describes St. Theodore. The interest of the central corner piece in the beautiful little quatre-foiled plans of St. Mary of the Mongols has already been noted. In the fine, roomy, domed basilica of St. Theodosia we see an effect, externally, of tall wall and verticality which reminds irresistibly of the Norman Sicilian spirit, seen most notably at Cefalù. In St. Mary of the Mongols again, and in the Sanjakdar Mesjedi, we see the Armenian plan.

Of the churches which are more or less doubtfully named, St. Mary Diaconissa is perhaps the most important. The fine marble work of the interior is noticeable. In St. Theodore, as mentioned above, we see the church illustrated by Fergusson, and a comparison of his elevation with the one given in Prof. Millingen's book shows the advance made in accuracy of measurement of old work.

St. Sophia is in a place apart, and is wisely kept out of this book. Naturally, large space is given to St. Saviour in the Chora, the "Mosaic Mosque" (Kachrich Djami). The whole plan of this delightful church is vastly interesting, the central part of it extremely fine, and no one who has seen the mosaics in the narthex can ever forget them. The church is a perfect gem, comparable to the Capella Palatina at Palermo and the lower church of St. Francis at Assisi.

Of St. Eirene we are glad to see sufficient illustration, and yet not enough to detract from Mr. George's monograph on the church. SS. Sergius and Bacchus has of course been well described and published elsewhere, but the book would be incomplete without it.

A word as to the get-up of the book. It is bulky and heavy, but not disagreeably so, and it is impossible to avoid weight when so much plate-paper is necessary. It is a book no library should be without. I throw out the suggestion to author and publisher that, in the advancing state of architectural education, it might pay to produce a different edition for the use of students, with a page fully as large, or larger, but reduced in thickness to a fourth or less of the present volume. Such an edition might have as many illustrations as possible, certainly all the geometrical drawings, but the letterpress condensed to a brief description, averaging say two to three pages, for each church.

T. F.

Das Sprichwort im griechischen Epigramm. Von ERICH VON PRITWITZ-GAYFFER. Gießen: A. Töpelmann. 1912. M. 2.40.

This interesting and scholarly little book deals with the use made of proverbs by the Greek epigrammatists. The subject is treated chronologically, and variations in practice at different periods are carefully noted and traced. Incidentally, the author brings before us a number of amusing, and even brilliant, epigrams, and often suggests a natural and happy interpretation of passages, that, at first sight, baffle the translator—e.g., 'Πολλὰ μὲν βούλει μάλα εἰς Ἀθήναι' (p. 11), 'τοῖμα δὲναίη ἔμεν.' The one complaint to be made is that the proofs have not been read with sufficient care, and that a number of misprints have crept in, e.g., 'ἐξερρίφθαι' for 'ἔξ' on p. 47, l. 7; 'ἀσκήσιον' for 'ἀσκήσιον' on p. 38, l. 11; the punctuation is wrong on p. 47, l. 8; and on p. 35, l. 4, βέρρον should be written 'βέρρον' to make the line scan.

Reden und Vorträge. Von ULRICH VON WILANOWITZ-MORLLENDORFF. Dritte, vermehrte Auflage. Berlin: Weidmann, 1913.

It must be admitted that collections of spoken addresses by no means invariably make good books. They suffer from certain inevitable defects; the special circumstances

for which each address was designed can only be imperfectly realized by the reader, even the best speech may not prove a good essay, and the different items in the collection may easily be out of connection and harmony with one another. In spite of these natural failings, the present volume is full of life and interest. It shows us the breadth of interests of a scholar, who counts "nothing human," and more particularly, "nothing Greek" alien to him, and it reveals to us not only the scholar but the man as well. The main choice of themes is strictly classical, and, from the specialist's point of view, we recommend to special notice the *Pindaros* and the *Adonis von Bion*. But other addresses, delivered on important public occasions, such as the birthday of the German Emperor, use the past mainly as a light to make the present clear; when the Professor speaks of "Basileia," we know that the Prussian conception of kingship stands close behind the Greek in his mind, and when he speaks *Von der attischen Reiches Herrlichkeit*, that his patriotism is at the same time singing the praises of a much later and greater Empire. It is easy for us to speak of German autocracy as a backward form of constitution, and it may be correct to do so; but no one quite understands modern Germany, who does not realize how well many educated Germans can reconcile an ardent love of liberty with a keen personal devotion to the Emperor, and this is precisely what the earlier addresses in this book reveal. From this point of view, too, we heartily recommend a most interesting volume.

K. F. Hermann's Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten. Erster Band. Staatsaltertümer. Dritte Abteilung. Sixth edition. By H. Swoboda. Pp. xvi + 500. Tübingen: Mohr, 1913. M. 10.

This belated portion of the 1889 edition of Hermann's *Manual of Antiquities* contains a short review of the development of the *πολις*, and a fairly exhaustive description of the various Greek federations. Compared with the previous edition of 1875, it constitutes a remarkable advance in knowledge and in historic appreciation, especially in the part dealing with the Leagues, which has been improved beyond recognition. This progress is mainly due to the diligent search made by the author among recent writers on Greek constitutions, of whom Ed. Meyer is quoted most frequently, and to his skilful use of the evidence of coins and inscriptions, the importance of which is strikingly illustrated throughout the book. Prof. Swoboda's method is statistical rather than argumentative. Here and there his conclusions are open to doubt, e.g. when he declares that law codes had become almost universal in Greece by the seventh century (p. 71), that the Homeric Catalogue of ships belongs to the eighth century (p. 250), that the General of the Achaean League presided over the federal parliament (p. 408). But for the most part his judgment is prudent, and in some cases he displays ingenuity in proffering new solutions to old-standing problems, e.g. the puzzle of party politics in Boeotia in the middle of the fifth century (pp. 264-6). The index is unexpectedly complete. As a work of reference for students of constitutions other than those of Athens and Sparta, the present volume should prove invaluable.

The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon. Translated with Introduction and Notes by G. F. Hill. Pp. xliii + 150. Oxford University Press, 1913.

It is curious that no English translation of Mark the Deacon's Life of St. Porphyry has appeared before. There have been doubts, we believe, as to the genuineness of the book, but these doubts are hardly borne out by its contents, which are in no way anachronistic, or its style, which smacks absolutely of the time to which it purports to belong. There is little doubt that it is a genuine document, and it was fully worthy

of translation, as a most interesting account of the beginnings of Christianity in one of the most interesting cities of the ancient world. Mr. Hill brings to the work of translation and editing a special interest in the coinage of Gaza and its sister-cities of the Philistine coast, which has led him to a special study of their history in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Also, and this is very important in the present case, he brings to bear on his subject knowledge of the recent archaeological discoveries in Crete and Palestine, certain results of which have a special relation to the history of Philistia. The tradition of racial connexion between the Philistines and Crete which is preserved in the Bible and is fully borne out by archaeological work in Palestine was certainly preserved by the Philistine cities in Roman times, and Mr. Hill traces certain very interesting Cretan parallels with the duties of Gaza, whose temple 'the Marnion' is described by Mark the Deacon. He shows that the 'Minnon' tradition of Gaza is supported by the name as well as the figure of Marnas, the 'Cretan Zeus' of Gaza, who appears on the Gazan coins in company with a Britomartis or Diatyra. Mr. Hill says that 'the weight of Semitic scholars is probably against us,' but he does not add (what a reviewer may say) that this is simply because the majority of Semitic scholars (excepting Canon Driver and, of course, Eduard Meyer) have not yet appreciated the meaning of the extraordinary developments of the last ten years in the field of Levantine archaeology. Most of them have been till quite lately so troubled with many theories of portentous appearance but little real validity, theories of Panbabylonism, Masi-ism, and Jerahmeelism, that they have rocked little or nothing of the Cretan-Philistine not merely knocking at their doors, but actually proclaiming his undoubted historical possession of territory hitherto deemed purely 'Semitic.' To some who will read Mr. Hill's little book, pages xxxi-xxxvii of his Introduction will probably be indeed an introduction—to a new world of knowledge. The non-Semitic character of the Philistines amply accounts for the always latent and often exuberant hatred between them and the Jews, and explains their ostentatious adoption of Graeco-Roman culture. Mr. Hill traces the history of Gaza from the first mention of it by Thutmose or Thothmes III. in the fifteenth century B.C., and his special account of the struggles of Christianity and the energy of Porphyry in its propagation in the city will be of great interest to all who are interested in the subject and will form a most useful commentary on the Deacon's text.

H. H.

Aristotle, De Motu Animalium and De Incessu Animalium. Translated by A. S. L. FARQUHARSON. (Oxford Translation of Aristotle's Works, edited by W. D. Ross.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2s. net.

On Aristotle as a Biologist (Herbert Spencer Lecture, 1913). By D'ARCY W. THOMSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1s. net.

The two Aristotelian *opuscula* which Mr. Farquharson has translated are both of considerable interest. The gnominess of the *De Motu*, which contains the germ of the doctrine of 'animal spirit,' popularized by later writers, has often been attacked; and the anatomical discussions of the *De Incessu* won the warm admiration of the great Cuvier. Mr. Farquharson has given his translation a rather fuller allowance of notes than is usual in this series, mainly with a view to exhibiting the grounds for his belief that the doctrine is throughout Aristotelian. In this contention we fancy that Mr. Farquharson will have the grateful support of many Aristotelian scholars. The footnotes are also notable for the frequent and excellent use made of later authorities. The translation is both accurate and readable, and the whole produces the impression of being a most admirably thorough piece of work.

In the *De Motu* we notice the following points:—

700 b 15 *psix* is translated 'mind.' For the opposition of *psix* and *sympex* we think it would have been an advantage if the translator had used the traditional English

opposition, 'reason' and 'desire.' (Cf. *De Anim.* iii 10, where it is highly misleading to say '*Boulogos* is used instead of *propositos*.')

700b30 'will' (*Boulogos*) seems to be a slip for 'wish.'

700b33, note 8. The reference to the *De Caelo* should be i 2, not i 12.

701a1 'it is plainly reasonable that motion in place should be the last of what happens in the region of things happening.' The words so translated surely mean rather, 'it is reasonable that in things subject to generation (as distinct from the ungenerated heavens) local motion should be the last thing generated.'

703a5 'the middle term or cause.' The translator's gloss 'or cause' seems to be incorrect. *Desires* is a middle term, i.e. a moved mover, but not therefore any more a cause than that which moves it.

Dr. V. Arey Thompson's lecture is a graceful and eloquent tribute to Aristotle as 'the great biologist of antiquity . . . *scriptor di color che sanno* in this science as in so many other departments of knowledge.' Observations recorded in the *Natural History* convince Dr. Thompson that 'an important part of Aristotle's work in natural history was done upon the Asiatic coast, and in and near to Mitylene'; from which he infers that biology was not the recreation of Aristotle's age, but an earlier love than philosophy in the stricter sense of the word. It seems probable, however, that, even if Aristotle was a born naturalist and a biologist from childhood, Plato made him a metaphysician at a very early age, and that parts at least of the *Metaphysics* were written, as Dr. Jaeger has recently maintained, very early in his career. But we should like to urge Dr. Thompson to continue his geographical researches and issue them in more systematic form for our consideration.

We fear that Dr. Thompson preaches the merits of Aristotle as a natural historian to a generation that has little interest in natural history. If the interest survived, it might be stimulated by the knowledge that with the completion of Mr. Farguharson's work we have before us Aristotle's contribution to the subject complete and in English. The editors of the Oxford Translation are to be congratulated on the completion of this portion of their task.

Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains. Par SALOMON REINACH. TOME II.: *Afrique—Des britanniques.* TOME III.: *Italie—Suiss.* Pp. 546, 569. Paris: Leroux, 1912. Each 10 francs.

The altruistic labours by which M. Reinach has laid the worlds of art and history under hopeless obligation to him have increased from the simple reduction of the *Clavis de poche* to the first part of his *Répertoire de la Statuaire* in 1897, through the long series of *Vases* and *Peintures*, to the prodigies of patience and energy which are unshrined in these latest volumes. It is no longer the rejuvenation in convenient form of ancient and unwieldy tomes, but a great creative work, collecting, arranging, and elucidating the material of a whole department of archaeology. So far indeed from mere compilation, the third volume has necessitated the tour of Italy; and much that it and the others contain is published for the first time, although the author, as he says himself, is *recherche par l'oubli pour le plaisir*. The classification of single statues presented, perhaps, slight difficulty; but it was evident that for the highly complex nature of the reliefs a new system of arrangement must be devised. M. Reinach has solved the problem with practical insight.

The first volume of the *Reliefs*, which appeared in 1909, was designated *Les Ensembles*—a title more copious in its author's estimation; *c'est à nos yeux sa principale qualité*. It is of course logical enough: the classification by provenance of reliefs which originally had a common or local significance. This group is at once the most important and the least extensive. In its arrangement M. Reinach accomplished, for the first time on so large a scale, the pious task of reassembling the *disjecta membra* of ancient monuments and cities. Thus the frieze and metopes of the Parthenon, whither actually in Athens,

London, Paris, or elsewhere, are to be found under *Athènes*; *Perthéon*. Under *Ephèse* are gathered together the reliefs from both Artemisia (the Hermes drum in two views and a development of the design), the spirited Hellenistic friezes from the Theatre, and the colossal sculptures from the Roman city. The extreme interpretation of the principle is the position of the Hildesheim and Boscoreale Treasures under those places; but they are rightly viewed as sets of vases, and the wonder is rather that such silver-work is included in the book at all.

In the present volumes the *lieux de provenance* have been abandoned for the *lieux de conservation*, which are grouped alphabetically within the several districts. This is the only useful method of dealing with the non-descript material, which is often of complex subject, disputed style, and unknown origin. But it is important that the student, used only to the first volume of the book, should understand the change of arrangement in the second part, from topographical to museographical order. He might otherwise approach with trepidation, or altogether avoid, the section which is headed *Les bronzes grecs*. Actually, however, he will find here, besides these masterpieces of native talent, the genial duty of the provincial Bath (happily reduced to microscopic proportions) and the Hyperborean 'Helios' of Corbridge, the Greek and Roman reliefs, votive and sepulchral, in the British Museum and in other public and University Galleries, and the numerous pieces of fine quality which still belong to private collections in England. Among the latter is illustrated the charming 'Cooper Relief' of three dancing nymphs, which, M. Reinach may be glad to note, is at present (on loan) in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. A novel feature is the Minoan group, chiefly in Crete and Athens. It is interesting to see that M. Reinach admits the very plausible suggestion of a sacrificial procession for the subject of the 'Harvester Vase.' But with these small objects, and still more with the embossed 'Vaphio Cups,' there comes again the regret that the author has gone beyond the monumental works in stone and marble, which are practically exhausted in these volumes. It is just in their exhaustiveness that the great value of his pictorial indices consists. The few specimens, therefore, of gold and silver plate, terracottas, ivories, glass, and gowns, are entirely lost because they are arbitrarily chosen. The regret is entirely that M. Reinach should have added to his labour by collecting them, for there is no quarrel with a work of supererogation; yet such is ingratitude, even among scholars, that the demand will soon arise for the vast bulk of these lesser objects which has necessarily been omitted. The *Reliefs* are in larger format than the other *Répertoires*, but still comfortable to handle, and M. Reinach has seen to it that the price should not expand with the pages. His further consideration for the student is revealed in the admirable General Index to the whole work, of subjects and topography, which supplements the topographical index of each volume.

Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons. By FLORENCE MARY BENNETT, Ph.D. Pp. 76. New York: Columbia University Press, 1912.

This is an attempt to identify the Amazons from the evidence contained in the cult-legends of the Greek deities with whom they are connected. After a show of not very expert juggling with the elusive material, the author announces her conviction that 'the Amazons were votaries of Cybele, Artemis under the surnames Ephesia, Taurropolos, Lyceia, and Astrateia, Apollo called Amazonian, and Ares, . . . primitive deities of fertility and war, among whom a Woman was the chief figure, and of whom the rites were orgiastic.' This may well be so, but there remains much—or most—still to explain in the classical account of the Amazons. As in most Greek institutions, the process of development is of higher interest than the primitive origin, and on this side of the problem the author makes no useful contribution. Miss Bennett displays too little historical sense; she rejects the Asiatic and particularly the Hittite influences, and lightly assumes an unwarranted knowledge of prehistoric Greece. When, for instance, she is

brought to the indiscriminating inference that 'Ares was an ancient god of the Thracians, of the prehellanic peoples of Greece, and of the races who worshipped the Mother in Asia Minor and Crete', she might reasonably begin to suspect that there is very possibly something wrong with her method. The book, however, does not claim by its title to be more than a review of the cult-legends, and the author has duly collected these with completeness and accuracy. A good bibliography is appended; but the work loses much of its utility by the omission of an index.

Führer durch das K. K. Staatsmuseum in S. Donato in Zara. [Österreichisches Archäologisch-Institut.] Pp. 159, 79 illustrations. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1912. Small 8vo.

A pocket guide to the collections housed in the ancient church of S. Donato, which is itself a worthy monument of classical and mediæval art. The Roman antiquities, which form the bulk of the collection, are chiefly derived from the cemeteries of Zara, Nona, and Asseria, and are widely representative of the provincial culture. Most notable is the rich series of glass-ware. There are also described and illustrated relics of late Greek colonisation in the islands, and local material of the Bronze Age in Dalmatia. The careful text is the work of several authors; the small half-tone illustrations are well chosen and extraordinarily clear. In his preface Dr. Reisch makes the promise, on behalf of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, of a full Catalogue, but within no definite limit of time. Meanwhile this admirable little book will be gratefully accepted as an index to the contents of a valuable but distant Museum, being indeed as much designed for that purpose as to instruct the visitor.

Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires. Nouvelle Série. Fascicule 3. 1. JEAN KERNST, *Rapport Sommaire sur une Mission à Constantinople* (1910). Pp. 1-17. 2. LOUIS BRÉHIER, *Études sur l'Histoire de la Sculpture Byzantine*. Pp. 19-105.

M. Ebersolt's short report begins with a summary of work done by him in the Imperial Ottoman Museum; it includes a useful notice of the Byzantine lead seals there preserved and now properly classified. The rest is chiefly occupied by a series of short descriptions of Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, in continuations of previous topographical studies. A final note illustrates some examples of ornamental sculpture in old Stamboul. A number of excellent photographs accompany the text.

M. Bréhier's contribution to the volume is an important study in Byzantine sculpture treated from the point of view of history and development. Of special interest are the pages devoted to the various types of capital, their artistic affinities and technical methods; Hellenistic influence in form, and Oriental innovations in principle and technique receive their due consideration. The affinities between certain Byzantine and Romanesque types M. Bréhier would explain not by any direct action of one upon the other, but by the derivation of both from a common Hellenistic origin. The free use of the drill, and the tendency to regard the design as if it were coloured embroidery, were perhaps the most important factors in the decadence of glyptic art in the East. A number of photographs illustrate the essay, which should prove of permanent value.

The Authorship of the Platonic Epistles. By R. HACKFORTH. Pp. 198. Manchester University Press, 1913.

The question of the authenticity of the Platonic Epistles is one of deep interest, and Mr. Hackforth is to be congratulated on having given us a laud summary of the evidence and a clear and satisfactory statement of results. The evidence is drawn partly from style, partly from subject-matter. Mr. Hackforth has gone carefully into the arguments from style, and has attempted to estimate their value, but we quite agree with him in refusing to accept such tests as final, unless they show far more decided results than is usually the case. The subject-matter also comes in for careful consideration, and Mr. Hackforth finally decides that Letters iii, vi, vii are certainly genuine, iv and xii probably so, i, ii, v, vi, and xii certainly false, while ix, x, and xi must be left in doubt. It is interesting and satisfactory to note, that the Letters which the specialist pronounces genuine are precisely those which make the best impression on the casual reader and which are of most importance for history. Letter vii, in particular, is a document of fascinating interest; it throws a flood of light on the affairs of Syracuse under the tyrannies of Dionysius I. and II., and it reveals to us a new side of the personality of Plato. We cannot understand how some readers have found this revelation of character unpleasant and inconsistent with the general conception of the philosopher; we ourselves fully believe that it is true to life and that it should enhance rather than diminish our love and admiration of Plato.

Lagynos: Recherches sur la Céramique et l'Art Ornementale Hellénistiques. Par G. LEROUX. Pp. 135, 137 illustrations. Paris: E. Leroux, 1913.

In the little-studied mass of pottery produced in the period following the disappearance of the red-figured style may be remarked a novel form of jug with high cylindrical neck, wide sloping shoulder, and low body. M. Leroux proposes to recognise in this the *Lagynos* of Athenæus and the *Logena* of Latin authors. The shape is common to many fabrics, but is especially affected by a family of vases distinguished by a brilliant white ground colour. The existence of these vases has been signalled by several writers, notably by Zahn in *Prismes*; M. Leroux has now collected, with adequate illustrations, the whole of the available material, including a large and previously unpublished series from Delos. The decoration is limited to floral motives and representations of musical instruments, garlands, and other festive objects; the effect is strongly pictorial and may be compared to contemporary fresco-painting. The vases are scattered over the Eastern Mediterranean from the Crimea to Tripoli, and are probably to be dated as late as the first century B.C.

Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects. By CARL DARLING BUCK. Pp. xvi+320. Ginn and Company, 1910. 12s. 6d.

All who are interested in the subject of the Greek dialects are familiar with the name of Professor Buck and grateful for the valuable contributions he has made from time to time to this branch of Hellenic studies. He has now established a further claim on our gratitude by giving us a serviceable introduction to the whole subject, clear, well printed and compact, so that, although the student will still need occasionally to refer to the larger German works of Meister or Hoffmann, he will as a rule find all he wants within the covers of a book small enough to be conveniently carried in one's coat pocket. Such a result has been achieved only by a free use of abbreviations, and by the almost entire omission from the first part of the book of references to the inscriptions in which the various dialectic forms are exemplified. The author has also saved considerable space by giving us a grammar of the dialects as a whole, in preference to a separate discussion of each of the main varieties of Greek speech. This grammar occupies the first part of the

work, and contains two principal divisions, dealing respectively with phonological and with inflectional phenomena; the classification of the dialects and their place in literature are discussed in a short introduction, and brief sections are added dealing with word-formation and syntax. Then follows a series of concise summaries of the chief characteristics of the several dialects, together with some remarks upon the history and growth of various forms of *koine*. An excellent selection of 113 dialect inscriptions, representing all the main varieties discussed in the earlier portion of the work, introduces Part II., which also contains a bibliography, notes and references to ancient sources and modern discussions, a full and admirable glossary, which also serves as an index, and four charts illustrating the geographical distribution of certain peculiarities together with a valuable dialect map of Greece. The book may be warmly commended for its combination of brevity with clear arrangement and accurate knowledge.

The Syrian Goddess. By Prof. H. A. Strong and JOHN GARSTANG. With Illustrations. Pp. xiii+110. London: Constable, 1913.

This little volume is the outcome of a happy idea. It was highly desirable that some scholar should undertake a commentary on Lucian's fascinating tract in the light of recent discoveries and speculation concerning the cult of the Syrian Goddess, and her identity or relation with the goddess of the Hittites on the one hand, and Astarte or Ishtar of the Semites on the other. Prof. Strong has done the translation and a life of Lucian; Dr. Garstang contributes an introduction and notes; Dr. L. D. Barnett has added a bibliography of the translations and editions of Lucian. The system on which the last is compiled strikes as; apparently editions of the Greek text alone are omitted (such as that by Jacobitz); but there is also no mention of the 1884 Greek and Latin edition by Dindorf. In any case, a bibliography of works bearing on the immediate subject would have been more useful than what is provided. Nor indeed does the life of Lucian seem greatly to the point; but if it were necessary, one would have hoped for something a little less amateurish and lacking in evidence of original research. What is more serious, however, is that the translation fails to impress us either by its accuracy or by any sense of the colour of the original. In § 5 there is a bad mistake; it is not 'another sacred custom' but a shrine, that the Phoenicians obtained from Egypt. In § 12 the alternative name for Deucalion is given as 'Sisythus'; in the life it is given as 'Σείσθης', meaning *Σείσθης*, i.e. *Xisuthrus*. The text reads *Δευκαλίωνα τὸν Σείσθην*, where Buttman conjectured *Σείσθην*. Is there any evidence for *Σείσθης* or 'Sisythus' at all? In § 13 'the following law was passed by Deucalion' makes nonsense; the reference is to his establishment of the custom of bringing water from the sea to the temple which was described in the previous sentence. In § 48, the passage about the 'holy cock' has been made doubly obscure by using the circumlocution 'this bird' instead of 'he'; for clearly the cock is not a bird, but a *Gallus*, as Dr. Garstang recognises. We need give no more instances to show that a little more care would have been welcome in the rendering of the text. In the introduction and notes Dr. Garstang has made a bold attempt to grapple with the numerous problems presented by the author's not always too lucid account of the Syrian religion. But really, to reach a plausible result, one wants to combine the learning of a Sallén with an exhaustive knowledge of recent archaeological discovery and literature. Dr. Garstang is well qualified in one respect, by his first-hand acquaintance with the Hittite monuments. In other fields there are indications that his information is hastily compiled from sources not very familiar to him. In this connexion even blunders (partly due to the printer) in externalities, such as the names of foreign scholars like Babelon, or the shocking mistakes in accentuation on p. 17, are not without significance. But in spite of its defects, the little book is undoubtedly useful, and it is good enough to have been better.

Catalogo dei Vasi Greci Dipinti della Necropoli Etrusca, descritti da GIUSEPPE PELLEGRINI. Pp. lvii + 258, 3 plates, 154 cuts in text. Comune di Bologna, 1912.

In two volumes, the present and the smaller published some years ago by the same author (*Coll. Palati ed Universitaria*), the enlightened City of Bologna, with some State assistance, has provided scholars with a complete catalogue of the Greek vases in the Museo Civico. Further, an uncommon proportion of the vases in Bologna can be studied in very serviceable reproductions: a great number were published by the excavator Zannoni; some of the rest have been carefully reproduced in *Monumenti, Antike Denkmäler*, *Furtwängler-Reichhold* and elsewhere; and Pellegrini now publishes a great many of the rest for the first time. Among these the excellent 'Andokides' vase—the first real publication; the Phaeon-krater, a new subject treated by an admirable artist; the fine volute-krater with Centauromachy which I should attribute to the vase painter Polygnotos; and the only existing white-ground volute-krater, alas! in poor condition. These and a good many more have been drawn by the talented artist C. Gatti, who deserves better than line blocks which obliterate the distinction between relief lines and brown lines in inner markings, although as most of the Bologna vases are post-Persian there are less brown lines than on earlier vases, and the damage is thus less. The remaining illustrations are after very fair photographs. The Etruscan collection being, unlike some of our large collections, a homogeneous one and largely due to systematic excavation, has a considerable historical value as a whole. In an ample and painstaking *postface* Pellegrini draws important conclusions from the material; the history of Etruria and the history of the Etruscans receive fresh light. The vases are catalogued according to shape, all the stemnoi together, all the kalykai and so forth; but it would have been better if the order within these classes had been more rigorously chronological, especially as the classes are so large, for the people of Etruria affected certain forms of vases, kraters, and particularly kalykai; reference would have been easier than it is. This is the more the pity because Pellegrini's broad classifications at the head of each item, into *stile severo* 1 and 2 *periodo*, etc., are generally judicious and trustworthy. I only note that No. 293 is called '*stile grande bello 1 periodo*,' whereas No. 294 is *grande severo 2 periodo*, and yet if any two extant vases are by the same hand and of the same, say three, years, Nos. 293 and 294 are those two. 294, by the way, is worth a better picture. The only love-inscription has been omitted: No. 143 bears in faint letters the words *Εὐδοκίας ἐσθλῆς*, and should be added to Klein's list; nor does 'manner of Douris' place the vase correctly, for it closely resembles the Brussels cup No. 6 in Klein.

The book is warmly welcome and the author to be highly praised. When shall we have similar accounts of the other great Italian collections, Florence, Naples, Palermo! Syracuse and Bologna have led the way.

J. D. B.

Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée archéologique de Madrid. Par G. LEROUX. [Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi, fascicule xvi]. Pp. xi + 339, 55 plates. Bordeaux: Fecot, 1912.

The author deserves our sincere thanks for giving particulars of a collection by no means well known to students. The Spanish catalogue by Ossorio published in 1910 contained a number of pictures, but the text was hardly helpful. Many of Leroux's illustrations are taken from Ossorio's negatives, but they are better reproduced and in larger size; and his text, which is modelled on Pottier's *Louvre album*, is detailed, careful and abreast of modern work. The collection contains few primitive vases of importance, but a good many excellent Attic vases, both black-figured and red-figured, and good examples of the Italian fabrics. Of the h-f. vases, the

Iphitos-amphora is republished and a pretty hydria with women at a fountain pleases the eye. New photographs of the b.-f. and r.-f. amphora signed *Andokides croceus* make certain what seemed likely from Blenkowski's publication, that it is not from the same hand as the other Andokides-vases: it stands closer to the Menon-amphora in Philadelphia and the name of Peux may possibly fit it. Of the red-figured vases, part of the well-known *Dioskuros*-cup, and details of the cup signed by the painter Alison are presented in excellent photographs. Leroux rightly mentions the name of Hieron when discussing No. 154: it is indeed by the painter Makron who painted most of the Hieronian vases. On the other hand, there is no reason for connecting No. 152, a charming athlete cup, with the work of Euphronios or any of his employees. The word 'atelier' is used too loosely in one or two places; Nos. 169 and 170 are not connected, nor does it serve any good purpose to say that the so-called Nolan amphorae may come from a single workshop; they cannot: see also p. 95 on No. 179. Hermomax and Polygnotos are still grouped together (p. 74) although Dumati has already protested with good reason. To speak generally, the introductory passages to the several sections, though they contain acute observations, are unceremonious and not quite sober enough for a catalogue.

Is a youth with earrings possible (p. 107), and can the outline of the hair be moved on No. 173 (p. 97)?

The photographs are mostly very fair and some uncommonly good; but it was not incumbent on the author to depreciate other methods of reproducing vase-drawings (pp. x-xi). The ideal publication of a vase is not a photograph, nor a series of photographs; but a series of photographs accompanied by a careful drawing. The camera is always stupid if always honest; and if honesty cannot be said to lie, yet it often gives false information: the camera cannot distinguish in certain cases between the brush-lines of the artist, accidental scratches, dirt, or amalgams, restorations, and the incised sketch-lines: only the student or the artist can do that consistently, holding the vase in human hands and scanning it with human eyes.

It is to be hoped that before long we shall have fuller publications of some of the finer vases in Madrid: the krater with Perseus and Medusa (109), the soldiers at the well (197); the delicate hydria-138 (two women see-sawing, Eros in the middle); and the r.-f. hydria of b.-f. shape published by Osborn, No. 100 in Leroux, which must be a charming example of this archaic vase-form: the figure on the left, if may be added, is surely meant for a younger girl: to speak of the old 'law of isoccephaly' seems gratuitous.

Though the book has faults, it is a most respectable performance and the author merits our gratitude.

J. D. B.

The Childhood of Art, or the Ascent of Man: a Sketch of the Vicissitudes of his Upward Struggle, based chiefly on the Relics of his Artistic Work in Prehistoric Times. By H. E. SPEARING. Pp. xxx+584; 182 illustrations in text, 4 plates, 1 map. London: Kegan Paul, 1912. 21s.

Mr. Spearing's elaborate title prepared us for the perusal of a work of remarkable idiosyncrasy, nor were we disappointed. With as much of the book as relates to the relics of man's artistic work in prehistoric times we were sufficiently well pleased, but we could well have dispensed with Mr. Spearing's manifold worries about Man's Upward Struggle. If, indeed, the author had strictly confined himself to the Childhood of Art, and not bothered about the Ascent of Man, he would have written a much better book, and a more readable one. Mr. Spearing is greatly given to the insertion in his work of superficial political platitudes, which take up a deal of space and add to the great length and inordinate weight of the book. What is the use of such a passage as the following, taken at random (p. 201): 'If art is the expression of a nation's feelings and aspirations, what form can we expect to be evolved by a

people whose upper class were (*sic*) mainly actuated by a coarse desire for domination and for more material luxuries while the rest had but a sense of utter carelessness, or perhaps of dumb despair! This is amusing to those who know what a light-hearted, joyful people the Ancient Egyptians really were. And this: 'Freedom and originality were as unwelcome to the Pharaohs as to the Roman Emperors or to any other autocratic rulers. How could art flourish under such conditions?' (p. 230). Mr. Spearing has forgotten the Greek tyrants and the mediæval Italian rulers; and how does he know that the 'Minoan' princes whose subjects produced the wonderfully untrammelled and naturalistic art of prehistoric Crete were not as dreadfully despotic as any horrid Pharaoh of them all? In saying this we fear that Mr. Spearing will undoubtedly class as among these 'men with mediæval minds' who 'still sing the praises of such degeneration and would have us worship the pretentious falsities which are evolved spontaneously in an atmosphere of cruelty and oppression' (*ibid.*). Most annoying of them, and in the twentieth century, too; but let us turn from this harrowing subject to the Childhood of Art.

Mr. Spearing gives us one of the best collections of illustrations of early art that has yet appeared, ranging from the palaeolithic cave-paintings of Altamira and Cogol (some reproduced in colour) to—we do not know where the 'childhood' comes in now—the masterpieces of Greek art. He illustrates many things that are not well known, and the illustrations are all good and well chosen. But here again redundancy is apparent, and we do not know why many of the Egyptian and Greek examples are included in a history of the 'Childhood of Art.' Does Mr. Spearing consider all art infantile because it is ancient? all ancient art infantile? Human art has had many lives; it has died and been born again times out of number. Our author describes ancient art in Europe and the Near East only, and does not by any means confine himself to its childhood. As a history of ancient western art the book will be very useful on account of its illustrations. So far as the letter-press is concerned, Mr. Spearing 'knows a good thing when he sees it,' his criticism is often suggestive, he has read widely, and, so far as any rate as Egypt and prehistoric Greece are concerned, he knows his authorities. But sometimes he blunders. On p. 355, in respect of the Minoans he says that 'no pictures of their ships have yet been found nor any representatives of actual fighting.' In a note on pp. 523-4 he corrects this so far as to note the seal-impression of a horse on ship-board, but holds still to his idea, forgetting that other representations of vessels exist. And as for fighting, he forgets the silver vase fragment from Mycenæ and the gold rings. Again, on p. 446 he talks of 'the early efforts' of the northern continental Greeks as 'so similar to those of the Cretans that we need not do more than mention the proofs of their existence which have recently been brought to light by the excavations in Boeotia by Professor Tsountas, Dr. Sotiriadis (*Εσθμυριας αρχ.* (sic), 1908, p. 63), and in Thessaly by Messrs. Droop, Wace, and Thompson . . .'. If there is anything more obvious than another in prehistoric Greek archaeology it is the fact of complete dissimilarity between the north-Greek art and that of the Argæan and Crete: the two belong to two radically distinct artistic worlds. Errors such as these must detract from the usefulness of Mr. Spearing's text. His chapter on later Greek art is weak, and seems to contain nothing particularly original or suggestive.

Malta and the Mediterranean Race. By R. N. BRADLEY. Pp. 336, 54 plates.
London: Fisher Unwin, 1912. 8s. 6d. net.

Had Mr. Bradley confined himself to describing the results of recent excavations in Malta and collecting Maltese legends he would have written a very useful book. His photographs are good, and he has seen something of the work of excavation at first hand. But unluckily he has views on the 'Mediterranean Race,' and has made the excavations

a peg on which to hang them. We all know what Sergi and others have shown or not shown with regard to the matter; and the fact that an Ibero-Mediterranean race extends from Egypt to Ireland has been a commonplace of ethnology for years. Mr. Bradley endeavours to support these certainties with additional arguments of his own, which are supposed to be based on Maltese evidence. His chief, and most peculiar, argument is philological; and on this subject he is very 'viewy' indeed. He sees in modern English connexions with Semitic tongues, especially Maltese and Arabic, which show the original 'Mediterranean' or 'Hamitic' element in both 'Aryan' and 'Semitic'. The Arabic word for 'barrel,' *barrel*, is one of his proofs, though this is evidently an European word taken into Arabic in modern times. He may be right as to the Arabic origin of the word 'mirror,' but obviously, if so, the word came from Arabic to Europe in the early Middle Ages. Mr. Bradley makes no allowance whatever for this sort of thing; he has apparently no sense of probability in these matters, and it is really impossible to take him seriously when he solemnly claims as an argument in his favour 'the Irishman's BERNAN' ['Ireland,' says Mr. Bradley, 'was a stronghold of the Mediterranean Race; and Richardson gives the Arabic *Berdad* as meaning *justly*' (p. 239). Mr. Bradley naively says in his preface that he has 'rushed in' where others have been restrained by natural modesty. That is true; and neither archaeology nor philology is nowadays a subject on which one may safely write books as 'the outcome of two years' work, accomplished in the short intervals allowed by official duty.'

* * The following books have also been received :—

- Biographische Germania*, ed. BLASS. Editionum quartam curavit GUILIELMUS SUSS. Teubner, 1912. 2 M. 80.
Katalog der griechischen Vasen im Bonner-Herzoglichen-Landesmuseum zu Sondershausen. By E. BULAND. Holzhausen, 1912.
Personal Names of the Greek Period. By A. T. CLAY. Yale University Press, 1912.
The Golden Bough. By J. G. FRAZER. Third edition. Macmillan, 1911.
Nomisma. VII. Die Elektromünzen von Kydon. By H. VON FREITZ. Mayer and Müller, 1912. 2 M.
The Church of Saint Eirene at Constantinople. By W. S. GEORGE, A. VAN MULLINGEN, A. M. WOODWARD, A. J. B. WACE. [Byzantine Research Fund.] Oxford University Press, 1912.
Greek Reframents: Studies in Temperamental Architecture. By W. H. GOODYEAR. [Yale University Press] London: Henry Frowde, 1912.
Aristarchus of Samos. With translation and notes by SIR THOMAS HEATH. Oxford University Press, 1913. 18s.
Die Pseudoeuphonische Abkürzung ὁμοῖα. By E. KALINKA. Teubner, 1913. 10 M.
Die Religionswelt im Altertum. II. By E. PRIESTER. Topelmann, 1912. 10 M.
Histoire de l'Antiquité. I. Introduction à l'étude des sociétés antiques. By E. MEYER. Gauthier, 1912.
The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius. With introduction and notes by G. W. MOONEY. Dublin University Press, 1912.
Teufels, Aufbau und Quellen der Schrift vom Erbschwein. By H. MUTSCHMANN. Weidmann, 1912. 2 M. 60.
Herwigensis Opera, ed. H. RARE. Teubner, 1913. 10 M.
Ägyptisches Vordemotum zur Zeit des Ptolemäer und Römer. By M. SAN NICOLA. Beck, 1913. 7 M.
Ptolemäisches Prozessrecht. I. By G. SEMERKA. Beck, 1913. 8 M.
A Short Critical History of Architecture. By H. H. STATHAM. Batsford, 1912. 16s. net.
Studien zur lateinischen und griechischen Sprachgeschichte. By E. THOMAS. Weidmann, 1912. 4 M.

- Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum.* Vol. I, Part II, *Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery.* By H. B. WALTERS. London, 1912.
- The Verse of Greek Comedy.* By J. W. WHITE. Macmillan, 1912. 12s.
- Sappho and Semonides: Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker.* By U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF. Weidmann, 1913. 9 M.
- Die Spähdiede des Sophokles.* By U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF. [Neue Jahrbücher, xxix.] Teubner, 1913. 1 M.
- Antigoni Gonatas.* By W. W. TARN. Oxford University Press, 1913.
- Griechische Forschungen.* I. Teubner, 1912. 10 M.
- Loeb Classical Library.* Greek and Latin Texts with English Translations. Heinemann, 1912-13. Each vol. 5s.
- Apollonius Rhodius: The Argonautica.* By R. C. SEATON.
- The Apostolic Fathers.* II. *The Shepherd of Hermas, The Martyrdom of Polycarp, The Epistle to Diognetus.* By K. LAKE.
- Appian's Roman History.* I, II, III. By H. WHITE.
- St. Augustine's Confessions.* II. By WILLIAM WATTS (1631).
- The Greek Bucolic Poets.* By J. M. EDMONDS.
- Calpurnius, Tibullus, and Propertius Veneris.* By F. W. CORRIJN.
- Cicero's Letters to Atticus.* I. By E. O. WISSEKOPF.
- Euripides.* II, III, IV. By A. S. WAY.
- The Works of the Emperor Julian.* I. By W. C. WRIGHT.
- Lucian.* I. By A. M. HARMON.
- Philostratus.* II. *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, The Epistles of Apollonius, and the Treatise of Eusebius.* By F. C. CONYBEARE.
- Propertius.* By H. E. BUTLER.
- Quintus Smyrnaeus: The Fall of Troy.* By A. S. WAY.
- Sophocles.* I, II. By F. STORR.
- Terence.* II. By J. SARGAUNT.

COINAGE OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

[PLATES XIII., XIV.]

I.—*Athens.*

THE ordinary silver coinage of Athens from B.C. 480 to 400 is almost unvaried. By the former date a head of Athena and an owl of fixed and conventional archaic type had been adopted for the coin (Pl. XIII. I). The olive-wreath which adorns the helmet of the goddess seems to have been adopted during the glow of triumph after Marathon. At the end of the century there were certain issues of gold coins, of which we shall speak later. But the great mass of the coinage was in silver. The Athenians obtained silver in abundance from the mines of Laurium and those of Thrace, and it was part of Athenian policy to circulate the coins as widely as possible, and to make them the standard currency of the Aegean. Silver was to Athens what gold was to Persia, the backbone of the finance of the state, and, together of course with the tribute of the allies, the source whence came the plentiful wealth which Athens used for great building-works at home and for expeditions abroad. The early silver coins of Athens are found on many shores, in Egypt, in Italy, in Sicily, in Greece and Asia. There is a well known passage in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes in which their vogue is described.¹ Aristophanes speaks of the Athenian staters as not alloyed, as the most beautiful of coins, the only ones rightly struck, and ringing truly, accepted among Greeks and barbarians everywhere. The poet is somewhat carried away by patriotic fervour. The coins are indeed of pure metal, but their beauty is to say the least somewhat antiquated, and their striking careless. If we want to see what dies bearing the head of Athena could be produced by Athenian artists in the fifth century, we must turn to the money of the Athenian colony of Thurium, where most beautiful heads of the goddess make their appearance. Several writers have dwelt on the artistic influence exercised in Italy and Sicily by the die-cutters of Thurium.² This is, however, a subject on which we cannot here dwell: it is more in place in speaking of the coins of Italy.

Why the Athenians should in this case have taken a line so much opposed to all their artistic instincts it is not hard to see. The reason was

¹ *Frogs*, line 739.

² Poole in *Num. Chron.* 1883; Furtwängler,

Masterpieces, p. 194; Evans, *Num. Chron.* 1912, p. 21, and elsewhere.

commercial convenience. It is a familiar fact to all students of the history of coins that when a particular type of money has taken root, and gained a wide commercial vogue, it becomes stereotyped and no longer varies. Thus the coins bearing the name and types of Alexander the Great were widely current in Greece and Asia until the middle of the second century. The staters of Cyzicus retained the archaic incuse on the reverse until they ceased to be issued. But other Greek cities, such as Corinth and Sicyon, while they kept to their early types, modified the style of their coins in response to the growth of art. Among ourselves the retention of Pistrucci's type of George and the Dragon for the reverse of the sovereign is in part at least the result of a similar conservatism.

It might well seem that nothing could be easier than to copy the Athenian silver of the fifth century. It bore no magistrates' names and had no subsidiary devices, and it was rudely struck. Probably however the mere archaism of the types made them hard to copy in an age of astonishing vitality in art. And it is certain that the Athenians would keep a sharp eye on all attempts at forgery. Imitations of the money were, as I have elsewhere² shewn, abundant down to B.C. 480. From that time until 400 they are scarcely to be found.

In the last years of the Empire, when in great need, the Athenians did begin a coinage both in gold and in bronze. Of this we shall speak later. They also used money of electrum for dealings with Asia. But in Greece Proper, and to the West in Italy and Sicily, it is only silver coin which comes in. The Athenians issued coins of all sizes and all denominations, slightly varying the types to indicate value.

Denomination	No. of drachms	Br. Mus. Cat.	Reverse-type	Weight	
				Grains	Grammes
1. Decadrachm	10	Pl. III. 1	Owl facing: olive twig	975	43.7
2. Tetradrachm	4	Pl. III. 2-8	Owl to r.: "	270	17.49
3. Oudrachm	2	Pl. IV. 4	" "	135	8.74
4. Drachm	1	Pl. IV. 5, 6	" "	67.5	4.37
5. Triobol	1/2	Pl. IV. 7, 8	Owl facing: two olive twigs	33.7	2.18
6. Diobol	1/3	Pl. IV. 9	Two owls: olive twig	22.5	1.45
7. "	1/3	Pl. V. 16	Two owls with one head	22.5	1.45
8. Tylhemlebol	1/4	Pl. IV. 10	Owl facing: olive twig	16.8	1.08
9. Obol	1/6	Pl. IV. 11	Owl to r.: "	11.2	.72
10. "	1/6	Pl. V. 17	Four crescents	11.2	.72
11. Vitastemonion	1/8	Pl. V. 18	Three crescents	6.4	.44
12. Hemibol	1/12	Pl. IV. 12, 13	Owl to r.: olive twig	5.6	.36
13. Trilemitastemonion	1/16	Pl. V. 20	Calathos	4.2	.27
14. Tetastemonion	1/24	Pl. V. 21	Crescent	2.8	.18
15. Hemitastemonion	1/48	Pl. V. 22	Owl facing: two olive twigs	1.4	.09

These coins are probably not all of the same time. In the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, as will be seen from the references given above, Mr. Head assigns coins 1-6, 8, 9, 12 (Plates III., IV.) to a period before B.C. 430: coins 7, 10, 11,

² *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. v.

13-15 (Pl. V.) to a period after that date. It is difficult to judge of the style of the head of Athena, which is our only means of assigning period, on coins so small. But in general I should be willing to accept Mr. Head's assignment of date. Probably all these coins began in the fifth century.

Some confusion has been introduced into the silver coinage of Athens by mixing up those coins* which bear a head of Athena identical in type throughout, wearing Attic helmet adorned with olive-wreath, with some coins of distinctly later style, in which the goddess wears a helmet without olive-wreath and of another character, and even with coins of the fourth century in which she wears a helmet of Corinthian form. These coins may be thus described:—

On obverse head of Athena, in helmet without olive-leaves.

Tetrolol: Rev. Two owls: 45 grains (gr. 2.91) (*Br. Mus. Cat.* Pl. V. 12).

Triolol: Rev. Owl facing: 33.5 grains (gr. 2.18) (*Br. Mus. Cat.* Pl. V. 15).

The former of these coins fits in with the Corinthian system: the tetrolol being the equivalent of the Corinthian drachm. This gives us a clue: the coins may well belong to the time of the Corinthian alliance of Athens B.C. 394. Later there is a *Pentolol*, on obverse head of Athena, in Corinthian helmet: on rev. Owl to r. wings open, in front an amphora: Wt. 56.2 grains (gr. 3.64) (*Br. Mus. Cat.* Pl. V. 11). This coin is certainly later than the middle of the fourth century.

The careful discrimination of denominations is characteristic alike of the love of the Athenians for their silver coins—the *χαλῦκες λαοπορικαί* of which Aristophanes speaks so fondly¹—and of the fine perfection of their intellectual faculties. A dull-witted people could never have used or invented such a coinage, which stands in history as unique as the drama or the sculpture of Athens.

A good reason for the fondness of the people for small coins of silver, at a time when in some places, as in Sicily, a beautiful bronze coinage was coming in, is to be found in the Athenian custom of carrying small change in the mouth. Occasionally no doubt these minute coins were swallowed: but this risk weighed less heavily than the unpleasantness of the taste of bronze in the mouth.

The smaller coins do not appear to have had much circulation outside Athens: they were merely local small change. Many of the cities of Asia, as we shall see, while they used the silver staters of Athens, or the Cyzicenes, for larger payments, struck small coins of their own for the local markets. It is to be observed that the didrachm at Athens is of great rarity and even the drachm scarce, in contrast to the immense abundance of the tetradrachm.

Shortly after B.C. 480, Athens begins to exercise a policy which remains fixed with her until the fall of her empire, the policy of prohibiting the issue

* Head, *Br. Mus. Cat. Athens*, Pl. V.

¹ *Sicily*, 1106.

of silver coin by any city which might come fully under her power. This policy had already been suspected by numismatists in consequence of the non-appearance of money in the Athenian colonies, and wherever Athens was dominant. It is conclusively proved to have prevailed by certain inscriptions put together, in the *Inscriptiones Maris Aegaei*, by Hüller von Gärtringen.⁶ They are two copies of an Athenian decree of the fifth century, one from Siphnos, the other copied by Baumeister at Smyrna in 1855.⁷ By this decree, which was proposed by one Clearchus, the Athenians definitely forbid in the cities subject to them the use of any silver money save the Attic, as well as any other weights and measures than Attic. The people are ordered to bring to the mints foreign coins and those locally issued: these are to be recorded in a public register; and presumably (for here the fragments come to an end) Attic coin will be issued in exchange.

It appears that this decree was not in all cases obeyed; for it is further ordered by a second decree that a copy of it shall be set up in the agora of each city. In case of non-compliance a heavy penalty of 10,000 drachms is threatened. A second copy is to be set up before the mint of each city. The sending of a herald (*ἐπρυξ*) or commissioner from Athens is also threatened.

It is noteworthy that the decrees relate not only to the use of Athenian coin, but also to the use of Athenian weights and measures, no doubt with the object of facilitating commercial intercourse. The editor of the *Corpus* cites the passage in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (line 1040) which runs, with the emendations of Cobet and Bergk, as follows:—*χρῆσθαι Νεφελοκοκκυγᾶς τοῖς αἰτοῖς μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ νομίμασι καθάπερ Ὀλοφύξιοι*.⁸

Aristophanes puts this proclamation in the mouth of a herald, and is clearly alluding to the passing of the very decrees under discussion. The date of the *Birds* is B.C. 414: that of the decrees would be earlier; they appear to express a policy on which the Athenians had been acting at all events since the transfer of the Delian Fund to Athens B.C. 454.

Weil observes also that, whereas in the Treasurers' lists at Athens of B.C. 434 we have separate mention of silver coins of Boeotia, Chalcis, and Phocis, after 418 foreign silver is reckoned only by weight, in talents and fractions, indicating that it was regarded only as material to be melted down and re-issued. Thus the only silver coin regarded as legal tender at Athens is the owl coinage.

It would be very satisfactory, if it were possible, to fix precisely the date of these two decrees. The most probable view is that of Weil that the earlier decree is before, and the later decree after, the expedition to Syracuse.

Looking broadly at the numismatic evidence, it would seem that the policy

⁶ *I.G. V.* 1. No. 480, p. 123; R. Weil, *Münz-museum Athens für einen attachment Seeland in die Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xiv, p. 52.

⁷ The Editor of the *Corpus* writes 'fuit inter marmora Arundelliana sicut chronicon Carinus.' But certainly this marble was never among the

Arundell marbles, which have been at Oxford since 1897, including the Parian Chronicle.

⁸ Olophyxus was a small town in Chalcidice. Why it is chosen for the present context is unknown.

of Athens in the matter was fixed from the earlier days of the Delian League, at all events after the middle of the fifth century, but insistence upon it became more and more stringent as difficulties arose with the allied cities.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the discovery of these decrees in regard to the monetary and financial history of Greece. It definitely proves that some Greek cities made deliberate efforts to spread their systems of weights and measures as well as the vogue of their coins. To numismatists it is quite a revelation; for they have been accustomed to think that the kind of weights and measures and of coins used by a city was a purely internal concern. They have accepted the great variety which prevailed in this matter as a pathless morass. M. Babelon⁹ doubts whether even the King of Persia tried to control the gold issues of Greek cities within his dominions. And the ablest writers on coins think it sufficient to label issues of money with the name 'Babylonian Standard' or 'Aeginetan Standard,' or 'Attic Standard,' and to accept them as ultimate facts. But we want explanations of these facts. No city can have altered its standards without good reason, political and commercial. The business relations of Greek cities spread like a network over the lands, and dictated the customs of coinage. The new decrees encourage us to hope that, with time and patience, we may be able to unravel the whole twisted skein, and to give some kind of reason for all the varieties of standard. It is an immense task; but not a hopeless one. And we cannot doubt that the result will be to put the whole history of Greek commerce, which is now commonly regarded as one of the most important factors in Greek history, on a fresh basis. Any foundation for theory more completely objective and trustworthy than one which is numismatic cannot be conceived. We have the coins before us in indefinite quantities and unmeasured variety. We have only to find why they are what they are. But it is a quest on which no one can venture unless coins are to him absolutely familiar; unless, so to speak, he can think in coins. I should add that without the comprehensive works of Head and Babelon such papers as the present could not be written.

In regard to the history of the Athenian Empire, in particular, great use can be made of coins. The cessation or intermission of coinage by a city belonging to the Athenian confederacy becomes *prima facie* evidence that the power of Athens over that city is being more severely pressed and the numismatic data must be carefully compared with another great series of records, the inscriptions¹⁰ which state the tribute levied year by year on the members of the Delian Confederacy, which tribute after about B.C. 454 was laid up in the Acropolis of Athens. These inscriptions cover the period Ol. 81, 3 to 88, 4; B.C. 454-426. We have to compare the data which they give us with the testimony of the coins.

How necessary to the maintenance of the Athenian Empire an ample supply of coined silver was, we may judge from the well-known speech of

⁹ *Traité*, ii. 2, p. 18.

Revue; Cavaignac, *Hist. Financière d'Athènes*.

¹⁰ *I.G.*, vol. i.; U. Köhler, *Delisch-athischer*.

Pericles in Thucydides ii. 13. He reminds the Athenians that not only do they receive 600 talents a year from the allies, but they also have 6,000 talents of coined silver laid up in the Acropolis, besides all the gold and silver offerings in the temples, and the resources in private hands. Cavaignac¹¹ gives a budget of the receipts and expenditure of Athens in the fifth century. The expenses were very great; the pay of the jurors in the law courts, the provision of theatre-money, and contributions towards the splendid temples then rising on the Acropolis were a constant drain. But a greater drain occurred in connexion with the military expeditions on a great scale, which were constantly taking place. It seems that from the time of Pericles, the troops, even though consisting of Athenian citizens, were paid, at first a drachm a day, out of which the soldier provided his own food, later three obols, besides his food.

The revenue came mainly from three sources, the tribute of the allies, customs duties, and the mines of Laurium and Thrace, in addition to the voluntary contributions of the wealthy. It was not until the last years of the Peloponnesian War that the city was in actual straits for want of money; the reserve of a thousand talents of silver was not used until the revolt of Chios.

From the financial point of view the policy of Athens in regard to the coinage raises interesting questions. Cavaignac suggests that difficulties of exchange were the cause which made Athens forbid moneying in subject cities: '*Les matelots n'acceptaient comme solide que des pièces ayant un cours international, et réclamaient de plus en plus exclusivement des chonettes d'Athènes. L'autorité fédérale dut donc chercher tout de suite à décourager les monnayages locaux, au moins ceux qui n'étaient pas étalonnés suivant le système attique.*'¹² This explanation does not seem to me sufficient. The Greek bankers must at all times have been accustomed to deal with a great variety of coins, struck on many standards. If the sailors wanted their pay in Attic money, there could not be at any time any difficulty in finding it for them. But that does not account for the unwillingness of the Athenians to allow money other than their own to pass in the markets of the allied states.

It is clear that we must take together the prohibition of coinage, and the prohibition of using other weights and measures than the Attic, since both prohibitions are mentioned in the same decrees. It seems very likely that in this fashion the Athenians meant to gain a commercial advantage. We know from the facts of modern commerce that trade is facilitated when the trading countries have the same monetary standard and the same measures. And, of course, the Athenians may have estimated this advantage at a higher rate than actual experience would justify.

This notion of gaining a commercial advantage certainly in other cases inspired Athenian policy. There exists an inscription of the time of the second league, whereby the export of ruddle from Ceos to any other place

¹¹ *op. cit.* pp. 49 and foll.

¹² Cavaignac, p. 124.

than Athens is forbidden.¹³ The best ruddle came from Ceos, and it was necessary for the manufacture of Athenian pottery, the bright red surface of which was regarded as one of its chief attractions. Pottery was one of the chief exports of Athens in the fifth century, and even in the earlier part of the fourth. If another city could imitate this pleasing appearance by securing the proper ruddle, it might interfere with Athenian trade.

It must of course have been impossible for Athens to force her money into circulation at a fictitious value. This could only have been done by securing a monopoly of silver; and this in the case of so common a metal as silver would have been impossible. The Greek cities which minted silver had no difficulty in procuring the metal, and the owls of Athens could only hold their own by means of the purity of their composition.

We may suspect that after all it was mainly a matter of national pride. Athens was fond of dictating to the subject allies whenever she could. She made them bring their legal cases to Athens for settlement, partly to find work for Athenian dicasts, and partly out of arrogance. We have only to consider the policy of states at the present day to see how great a force national pride may exert in public politics. When nations make war, other, and on the whole nobler, motives than those of mere commercial advantage are usually involved. And it is well known how strong motives pride and the love of dominion were at Athens.

Another difficult financial question is why the Athenians, when in possession of the rich gold mines of the Pangæan district did not themselves issue gold coin. It is probable that they might have done so, had they been earlier in possession of the mines. But by the time, B.C. 463, when they wrested them from Thasos their policy was already fixed, and their silver in possession of the field. Hence the Thracian gold was kept in bars, or carried to Cyzicus to be minted as electrum coin.

In the last days of the Empire, when Decelæia was occupied by the Spartans, the winning of silver from Laurium was partly interrupted.¹⁴ Many of the slaves who worked there made their escape. At the same time Athenian power in Thrace was greatly diminished. These causes, with the disastrous results of the Sicilian expedition, led to that impoverishment of Athens which is marked by an issue of gold coins of necessity, of which we shall speak later.

As I shall have, in the following pages, frequently to mention the standards of weight for coins in cities belonging to the Athenian League, it may be convenient to give in concise form the ordinary weights of denominations under the principal standards.

Attic standard. See above.

Chian (Phocæan) standard.

Tetradrachm (stater); 240 grains (gr. 15.55).

Drachm; 60 grains (gr. 3.88).

¹³ *O. J. H.* 546.

¹⁴ *Thuc.* vii. 91.

Persian standard.

Drachm (siglos): 86 grains (gr. 5.57).

Aeginetan standard.

Drachm: 96 grains (gr. 6.22).

Standard of Thasos and Erythrae.

Didrachm (stater): 144 grains (gr. 9.32).

Milesian standard (Samos, etc.).

Tetradrachm (stater): 204 grains (gr. 13.21).

Phoenician standard (Melos and Abdera).

Tetradrachm (stater): 224 grains (gr. 14.50).

II.—*Electrum Coinage.*

But though her *owls* were everything to Athens, she could not at a stroke substitute in Asia her silver for the gold and electrum coins to which the people of the coasts of Asia Minor had been accustomed for centuries. Gold came largely from the eastern shores of the Black Sea, from Colchis and the Crimea. The gold, for which the Arimuspians waged a constant war with griffins, filtered down to the Greek cities of the coast, in exchange for manufactured goods, and the corn and timber of the Pontic region had to be purchased with gold. In this region the Athenians had to provide a substitute for their silver. And there can be no doubt as to what that substitute was: it was the electrum money of Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Phocaea, and Mytilene.

For beauty and for variety the Cyzicene staters (Pl. I, 2) probably surpass all other coinages ever issued: their devices are not only beautifully executed and of the most varied types, of which nearly 200 have already been published, but they usually belong to the circle of Athenian mythology, and these facts alone would make us suspect that Athens had to do with them. The testimony of Xenophon, of Demosthenes, and above all of inscriptions, proves that this was the case. The Pontic trade was the most important branch of trade for Greece; for from Pontus the populous cities of the Greek mainland procured the corn and the fish on which they fed, and the timber, hides, and pitch needed for the building of ships. And in the Pontic trade the staters of Cyzicus were the main currency. But their use was not confined to the Pontus and the Propontis. The mercenaries of the younger Cyrus received each a Cyzicene a month for pay. The staters appear in the treasure lists of Athens, although Cavaignac has observed that, as the same number of staters appears in several successive lists, it seems that they could not readily be used for current expenses at Athens.

I have already, in a paper published in the *Transactions of the British Academy* for 1908, given some account of the electrum coinage of the Propontis in the time of the Athenian Empire, and I need here only give a summary.

The Cyzicene staters and hectas may be considered as a continuation or revival of the electrum coinage which had been issued by the cities of Ionia

during the Ionian revolt of B.C. 500.¹⁴ The coinage would seem to have begun with the formation of the Delian Confederacy, and to have been from the first an international or federal issue. It is noteworthy that it never bears the name of Cyzicus; only the tunny, the well-known type of the city, serves to mark the place of mintage. For a century and a half it represented Hellas as the daric represented Persia on the Ionian and Pontic coasts, and only came to an end with the establishment of Macedonian supremacy, when the gold Philip and Alexanders ousted it.

Recently Dr. von Fritze has published a very detailed monograph on the electrum coins of Cyzicus (*Nomisma*, Part VII.). He ranges them in series consecutive to one another, covering the period B.C. 600 to 330, without a break. In my opinion there was an interval, between the Persian conquest and the rise of the Athenian Empire, when they were not issued. The line may be drawn on von Fritze's first plate, between No. 38 and No. 39, where, to my thinking, a considerable interval comes in. But I have not space to discuss the question; nor is it of importance in the present connexion.

The electrum staters of Lampsacus (Pl. XIII. 3) are far rarer than the Cyzicenes, and belong to one period only, which is determined by their mention in an Attic inscription of B.C. 434. Its occasion we have not yet been able to determine. The staters of Mytilene, Phocaea, and Chios are of extreme rarity; and seem to have been an unsuccessful experiment, though Thucydides¹⁵ mentions 2000 Phocaean staters.

Of far greater importance as currency were the exquisite and very plentiful hectæ (sixths) and half hectæ of pale electrum, issued by Mytilene (Pl. XIII. 4, 5) and Phocaea (Pl. XIII. 6) in conjunction. We possess an inscription, of the greatest importance, detailing the arrangement between the two cities for an issue of the coins by them in alternate years, and assigning the penalty of death to any mint-master who debases them. There can be little doubt that these hectæ also were a federal coinage, passing in all parts of the eastern section of the Athenian Empire.

It is curious that a difference in circumstances imposed absolutely contrary principles of policy on the King of Persia and Athens. The Great King allowed the Greek cities to issue silver coin, but prohibited the striking of gold: Athens prohibited, so far as she was able, the striking of silver coin in her subject cities; in some cities, at all events, she allowed gold. The reason is obvious. Athens possessed gold mines, but did not issue gold coin herself except at two or three times of great stress. The Persian King had an abundant supply of gold from India and Egypt, but probably regarded silver as a 'pale and common drudge,'¹⁶ necessary for small trade. The Persian Satraps issued abundant silver coins in their own name on the occasion of military expeditions.

We have next to consider how the Cyzicene stater worked in with the money of Athens and Persia. Of course there would be in Greece, as in

¹⁴ See *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 153.

¹⁵ *Thuc.* iv. 52.

¹⁶ *Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice.*

modern Europe, an *agio* or rate of exchange, varying with time and place. Sometimes the Cyzicene would be in demand, sometimes the daric, sometimes the tetradrachm of Athens. But setting aside this fluctuating element, there would probably be a normal equivalence.

In the first place, it is almost certain that the Cyzicene and the daric were regarded as equivalent. This I have tried to shew elsewhere, by three or four lines of argument.¹⁹ Mercenaries in Asia were sometimes paid a daric a month, and sometimes a Cyzicene a month. The soldiers of Cyrus the younger received a daric a month, which pay, in consideration of the serious nature of his expedition, he increased to a daric and a half.²⁰ Later on, the same troops are promised by Timasion a Cyzicene a month²¹; and Sentes of Thrace promises them the same pay.²² And the equivalence is confirmed by analysis. A fair average proportion of gold and silver in a Cyzicene of 254 grains is 117 grains of gold and 137 of silver, the latter being equal to 10 more grains of gold. Thus the whole coin is about of the value of 127 grains of gold, and 127 grains is just the weight of the daric, which is almost pure gold. Farther, it is noteworthy that the silver coins of Cyzicus, dating from B.C. 400, are struck on the Phoenician standard of about 332 grains; of these pieces 15 at the rate of 1:13½ are the equivalent of two darics. The system of silver is clearly adapted to a currency of darics; but we must also in reason believe that it was also adapted to a currency of electrum staters; that is, that the daric and the electrum stater were equivalent.

The daric, we know, was equivalent to 20 Persian sigli or shekels; and as the value of the Persian siglos was in Xenophon's time regarded in Asia as equal to 7½ Attic obols, or 1½ Attic drachms,²³ the daric must have been there equivalent to 25 Attic silver drachms. We have, it is true, another statement in Hesychius, that the Persian siglos was equivalent to 8 Attic obols, and therefore the daric to 26⅔ Attic drachms; and this value may have held in some places; but the statement of Xenophon, based on his personal experience in Asia, is to be preferred.

With regard to the value of the Cyzicene in Attic silver, we have a number of conflicting statements. It is probable that 25 drachms was the ordinary or standard value. But in the works of the great orators, whose testimony is apt to be warped by the interests of their clients, there is considerable divergency. Very instructive is the oration against Phormio by Demosthenes. The question raised in it is, whether Phormio has or has not paid to one Lampis in Bosphorus a debt of 2600 Attic drachms. Phormio declares that he has paid it with 120 Cyzicene staters, to which Demosthenes replies that this is on the face of the thing absurd, for a Cyzicene stater is worth 28 drachms, and so 120 staters are worth 3360 drachms, and not 2600. Thus Phormio reckoned the value of a Cyzicene at 21⅔ Attic drachms, and Demosthenes at 28. We have no means of deciding between them; but if we regard the two valuations as representing the extreme fluctuations of

¹⁹ *Num. Chron.* 1887, p. 185.

²⁰ *Anab.* i. 3, 21.

²¹ *Anab.* v. 6, 23.

²² *Anab.* vii. 3, 10.

²³ *Anab.* i. 5, 6.

value, 25 drachms is just midway between them. All these distinct lines of reasoning seem to point to a normal or ideal equivalence of the daric and the Cyzicene.

The value in currency of the *hectæ* of Phocæa is not easy to fix definitely. They weighed about 40 grains (gr. 2.60) and their pale colour suggests that they contain but a small proportion of gold, a suspicion which analysis has confirmed. J. Hammer has submitted the composition of the *hectæ* of Phocæa and Mytilene to a careful examination.²² The result is to show that they are regular and uniform in mixture. They contain 40 per cent. of gold, 52 of silver, and 8 of copper; they are thus rather less than half of pure gold in value. This would give us 16 grains of gold and 24 grains of silver for the *hectæ*. If then gold were to silver as 14 to 1, we should have a value of gr. 15.87, 245 grains of silver; if of 13 to 1 of gr. 14.83, 229 grains of silver; if of 12 to 1 of gr. 13.80, 213 grains of silver. A natural supposition would be that they passed as the equivalent of a Cyzicene silver *tetradrachm*; but the only mention of them in literature scarcely confirms this equivalence. Crates, the Athenian comic poet, is quoted by Julius Pollux²³ as saying in his *Lamia* that a half *hectæ* of gold was equivalent to eight obols (of silver). One would naturally suppose that Crates was speaking of Attic obols; in which case he would equate the *hectæ* of gold (*electrum*) with 16 obols, 2½ drachms, 180 grains of silver (11.66 grammes). As Hesychius gives the value of a Persian silver *siglos* or *shekel* as eight Attic obols the *hectæ* would seem to have been equivalent to two shekels. The difficulty is that this fixes the value of *electrum* so very low, at only four and a half times the value of silver; and we are accustomed to higher exchange values for *electrum*.

III.—Island Tribute.

In the Introduction to the British Museum *Catalogue of Coins of the Aegean Islands*, Mr. Wroth observes²⁴—‘The troubles of the Persian Wars, and the long period during which the Aegean Islands were in more or less complete subjection to Athens, seem to have been unfavourable to the appearance of currencies in the islands, and coins belonging to the fifth century, and, in a less degree, to the earlier part of the fourth, are rare.’ But the rarity or abundance of such coins is less to our present purpose than the concession or withholding by the Athenians of the right to strike money at all. As a general rule the issue of coins by Aegean Islands, which had been a marked feature of the sixth century,²⁵ entirely ceases at the Persian wars.

Dr. R. Weil has, however, published an important paper, in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* for 1910, in which he tries to shew that at first Athens did not interfere much with the island issues; but that as her hold on members of the Confederacy tightened, one island after another ceased to issue money;

²² *Zeit. f. Num.* 26, p. 47.

²³ *Onomasticon*, ix. 62. The half *hectæ* mentioned must be of Mytilene or of Cyzicus.

²⁴ p. xlv.

²⁵ See especially *Nem. Chron.* 1884, Pl. XII. p. 269.

but a contributing cause was the impoverishment of the island world in the fifth century. We must briefly consider the island coinages which persisted into the fifth century. Notable among them is the money of Peparethus, dealt with by Mr. Wroth in this *Journal* (1907). Mr. Wroth thinks that the most striking specimens belong to the beginning of the fifth century: he adds 'Between *circa* B.C. 470 and 400 there is a broad gap in the coinage of Peparethus.' Still more important, and coming down to a later time, is the coinage of Melos. Melos is said to have been peopled by Minyae from Lemnos and Imbros; but for practical purposes it was Dorian.

Already, in the sixth century, Melos struck coins on a different standard from that of most of the other islands of the Aegean, a standard which has its origin in Phoenicia, the stater weighing about 224 grains (gr. 14.50). If one looks at the map of the Aegean,²² the reason may almost be said to 'leap to the eyes.' Melos was a Dorian island, and belongs to a line of Dorian islands running across the sea from Laconia to Caria: Melos, Thera, Astypalaea, Carpathos, Rhodes. The cities of Poseidion in Carpathos, and Ialysus and Lindus in Rhodes use the same standard; whereas Cos and Camirus in Rhodes, like Cnidus and the cities of the mainland of Caria, use the Aeginetan standard. There was at Melos a tradition of a Phoenician colony from Byblus; and it is likely that the monetary standard of this kindred group of cities was in origin Phoenician. Some of the letters of the Melian alphabet are also strikingly like those of Phoenicia. The Laconian settlement was very early; but it does not seem to have brought with it the Pheidonian weights; whereas the islands to the north of Melos: Paros, Naxos, Siphnos, and the rest strike staters of Aeginetan weight freely in the sixth century. Melos, Carpathos, and Rhodes adhere to the Phoenician standard. In this connexion it is important to observe that the finds in Rhodes belonging to the archaic period contain many objects of Phoenician character.

This coinage was continued at Melos into the fifth century. Recent finds shew that it was abundant and marked with a great variety of types on the reverse, the obverse being occupied by the pomegranate, inscriptions rendering the attribution certain. Among the reverse types we may note a triquetra (Pl. XIII. 7), a wheel (Pl. XIII. 8), a flower, three dolphins, a crescent, a ram's head, a helmeted head, etc.²³ This is the only important coinage of the Aegean in the time of the Delian League. Its existence helps us to understand the bitter feelings towards the Melians in the minds of the people of Athens, which led to the massacre of B.C. 416. Until B.C. 425, the year of the deepest humiliation of Sparta and the greatest triumph of Athens, Melos does not figure in the Athenian tribute lists, but in the lists of 425 (Ol. 88. 4) Melos is entered as paying a tribute of 15 talents, the same as Andros and Naxos. This brings us to a well-known historical difficulty, since the inscription seems to be inconsistent with Thucydides. That historian tells us that in 427 a demand to adhere to the League of Delos was sent to Melos and

²² Kiepert's *Historical Atlas*, vol. I, Pl. XII. pp. 301 and 302, and 1906.

²³ See *Hist. Num.*, p. 486; *Rev. Num.* 1908.

Thera, and that Melos refused to consent, nor was Nicias able to compel her, though he sailed to the island with a fleet of 60 triremes and ravaged it. Thucydides represents the Melians as in 416 never having been allies of Athens, but neutral. Unfortunately we cannot venture to determine whether the issue of coins ceases in 425 or 416: but few investigators will hesitate to prefer the testimony of an official document to the account of the Melian controversy in Thucydides, one of the most rhetorical and the least trustworthy passages in his whole history. We may suppose that the people of Melos, in spite of their repulse of Nicias, found it impossible to remain outside the Athenian alliance, and came in in 425, to revolt again in 416, just before the Sicilian expedition. The Athenians at the time would have a strong objection to allowing a hostile, or even a neutral island in the rear of their great fleet.

After the fall of Athens, a remnant of the Melians were restored to their island by Lysander. They recommenced a coinage on the Chian or Rhodian standard, which, in the early years of the fourth century was rapidly making way.

The group of islands to the south of Delos, comprising Paros and Siphnos, seems to have passed through similar vicissitudes. Paros and Siphnos continued into the fifth century their early coinage of Aeginetan weight. This coinage may have lasted until B.C. 450, up to which time the three islands do not appear in the Attic tribute lists. After that year they pay heavy tribute, and cease to strike coins until the end of the fifth century, when Naxos and Paros resume the issue of money on the Chian standard. Of the three islands, Siphnos is nearest to Attica, and hence we are not surprised to find there more traces of the influence of Athenian commerce. The stater in the early fifth century (Pl. XIII. 9) is of Aeginetic weight (186.4 grains), but it is divided into three drachms of Attic standard, 60-61 grains (gr. 388-395). And the Attic standard is also used for coin in the fourth century. At Tenos also we find, very exceptionally, Attic tetradrachms in the fourth century issued on some unknown occasion.

At Aegina no coins were issued between B.C. 431, when the inhabitants were expelled, and the time of Lysander. It is indeed very probable that coinage ceased in B.C. 456, when Aegina became tributary to Athens.²⁸ In Euboea coinage ceases entirely between B.C. 445, when the island was conquered by Pericles, and 411, when, after the disaster in Sicily, Euboea regained its independence.

The coins thus offer us a mirror of the gradually increasing ascendancy of the Athenians over the islands of the Aegean Sea, until it became complete.

IV.—*Ionian and Carian.*

As regards the contemporary cessation of coinage in the subject cities of Asia, our evidence is, of course, largely negative. We know that we have no coins of certain cities at certain periods. But at any moment a fresh

²⁸ *Hist. Num.*² p. 397.

find may furnish us with the missing coins. Also it is not easy, in the absence of definite evidence, to assign an exact date to the issues of many of the cities of Asia Minor.

The facts, however, appear to be these:—The three great islands of the Ionian coast, Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, which were admitted to the Delian League on terms of equality with Athens, seem to have issued coins almost uninterruptedly during the fifth century; but with differences. We will begin with Samos, the history of which island is well known to us.²⁹ After the suppression of the Ionian Revolt, during which Samos had issued electrum staters, the city struck an abundant coinage in silver on a standard used also at Ephesus and other Ionian cities, which I regard as the standard of Miletus, and which is generally called a light variety of the Phoenician standard. The stater or tetradrachm weighs about 204 grains (gr. 13.22). It is noteworthy that three Attic drachms would be almost equivalent, 202.5 grains (gr. 13.12) (Pl. XIII. 10). The results at Samos of the revolt and the Athenian conquest of B.C. 439 are very apparent. For a short time the Milesian standard is abandoned for the Attic tetradrachms and drachms of Attic weight being issued. The style of these coins is different from, and superior to, that of the Samian issues, so that the die was probably made by an Athenian artist (Pl. XIII. 11)³⁰. Afterwards, when the coinage of Milesian weight is resumed, the olive-branch of Athens regularly takes its place on the coin behind the half-bull, thus testifying to Athenian supremacy (Pl. XIII. 12)³¹. The Samians, however, were not expelled, nor were their lands given to Athenian settlers: they were only compelled to surrender their fleet and raze their fortifications: they still remained, at least in name, allies rather than subjects. It is satisfactory to find an instance of clemency after conquest by Athens, and in fact after conquest long and painfully delayed, to set against the well-known examples of Athenian harshness in the cases of Mytilene and Melos. The reason of the difference may be the nearness in blood between Athens and Samos.

The metrological relief from Samos, in the Ashmolean Museum,³² is also an interesting monument of the Athenian conquest. It records the measures of the foot and the fathom used at Samos at just the period in question, and those measures are, as Michaelis has proved, the Attic. This fact is very interesting, as we have already seen from the decrees that Athens was anxious to impose her measures on the subject states: the relief confirms this, being evidently a standard set up by authority. And it proves that the policy of Athens was fixed at least as early as B.C. 439.

What happened at Samos between 439 and the end of the century is not easily to be made out. Doubtless the Athenians set up a democracy in the island; and since we read in Thucydides³⁴ of Samian exiles at Anaea on the coast of Asia opposite Samos, who in the earlier years of the Pelopon-

²⁹ I have written a treatise on Samos and its coinage: *Samos and Samian coins*: Macmillan, 1882. (Reprint from the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

³⁰ *Samos and Samian Coins*, Pl. II. 1, 2.

³¹ *Ibid.* Pl. II. III.

³² *J.H.S.* iv. 335. (Michaelis.)

³⁴ iv. 72.

nesian war sided with the Spartans, we may be sure that these exiles were of the aristocratic party. But curiously, when the island again emerges into the light of history in B.C. 412, we are told by Thucydides that the party in power was the aristocratic, that of the *gymnastai* or landowners. Against these, in 412, the demos revolted, and being victorious, with the help of some Athenian ships, was accepted by Athens as an equal ally. Thucydides' ²⁰ phrase is 'Ἀθηναίων τε σφίσι αὐτονομίαν μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς βέλαιες ἤδη ψηφισαμένους, τὰ λοιπὰ δοῦναι τῇ πόλει. This implies that whereas, until 412, the rule at Samos had been aristocratic, and the Athenians had kept the island in dependence, after that date they felt sure of it and allowed it full liberty. But on what occasion did the aristocratic party gain the upper hand? and why did Athens allow them to do so? All this is obscure.

The coins from 439 onwards fall into two classes: first, the rare coins of Attic weight (Pl. XIII. 11); second, the coins of Samian weight, bearing an olive-twig as the mark of Athenian supremacy (Pl. XIII. 12). These are marked in the field with a letter of the alphabet, the earliest being B and the latest E. If these letters mark successive years, they imply a space of fourteen years. We may suppose that Athens prohibited coinage, save on the Attic standard, for some years after 439, but that the aristocratic party, coming into power about 428, at the time, we may suppose, of the revolt of Lesbos, issued coins for fourteen years on the old Samian standard, but retaining the olive branch as a mark of loyalty.

The silver coinage of the island of Chios is fairly continuous from B.C. 480 to the time of Alexander, for Chios was never like Samos and Lesbos conquered by Athens. The type was a sphinx and an amphora: in the latter we may find an allusion to the wine of Chios, which has always been celebrated. The stater or tetradrachm weighed 240 grains (gr. 15.55) (Pl. XIII. 13, 14) and the more usual didrachm 120 grains (gr. 7.77). This is clearly the old standard of Phocaea, used for gold and electrum from a very early time. I shall have to dwell on the importance of the Chian standard in the fifth century, an importance which hitherto no one has recognised.

At the time of the Ionian revolt the silver stater was divided into six, and coins of about 40 grains (gr. 2.60) were struck.²¹ Later the more truly Hellenic division by four came in, and drachms of 60 grains (gr. 3.90) or less made their appearance. Such a collision between the customs of dividing by 3 and multiples, and dividing by multiples of 2 meets us elsewhere, in Chalcidice of Macedonia and in south Italy. There it seems to result from a collision of Attic and Corinthian influences. At Chios, however, we should probably regard the trinal division as the old Asiatic custom, and the dual division as the result of the rapidly growing Athenian influence of the fifth century.

Fortunately for us, the Chian staters are mentioned both by Thucydides and Xenophon in a way which gives us valuable information, though this testimony has been usually misunderstood. At the end of the Peloponnesian

²⁰ viii. 21.

²¹ J.H.S. 1911, p. 158; 1913, p. 105.

war, the Spartan admiral Mindarus, sailing from Chios, in B.C. 411, procured as pay for each of his men three Chian fortieths, *τοὺς τρεῖς τεσσαράκοστας Χίος*.²⁷ Since the tetradrachms of Chios, reckoned at 240 grains, were exactly one fortieth of the Aeginetan mina of 9600 grains, and as it was quite natural for the sailors of Peloponnese to look at them in relation to the standard to which they were accustomed, this statement exactly fits in with our knowledge. What each sailor received was clearly three Chian silver tetradrachms. Xenophon²⁸ speaking of a time a little later, B.C. 406, narrates that Callieratidas, the Spartan admiral, procured for each of his sailors from Chios a *pentadrachmia*. Reading this statement in close relation with the last, we may conclude that each soldier received two Chian tetradrachms, which together were the exact equivalent of five Aeginetan drachms of 96 grains. M. Babelon²⁹ and Mr. Head³⁰ are I think mistaken in supposing that the Chian coin is equated by Xenophon with five 'south Ionian' drachms of 48 grains, a species of coin which I do not recognise. Xenophon, it is to be observed, avoids the word *πεντάδραχμον*, which would imply that he was speaking of coins each singly of the value of five drachms, and uses the vaguer term *πεντάδραχμία*, which need not bear that meaning. If, however, we prefer to regard the *πεντάδραχμία* as a coin, the Chian silver stater of the time is nearly equivalent to five drachms of Corinth, which are of about the same weight as Aeginetan hemidrachms. The view of M. Six, who regarded the Chian pentadrachms as electrum coins, has not persuaded numismatists; nor are there electrum staters of Chios of this period.

From such testimony we see that the Chians in the regulation of their coinage had regard, not only to the old Phocæan standard, but also to that of Aegina. The Chian drachm was regarded as 5/8 of the value of an Aeginetan drachm; the evidence that this was the accepted valuation is conclusive. Here again we have a numismatic and indeed a political fact of the greatest importance. The Aeginetan standard had been before the Persian wars dominant in the Aegean, but the growing predominance of Athens, and her determination that her dependent allies should use her measures, weights, and coins, had swept it aside. But with the Chian revolt of B.C. 412, and the appearance of Laconian fleets in the Aegean, the balance of power was altered. We learn from Thucydides viii with what a tempest of despair and rage the Athenians heard of the revolt of Chios and her allies. They at once repealed the law which punished with death anyone who proposed to encroach on the reserve of 1000 talents set aside to be used only in case of dire necessity. It was the beginning of the end. It was at that time that Chios evidently made an effort to come to terms with the Aeginetan standard, which was still of universal use in Greece south of the Isthmus and west of Attica.

The fortunes of Lesbos were more varied. The Lesbians, like the people of Samos and Chios, did not pay tribute to Athens, but contributed ships to

²⁷ Thuc. viii. 101.

²⁸ Hellen. i. c. 12.

²⁹ Babelon, *Trésor*, ii. 2, p. 1134.

³⁰ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 600.

the navy. Athens could have no claim to proscribe their coinage, though she doubtless had a convention with them in regard to the hectae of electrum. But in B.C. 428 Mytilene and the other cities, except Methymna, revolted against Athens. Every reader of Thucydides will remember how after a siege the people of Mytilene were obliged to surrender; and how the inhabitants of Lesbos by a very narrow margin escaped a general massacre. As it was, a thousand of the most distinguished inhabitants were put to death, and the lands of all the cities except Methymna were divided among Athenian proprietors. I say *proprietors* rather than *settlers*, because it is doubtful how many Athenians really settled in the island and how many were absentee landlords.

Let us turn to the coinage of Lesbos. The earlier coins were of base metal, billon, struck on the standard of Phocaea. About B.C. 480 begins the issue of hectae of electrum, with a few staters, by the mints of Mytilene and Phocaea in common, of which I have already spoken. It lasted, according to Mr. Head and other authorities, until about B.C. 350.

We cannot of course assign to the coins a date so exact that we can tell whether the events of B.C. 429-427, so disastrous for the people of Mytilene, caused an interruption of these issues. M. Babelon⁴¹ observes that it is from about 400 onwards that they become most abundant. The hectae struck at Phocaea bear the mint mark of the seal (phoca), and it has been observed first by Mr. Wroth⁴² that the obverse types of the Lesbian sixth are almost invariably turned to the right, while the types of the Phocæan sixth face to the left. (Pl. XIII 4, 5, 6.)

Towards the middle of the fifth century a few silver coins make their appearance at Mytilene and Methymna.

Mytilene:—

Head of Apollo, laureate = MYTIAHNAON. Head of Sappho, in incuse.

Wt. 3.94 gr. (61 grains).

Head of Sappho, three-quarter face = MYTI. Lion's head in incuse.

Wt. 0.96 gr. (15 grains).

Head of Apollo, laureate = MYTI. Head of bull in incuse.

Wt. 1.97 gr. (31 grains). (Pl. XIII 15.)

Methymna:—

Head of Athena = MAΘYMNAION. Lyre on a square field in incuse.

Wt. 6.43 gr. (99 grains). (Pl. XIII 16.)

Head of Athena = MAΘ. Kantharos in incuse.

Wt. 3.18 gr. (49 grains).

Head of Athena = MA. Lion's face in incuse.

Wt. 1.57 gr. (24 grains).

⁴¹ *Revue Num.* ii. 2, p. 1194.

⁴² *Rev. Num. Cat. Types, &c.*, p. xviii.

It is clear that these two neighbouring cities struck on different standards; and this is readily to be understood. Methymna was democratically governed and in close connexion with Athens. Mytilene was an aristocracy sometimes hostile to Athens. The standard in use at Mytilene is clearly the old Phocaean standard, still in use at Chios, Cyzicus and elsewhere. The standard in use at Methymna is of doubtful origin. Babelon calls it the Samian, with the weight of which it certainly nearly agrees. 'Samos, colonie Athénienne,' he writes, 'était en rapports constants avec Méthymne.'⁴² This explanation is not altogether satisfactory, since if my account of the Samian coinage be correct the use of the old standard in the island is rather a sign of disaffection towards Athens than of loyalty to her. What we might *a priori* have expected would be that Methymna would strike, after, as before 480, on the Attic standard.

It is not probable that any coins were struck in Lesbos between the Athenian conquest in B.C. 427 and the end of the Athenian Empire.

The coinage of the large islands of Caria, Cos, and Rhodes, offers interesting phenomena. They were not, like the great islands of Ionia, admitted to the League on terms of equality; nevertheless their size and power might seem to entitle them to preferential treatment. Such treatment Cos received.

Previous to the Persian wars the island had issued coins on the Aeginetan standard. After them she strikes on the Attic standard, issuing tetradrachms between 479 and 400. The type is on one side a Disobolus and a prize tripod, on the other a crab. (Pl. XIII. 17.) As the successive issues of these coins bear first the legend ΚΟΞ then ΚΩΞ and finally ΚΩΙΩΝ it would seem that the right of coinage was exercised continuously, and the use of the Attic standard seems to testify to a special understanding with Athens. The types of the coins probably refer to the festival of Apollo held on the Triopian promontory; they may have been struck only on the occasion of the festival, as seems to have been the case at Elis: this would give the Athenians a reason for exceptional treatment.

Rhodes was less favoured. But we must observe that, until the foundation of the city of Rhodes in 409, Rhodes does not appear to have been under a single or even a federal government; and so it was easily dealt with. The three chief cities all issued silver coins before the Persian wars, but not on the same standard. Camirus had issued abundant didrachms and drachms on the Aeginetan standard. These ceased when, after the battle of the Eurymedon in B.C. 465, the Persian power gave way to that of Athens: after that Camirus issued no more money. Lindus struck in the sixth century staters of Phoenician weight; under the Attic supremacy she issued only what seem to be hemidrachms and obols of Attic weight.

Forepart of horse = Lion's head ⁴³ (Pl. XIII. 18.)

Wt. 33.2-31.6 (gr. 2.15-2.05): 7.9 (gr. 0.50).

⁴² *Traité*, II, 2, p. 1241.

⁴³ M. Babelon calls these coins Aeginetan disobols, Mr. Head Phoenician tetrobols. The

analogy of Cos would lead us rather to regard them as coins of Attic weight, used only for small currency.

Ialysus struck in the sixth century also on the Phoenician standard. It is doubtful whether any of the staters which she issued are later than 465; their style is quite early, their inscription $\text{IAAY\Xi\text{ION}}$. Head and Babelon give some of them to a later time; but analogy is against them. Thus the coinage of the island during the time of the Athenian Empire is very small.

Of the Greek cities in West Asia Minor, none issued coins uninterruptedly during the fifth century. Some intermitted their coinage during the time of the Delian confederacy: some issued a few coins of Attic weight; but most of these struck only small denominations; some, as we shall presently see, adopted the standard of Chios, which was clearly a rival of that of Athens.

Coins of the Attic standard are after, as before, *B.C.* 480 exceptional in Asia. Themistocles, while tyrant of Magnesia, about *B.C.* 465 to 450, struck remarkable didrachms of Attic weight, having as obverse type a standing Apollo, as reverse type a flying eagle. (Pl. XIII, 19.) Their weight is 856-859 gr. (132-133 grains). Even in exile Themistocles regards Athens as his mother city, or else wishes to remain on terms with the Attic coinage. It is one of the revenges of time that Themistocles should appear in our coin-cabinets only as a vassal of Persia. Another point to be noted is that of the four coins of Themistocles which have come down to us two are only plated with silver; and it is very probable that these debased specimens were issued from the mint with the others. We have definite evidence that the issue of a proportion of plated coins among those of full value was a proceeding known to some ancient mints, notably that of Rome. And we suspect that the dangerous cleverness of Themistocles might dispose him to adopt such a plan.

The cities of Ionia seem during the fifth century to have almost universally ceased to issue money. An exception is Miletus, which issued small coins on the Attic standard, probably intended to pass locally as fractions of the Attic stater:—

Lion to right = Rose in incuse.

Wt. 32 grains (gr. 2.10). Attic triobol. (Pl. XIII, 20.)

Head and paw of lion = Rose in incuse.

Wt. 19.4-16.3 grains (gr. 1.25-1.05).

M. Babelon⁴² sets down these last coins as diobols of the old Milesian standard, and in fact they do more nearly conform to that standard than to that of Attica; nevertheless, considering the circumstances, it seems more likely that they passed as Attic diobols.

Of Ephesus Mr. Head remarks 'whether coins continued to be struck during the Athenian hegemony *B.C.* 469-415 is doubtful.' There are in fact no coins of Ephesus which can be safely given to this period. At Clazomenae there is a noteworthy break in the silver coinage, after the time of the Ionian revolt, until the early part of the fourth century. The same holds of

⁴² *Trésor*, II. 2, p. 1050.

Phocaea and Teos. Of Priene we have no early coins. The coinage of Colophon and Erythrae will be presently considered: it is probable that, at all events in the former city, the issue of coin in the latter half of the fifth century was due to Persian preponderance.

In two of the Carian cities which paid tribute to Athens, Cnidus⁴⁶ and Astyra, we find a notable cessation of coin in the middle and end of the fifth century. The earliest known coin of Iasus is of the time of the Cnidian league B.C. 394. We find, however, at Idyma a few coins which seem to belong to the latter half of the fifth century.

Head of Pan facing = ΙΔΥΜΙΟΝ Fig-leaf.

Wt. 58-50 grains (gr. 3.75-3.25) (Pl. XIII. 21).

In B.C. 445 Idyma was ruled by a tyrant named Paetyes.⁴⁷ It does not appear in the tribute lists after B.C. 440. It is therefore highly probable that the coins were struck at a time when Persian influence prevailed. They are of the Chian standard.

On the Persian standard was of course issued the official coinage of the Persian Empire, the silver sigli. It does not, however, appear that these ever circulated freely beyond the limits of Asia Minor, within which they have been usually found. Even the gold darics were limited in their range. Indeed the people of the interior even of Asia Minor, as well as those of Persia and Mesopotamia, used coins but little, and continued to use bars of the precious metals in exchange. It is true that when Alexander captured the great cities of Persia, such as Ecbatana and Susa, he found in them great hoards of darics, as well as of uncoined gold and silver; but this does not prove that the darics circulated in those cities. They may have come as tribute from the west. The chief use of the Persian coins was for payment of mercenaries in military expeditions in Asia Minor; and it appears that it was only on the occasion of military expeditions that the Satraps of the Great King issued coins from the mints of Greek cities, bearing their own names.

Among the old cities of Ionia, only one keeps to the Persian standard during the time of the Athenian Empire:—

Colophon: Inscription, ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ or -ΩΝ

Head of Apollo = Lyre in incuse square.

Drachm. Wt. 84-3 grains (gr. 5.45-5.35). (Pl. XIII. 23.)

Also hemiobols of 49-40 gr. and tetartemorion of 29-23 gr.⁴⁸ These coins can scarcely be so late as the Peloponnesian war: the style is archaic or transitional.

⁴⁶ Cnidus, however, after B.C. 412 issued silver coin. *Br. Mus. Cat. Coins*, p. xlix.

⁴⁷ *Br. Mus. Cat. Coins*, p. lxi.

⁴⁸ These coins bear marks of value HM and

TE (half and quarter obol). This fact is important as proving that the coins are really of Persian weight. The obol they give is somewhat heavy in proportion to the drachm.

There must be reasons for the unusual course taken by this city. We learn from Thucydides⁴⁹ that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Persians gained possession of Colophon, while in the harbour-city of Colophon, Notium, two miles distant from it, the party opposed to the Persians, having gained the upper hand through the help of Paches, the Athenian admiral, set up a hostile power. How long this division between Colophon and Notium lasted we do not know. In the Athenian tribute lists after this Colophon, which had previously paid three talents and then one and a-half, only makes the nominal payment of 500 drachms,⁵⁰ the twelfth of a talent. It seems likely that this tribute was from Notium, not from old Colophon.

These facts, it is true, do not directly account for the use of the Persian standard at Colophon, since that standard comes into use early in the fifth century. But they suggest that Colophon, which was not exactly on the coast, was more under Persian influence than the cities which could be directly reached by the Athenian fleet.

Another Ionian city which is usually regarded as having struck coins on the Persian standard is *Erythrae*.

Horseman running beside his horse = EPYΘ Flower (Pl. XIII. 24).

Wt. 72-67 grains (gr. 4.69-4.35); 17-13 grains (gr. 1.10-80).

Pegasus flying = EPYΘ Flower.

Wt. 22-13 grains (gr. 1.40-80).

This weight offers us a difficult problem. Babelon suggests that it is Persian, and observes that if the smaller coin of the first series is an obol, it will give a drachm of 5.40 gr. (84 grains). But it is more likely that the smaller coin is a fourth of the larger; the only safe plan is to go by the weight of the larger coins of a city, for the weight of small denominations varies greatly, and cannot be relied on. We must therefore regard the normal weight of the drachm of Erythrae as 72 grains (gr. 4.69).

Before B.C. 480 Erythrae had issued coins on the Milesian standard, while Chios, her powerful neighbour, had adhered to the standard of Phocaea. This makes one suspect that the relations of the two states were not cordial, although Herodotus tells us that they were of kindred race and spoke the same dialect;⁵¹ and in fact we know that they were at war in the seventh century.⁵² Indeed nearness of blood was no reason why neighbouring Greek cities should agree together. So it is not surprising that after B.C. 480, while Chios adhered to her standard, Erythrae should adopt a different one. We may judge that the mere fact that Erythrae struck coins at all was the result of an anti-Athenian tendency. An inscription⁵³ proves that in the middle of the fifth century there was a Persian party at Erythrae: it is likely that that party became dominant, and that the issue of coins was the result of such domination. But what is the standard?

⁴⁹ III. 34.

⁵⁰ Kochler, *Del. attisch. Baum.*, p. 156.

⁵¹ Hdt. I. 142.

⁵² Hdt. I. 18.

⁵³ C.I.Z. I. 9-11.

The same standard recurs about B.C. 450 at Termora in Caria, in the unique coin of the British Museum, issued by the Tyrant Tymnes.

Obv. ΤΥΜΝΟ. Bearded Herakles kneeling.

Rev. ΤΕΡΜΕΡΙΚΟΝ. Head of lion.

Wt. grains 72.4 (gr. 468). (Pl. XIII. 22).

This coin is given by Babelon to the period about B.C. 500: I agree with Mr. Head in assigning it to a later time. Tymnes was probably a Tyrant owing allegiance to Persia; and his coin may have been struck at a time when the city was free from the yoke of Athens.

The weight of the drachm of Erythrae requires some explanation. That its adoption shews Persian and anti-Athenian influence seems clear. At first sight it would seem that a city on a peninsula lying opposite to the island of Chios and connected with the mainland of Asia only by a narrow neck of land, must follow the fortunes of the islands of the Aegean, and be closely under the dominion of Athens. But if we look again at the map we note the nearness of Erythrae to Sardis, and the strength of Asiatic influence in the neighbourhood. Smyrna, after it had been destroyed by Sadyattes of Lydia, was not allowed for 400 years to rise again, in spite of a splendid commercial position. Colophon was largely in Persian hands, and Ephesus was the most fully Oriental in religion and manners of the cities of Ionia. Clazomenae was Athenian; but it was an island-city, and the inhabitants were mainly people of Cleonae and Phlius, of Peloponnesian stock. One of the most remarkable clauses of the treaty of Antalcidas was that which secured to the King of Persia 'The islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus. The juxtaposition of the great island of Cyprus and the tiny islet of Clazomenae is almost ludicrous; but it certainly shews that the king attached great importance to his predominance in the coast district between the mouths of the Hermus and the Cayster.

It is, however, almost impossible to suppose that drachms of 72 grains can have passed as equivalents of the Persian drachm or sigles of 86 grains; or such coins on the Persian standard as those of Colophon: there is a difference of almost a gramme between the two; and small local issues were tariffed rather below than above their true value in international currencies.

The drachm of 72 grains was, however, normal in the fifth century at Thasos and other cities of Thrace, and we find it, as will presently be seen, at several cities of the Propontis, Selymbria, Cyzicus, Lampisacus, Astacus, Abydos, and Dardanus. This coincidence can scarcely be accidental: we will return to the subject.

Passing further to the East we reach a region where Persian power was never seriously shaken, and the Athenian tribute was not exacted. Of the cities of Cilicia, Celenderis and others had before 480 struck coins on the Aeginetan standard, and one city continued to do so for some time later:—

Winged female figure = Pyramidal monument.

Wt. 173-181 grains (gr. 11.20-11.70).

But the weight of these coins soon sinks, and reaches the Persian standard, which is in general use in the cities of Cilicia. As the expeditions of the Persian admirals were mostly fitted out in the harbours of Cilicia, this is not to be wondered at.

The district of Lycia and the island of Cyprus do not shew in the weight of their coins any Athenian influence: they go on uninterruptedly until the age of Alexander.

V.—*Pontus and Propontis.*

The cities of the next group, that of the Euxine Sea, adhere through the fifth and fourth centuries to the Aeginetan drachm. Sinope, Trapezus, Amisus, and Heraclea, retain this standard, though the weight of the drachm slowly falls. We may conjecture that the obstinacy with which Sinope adheres to her numismatic customs is that the barbarous tribes, Scythians and others with whom she dealt, could not easily be persuaded to recognise another kind of money.

The cities to the south and east of the Black Sea were, when not autonomous, mostly under Persian domination. Shortly after B.C. 440 Pericles led an Athenian armament to Sinope. The tyrant Timesilaus who bore rule there was expelled, and the estates of his followers made over to a body of 600 Athenian colonists. But this interference led to little result: Sinope never paid tribute to Athens. That city continued down to the time of Alexander to issue coins on its original standard, drachms not exceeding 94 grains (gr. 6.10). It is hard to see how these can have been valued except as Persian drachms, though they usually decidedly exceed them in weight. We find at Panticapæum a parallel fact. The gold money there issued in the middle of the fourth century weighs as much as 140.5 grains (gr. 9.10); but must have passed as gold didrachms of Attic standard (135 grains). It is not unnatural that remote places where the precious metals are abundant should make their issues acceptable, by slightly over-weighting them.

A new type is introduced at Sinope, probably, as M. Babelon suggests, at the time of the Athenian expedition, and the institution of democracy.

Head of the Nymph Sinope = Sea eagle standing on dolphin.

Wt. 93-80 grains (gr. 6.02-5.18). (Pl. XIV. L.)

Historically it would be probable that the heavy weight of the Aeginetan standard at Sinope arose originally because it inherited from the somewhat heavier Milesian standard, which had earlier been current, when Miletus was ruler in the Euxine.

Generally speaking we may trace in the region of the Euxine a gradual fall of the weight of the drachm from Aeginetan to Persian. Probably the cities of the coast, finding that their money was tariffed at the Persian rate, did not see any advantage to be gained by greatly exceeding the Persian standard. At the same time it must be allowed that there is no regular and uniform decline in weight, some of the coins of the fourth century being

heavier than some which are quite archaic. In fact the irregularity of the weights of the coins of Sinope, when they are of uniform type and general appearance, is a remarkable phenomenon, for which it is not easy to account.

Of the same irregular weight as the coins of Sinope, and of similar type, are the drachms of Istrus, on the European side of the Black Sea. Somewhat lighter in weight, but probably of the same standard, are the drachms of Trapezus.

Amisus, at the time of Pericles' expedition to Sinope, also received Athenian colonists, and the name Poraëus appears upon its coins, drachms similar to those of Sinope, but bearing the Athenian type of an owl standing on a shield, in place of the eagle standing on a fish. (Pl. XIV. 2.)

Coming from the Pontus to the Propontis we reach the region of Athenian domination, or rather of the clashing of Persian and Athenian power. From the monetary point of view the most important cities of this district were Cyzicus and Lampsacus, whose coinage of electrum may almost be regarded as the official money of Athens for Pontic trade.²² Of silver at Cyzicus before B.C. 405 there is very little; M. Babelon, however, attributes to the city small pieces, sometimes marked with the letter K, a drachm of 75 grains (gr. 4.83) and smaller divisions.²⁴ We may be almost sure that there was a monetary convention, according to which Athens supplied silver coin except perhaps small divisions, and Cyzicus staters and hectææ of electrum. With Lampsacus also Athens had probably a similar arrangement. During the first half of the fourth century Lampsacus gave up her issues of electrum and began a beautiful series of gold staters, others being at the same time struck at Abydos; and these coins also seem to have been meant for Athens and Athenian trade. But silver drachms seem to have been freely issued at Lampsacus in the fifth and fourth centuries. The types are

Janiform female head = Head of Athena.

Wt. 72 grains (gr. 4.66).

We have then at these two important cities a coinage in silver which conforms to the standard of Thasos, commonly called Babylonian, and sometimes Persian, but which is really distinct from both. We have already met this standard at Erythræ, and decided that in that city it seems a sign of Persian influence.

Other cities of the Propontic region, however, strike on a standard which seems nearer to the ordinary Persian weight.

The following are of the period 480-450.

Cardia (Thracian Chersonese):—

Forepart of lion with head reverted =

Incuse square, two sections deeper and two shallower.

Wt. 36-40 grains (gr. 2.33-2.60).

²² As to this see above.

²⁴ Babelon, *Revue*, li. 2, p. 1458. Types, Fore part of lion = Lion's head.

Astacus :—

Lobster = Head of Nymph.

Wt. 76 grains (gr. 4.90).

23.5 grains (gr. 1.52).

Abydos :—

ΑΒΥΔΗΝΟΝ Eagle standing = Gorgoneion.

Wt. 79-84 grains (gr. 5.12-5.41). (Pl. XIV. 3.)

48 grains (gr. 3.08).

Dardanus :—

Horseman = ΔΑΡ Cock.

Wt. 72-75 grains (gr. 4.65-4.86). (Pl. XIV. 4.)

It will be observed that these coins are all of small denomination, drachms, hemidrachms, tetrobols, and triobols: all the mints except Astacus are on the Hellespont.

In other cities of the same region we find a different standard at the same period :—

Parium :—

Gorgoneion = Incuse square, within which a pattern.

Wt. 47-60 grains (gr. 3.388).

25-26 grains (gr. 1.62-1.68).

Assos :—

Griffin lying = Lion's head in incuse.

Wt. 55.8 grains (gr. 3.59-3.78). (Pl. XIV. 5.)

24 grains (gr. 1.55).

In these examples, while the drachm appears to follow the Chian standard, the smaller coin is of the same weight as the smaller coin at Astacus. Evidently we have to do with issues of small coins to meet local needs.

At a somewhat later time, other cities come in on what seems to be the Chian standard.

B.C. 450-400.

Antandros :—

Head of Artemis = ΑΝΤΑΝ Goat standing.

Wt. 50-58 grains (gr. 3.23-3.67). (Pl. XIV. 6.)

Gargara :—

Head of Apollo = ΓΑΡΓ Bull feeding.

Wt. 42-49 grains (gr. 2.74-3.14). (Pl. XIV. 7.)

Head of Apollo = ΓΑΡ Horse galloping.

Wt. 22 grains (gr. 1.44).

Lamponcia :—

Head of bearded Dionysus = ΑΑΜ Bull's head.

Wt. 53-59 grains (gr. 3.41-3.81).

Wt. 27-29 grains (gr. 1.72-1.88).

Neandria :—

Head of Apollo = ΝΕΑΝ Altar, horse or ram.

Wt. 29 grains (gr. 1.85-1.86).

All these small coins seem to follow the Chian standard, of which they are drachms or half drachms.

Scepsis is somewhat exceptional. Being an inland town, on the headwaters of the Scamander, it was less completely at the mercy of the Athenians than other cities of Troas. It paid from time to time a tribute of a talent. Its coinage, however, is fairly continuous, and evidently of some importance. It follows the Chian standard, didrachm 7.68 grains (118 gr.) and drachm 3.84 grains (59 gr.). Types, Half galloping horse = Palm tree. (Pl. XIV. 8.)

It is noteworthy that the city of Sigaeum, at the entrance to the Propontis, a city connected with Athens from the time of Solon downwards, issued no coins in the fifth century, using doubtless those of Athens. When Sigaeum does issue coins, in the fourth century, her types are thoroughly Athenian, the head of Athena and the owl.

The coinage of Byzantium and Calchedon belongs mainly to the fourth century; but a few coins of both cities are of the fifth century. Both Byzantium and Calchedon paid heavy tribute to Athens. The money of Calchedon, of which I speak, consists of drachms of 61 grains (gr. 3.95) and hemidrachms of 30 grains (gr. 1.94). These appear to follow the standard of Chios:

Bearded male head = Wheel.

Wt. 37.5-30 grains (gr. 2.42-1.94).

Same head = K A A X Wheel.

Wt. 61-58 grains (gr. 3.95-3.78) (Pl. XIV. 9).

Beardless head = K A A Wheel.

Wt. 33-30 grains (gr. 2.10-1.97) (Pl. XIV. 10).

Round shield = same.

Wt. 16 grains (gr. 1.05).

Their date is not much later than the middle of the fifth century. Perhaps they were intended as fractions of the staters of Cyzicus and the hectæ of Mytilene.

At Byzantium drachms of Persian weight were issued (84 grains, gr. 5.44) with a somewhat primitive incuse on the reverse. It is hard to determine their date on stylistic grounds, as the incuse is obviously a mere survival, as it is at Cyzicus and Cardia; but I think that Mr. Head, in assigning it to B.C. 415, comes down too late. The date of the coins being doubtful, and the history of Byzantium full of vicissitudes, it is impossible to assign them to any particular phase of the history of the city. They seem to have continued for a considerable time, and to be the most noteworthy sign of Persian influence in the region. After the fall of Athens, or possibly before it, Byzantium and Calchedon both issued tetradrachms on the standard of Abdera.

On the coins of Selymbria, a city on the European shore of the Propontis, we can trace with unusual distinctness the progress of Athenian domination in the fifth century. Early in that century, the city had issued coins on that Babylonian standard which was in use in Thrace:—

ΣΑ Cock = Incuse square.

Wt. 76.4 grains (gr. 4.96) (Br. Mus.).

After B.C. 450 she strikes rare coins on the Attic standard.

Cock = ΣΑΑΥ Ear of corn (Berlin).

Wt. 67 grains (gr. 4.34).

Head of Herakles = Cock in incuse.

Wt. 57 grains (gr. 3.70) (Pl. XIV. 11).

This is a clear example of the process which at this time was going on along the Thracian coast.²⁸

A city on the west coast of the Euxine, which seems to have belonged to the Propontic group is Apollonia, a Milesian colony near Mount Haemus. It is supposed to have struck²⁹ about B.C. 450-400.

Anchor with crayfish = Gorgoneion.

Wt. 58-44 grains (gr. 3.75-2.85).

VI.—*Thrace and Macedon.*

The changes in monetary standard in Thrace and Macedon during the period B.C. 480-400 are many, and not always easy to explain. The less explicable they seem the more important they become, as shewing the working of tendencies and forces not at present understood. In science it is to residuary phenomena that we look for clues.

At the time of the Persian Wars there were three standards in ordinary use in the district. Starting from Thasos a standard commonly called Babylonian, with a stater of 144-152 grains (gr. 9.33-9.84), had spread to the Thracian mining tribes through the sea-port of Neapolis, opposite Thasos. Concurrently the so-called Phoenician standard had spread westward from Abdera, and been adopted by many tribes, as well as by the Kings of Macedon. The coins of Chalcidice used from the first the Attic standard, combined with the Corinthian divisions of the stater.

When we realise the standing policy of Athena as regards coins, the fixed determination to monopolise the silver currency of the Aegean, we understand the great importance which she attached to the possession of the southern shore of Thrace. For the silver mines of the Pangaeon Mountains and that district were the most important source of silver in the Aegean, together with the mines of Laurium. In days before the Persian Wars the local tribes had issued silver coin in great abundance, long before it could have been expected of such rude peoples. The inhabitants of Thasos had acquired riches and importance by their possession of mines on the mainland opposite, as well as in their own island. Herodotus,³⁰ as is natural, speaks more of their gold mines than of those of silver: the more valuable metal

²⁸ *Hist. Num.* Ed. 2, p. 271.

²⁹ Reasons for this attribution are given by Tachella (*Rev. Num.* 1898, p. 210); the alternative attribution to Apollonia ad Rhodanum in Mysia, once held by Imhof-Blumens (*Rev.*

Mus. Cat. Hysia, p. 8) and J. Six is now given up by Head and Tachellon. See *Hist. Num.* Ed. 2, p. 278.

³⁰ vi. 46.

naturally attracting most attention. But the gold of Thrace and Thasos seems never to have been in any considerable quantity turned into coin on the spot until the days of Philip of Macedon. The silver from very early times had been so struck, and the Athenians might well hope that if they secured this rich source of silver they might almost make a corner in the metal and control the market for it. Hence, the Athenians were determined to gain the mastery of Thasos. They fell out with the islanders over the continental mines; and in 465 an Athenian armament under Cimon first shut up the Thasians into their city, then reduced them by siege, and compelled them to surrender their ships and their continental possessions. The successive foundations by the Athenians at the Nine Ways and at Amphipolis shew with what determination they adhered to the control of the district, which they regarded as the citadel of their power.

To turn to the coins. The coinage of the local tribes, the *Letaei*, *Bisaltae*, *Orreskii* and the rest, seems not to have lasted after the Persian Wars. These tribes were pressed on all sides. The powerful and wealthy city of Thasos was close to them for attack, but being on an island was not liable to counter-attacks. The power of the Kings of Macedon, who boasted of a certain Hellenic culture, was steadily growing. And the rich coinage of Abdera shews the dominant position which that city assumed in regard to the trade of Thrace. The appearance of the names of magistrates on the coins of Abdera from a very early time seems to shew that the city was under a more compact and aristocratic rule than most Greek cities. Thus it is natural that the weaker tribes who worshipped Dionysus on the Pangæan mountains were deprived alike of their wealth and their independence. But the Thasian domination soon came to an end, and the Athenian took its place. From the middle of the fifth century, Neapolis, which was then the Athenian factory, ceased to issue coin until 421. And the Thasians struck but little coin in the second half of the century, that which they did strike following the standard of Athens, and later that of Chios which was usual in the district after the time of Brasidas.

Coins of Thasos:—

1. Satyr carrying nymph = Incuse square.
Wt. 135-130 grains (gr. 8.74-8.42). (Pl. XIV. 12.)
2. Head of bearded Dionysus = $\odot \Lambda \Sigma \text{ION}$. Herakles shooting arrow, in incuse.
Wt. 230 grains (gr. 14.90). (Pl. XIV. 13.)

Coins of class 1 belong mostly to the first half of the fifth century: those of class 2 to the time after Brasidas.

Coins of Neapolis:—

1. Gorgon head = Incuse square.
Wt. 150-140 grains (gr. 9.72-9.07). (Pl. XIV. 19.)
2. Gorgon head = NEOY . Head of Nike.⁸⁶
Wt. 58-55 grains (gr. 3.75-3.56). (Pl. XIV. 20.)

⁸⁶ So *Br. Mus. Cat.* Parthenos is a better identification. Cf. Schöns, *Griech. Bilders.*, Pl. VII., where Parthenos appears as the representative of Neapolis.

Here again a change of standard takes place in the time of Brasidas.

It is not easy to explain the facts in regard to the Thasian tribute to Athens. From 454 to 447 the island is entered in the lists as paying only three talents; after that year the quota is raised to thirty talents. Historians have supposed that the higher rate of contribution was consequent on the retrocession of the control of the mines by Athens to Thasos. This is a plausible conjecture, but it does not seem to be supported by definite evidence. Undoubtedly the raising of the tax was often an arbitrary proceeding on the part of the Athenian democracy.

The most important coinage in the middle of the fifth century, besides that of Thasos is that of Abdera:—

1. Griffin rampant = ἐπί with name of magistrate in incuse.
Wt. 230-236 grains (gr. 14.90-15.30). (Pl. XIV. 14.)
2. Griffin of later style = Magistrate's name round type.
Wt. 215-216 grains (gr. 13.93-14). (Pl. XIV. 15.)
3. Similar griffin = Magistrate's name and type.
Wt. 193-198 grains (gr. 12.50-12.80). (Pl. XIV. 16.)

To the question of the weights of these coins we will soon return. Coin No. 1 follows the old Abderite standard, while No. 2 shews a reduced weight which is also found at Maroneia at this time.

- Prancing horse = ἐπί, with magistrate's name, round vine.
Wt. 210-220 grains (gr. 13.60-14.25). (Pl. XIV. 17.)

The crucial point in the history of the coins of Thrace and Macedon is to be found in the expedition of Brasidas, *b.c.* 424, together with the peace of Nicias, which followed the death of Brasidas and Cleon in 421.

During the hegemony of Athens, *b.c.* 465-424, the coins of so-called Babylonian standard, struck at Thasos and Neapolis, do not in fact exceed the Attic weight, or very slightly exceed it.⁸⁰ If Attic coin were at the time largely current in the markets of Thrace, as is almost certain, and if the coins of Thasian standard were regarded only as equivalent to Attic didrachms, there would be a valid reason for gradually reducing their weight. To maintain it would have been a sheer waste of silver.

Thus in the middle of the fifth century, the standards in use were in effect but two, the Attic and the Abderite. And the Attic was encroaching. Aenus, which began to strike money about *b.c.* 460, used the Attic standard, in a rather light form (Pl. XIV. 18); an exactly similar standard comes in for a time, probably just before the time of Brasidas, at Maroneia.⁸¹ Afterwards, towards the end of the century, these two cities take divergent courses. At Aenus the Chian standard comes in; whereas Maroneia, no doubt under the influence of her powerful neighbour Abdera, accepts the Persian standard.

With the Thracian campaign of Brasidas the whole matter becomes far more complicated. The sway of Athens on the Thracian coast, which had long been almost unquestioned, and which was strongly confirmed by the

⁸⁰ Cf. *Br. Mus. Cat. Thrace*, p. 218.

⁸¹ *Ibid. Num.*, p. 250.

foundation of Amphipolis in B.C. 437, was greatly shaken, and thenceforward most of the cities became autonomous. It does not appear that the cities of Thrace had, like those of Ionia and the Cyclades, generally given up the issue of coins during the time of Athenian preponderance; but it is noteworthy that we have no coin that we can with confidence give to Eion on the Strymon in the middle of the fifth century, and that Amphipolis struck no coins until its autonomy was secured after B.C. 421. And further, at certain cities, such as Acanthus, Aeneia, Mende, and Terone in Chalcidice, there appears to be a decided break between the coinage of the early fifth century and that of the time after Brasidas. Even the Kings of Macedon, who of course did not renounce coinage rights in favour of Athens, issued very little coin. The money of Alexander I. is abundant; but of his successor Perdiccas II., who reigned about B.C. 454-413, we have only rare diobols and tetrobols: at least these are the only coins bearing his name. In the early part of his reign Perdiccas was on very friendly terms with the Athenians, but later he fell out with them. Archelaus, who succeeded in 413, struck money on the Persian standard, which, as we shall see later, came in at Abdera and elsewhere towards the end of the fifth century (Pl. XIV. 23.)

After B.C. 421 there is a great outbreak of coinage on the part of the cities of Thrace and Macedon, and in nearly every case they strike not on the Attic standard but on the 'Phoenician' standard hitherto in use at Abdera. Among these cities are Amphipolis (Pl. XIV. 22), the cities of Chalcidice, and Neapolis. The weight of the stater is about 230-220 grains (gr. 14.00-14.25).

Strange to say, Abdera seems to choose this very time for altering her own standard. For some time during the last quarter of the fifth century she gives up the 'Phoenician' standard which she had used since the foundation of the city, and adopts another of which the stater weighs about 196 grains (gr. 12.75). Mr. Head calls this standard the Aeginetic; but observes that probably the change in weight was gradual rather than sudden.⁶¹ I must, however, dispute the latter view.

Mr. Head,⁶² taking the coinage of Abdera in an isolated way, suggests that the changes of standard, which are so noteworthy in that city, may result from a constant striving after bimetallicism, that is to say, an attempt to secure the equivalence of a round number of silver staters with a gold unit, which would naturally be the daric. I very seldom find myself at issue with Mr. Head, but on this occasion I am driven to this attitude. And the controversy is important, as the coinage of Abdera may well give the key to that of all the Thracian cities.

At Abdera, he writes, 'between the Persian wars and the time of Philip, when its autonomous coinage came to an end, the tetradrachm or stator falls in weight, successively, from 240 to 224 grains, then from 198 to 190 grains, and lastly from 176 to 160 grains or less. It is hard to account for these reductions, usually regarded as inexplicable changes of standard, from

⁶¹ *Hist. Num.*² p. 264, b.

⁶² *Ibid. Num.*¹ p. xliii.

Rhodian⁶² to Phœnician, from Phœnician to Aeginetic, and from Aeginetic to Persic, except on the theory that the rapid fall of the silver value of gold, which we know took place in Europe between B.C. 500 and 356, influenced the silver coinage. In other words, Abdera, though it is not known to have struck gold, seems to have been striving after a bimetallic system of exchange. . . . The gold unit from first to last would be equivalent to eight silver staters, the weight of which, as time went on, would be reduced as follows:—

128 grains of gold at 15 to 1 = 8 silver staters of 240 grains.	
" " 14½ to 1 = 8 of 232 grains.	
" " 14 to 1 = 8 of 224 grains.	
" " 13 to 1 = 8 of 208 grains.	
" " 12 to 1 = 8 of 192 grains.	
" " 11 to 1 = 8 of 176 grains.	
" " 10 to 1 = 8 of 160 grains.	

Mr. Head then thinks that the changes in standard were gradual rather than sudden; and that the legal change registered a fact that had taken place rather than produced a cataclysm. Mr. Head's argument is plausible, and it is necessary to examine it with care, as, if established, it will have far-reaching consequences.

We ought to begin by fixing the date of the actual changes of standard, though this can only be done approximately. Mr. Head places the transition to the Aeginetic standard about B.C. 430 and to the Persian standard about B.C. 408. The last date must be not far from right, though a few years too early; for the transition to the Persian standard was probably the result of the fall of Athens, and took place in the neighbouring kingdom of Macedonia in the reign of Archelaus I. B.C. 413-399 (Pl. XIV. 23). The former date is less easily fixed; and in the absence of knowledge of the history of Abdera must remain doubtful, as well as the meaning of the modification of standard which then took place. The really important landmark is, of course, the expedition of Brasidas. Von Fritze's dates, after a most minute examination of the coinage (*Nomisma*, No. 3), are B.C. 425 for the first change of standard, and 400 for the second.

Two preliminary objections to Head's view occur. In the first place, his theory assumes that Abdera acted in the issue of coins quite independently of the other cities of Thrace and Ionia, which is exceedingly improbable. In the second place, it assumes that the commerce of the district was dominated by the gold darics of Persia, whereas in fact it was dominated by the silver coinage of Athens. It is to be observed that when the Thracian cities of Thasos, Aenus, Maroneia, and Amphipolis strike gold coins, as they do occasionally between B.C. 411 and B.C. 356, they follow the standard, not of the daric, but of the somewhat heavier gold coinage of Athens. But apart

⁶² This is a slip: naturally the Rhodian standard did not exist in the fifth century, before the city of Rhodes was founded. It is really the standard of Phœnia and Chios that Mr. Head means.

from these objections, I do not think that Mr. Head accurately states the facts. It does not appear to me that the coinage falls gradually from 240 to 224 grains, from 198 to 190 and so on; but that the heavier coins in each series are in many cases later than the light ones. This may easily be seen on consulting the British Museum catalogue. The coins are there arranged in chronological order as indicated by style, and the weights vary, within the limits of the standard, upwards and downwards. The two tetradrachms put in the first place as the most archaic, and dating from the sixth century, weigh 224 and 228.5 grains respectively; coins 24 to 26, dating from the middle of the fifth century, weigh 230.4, 236.7, 224.7 grains respectively. There can thus be no question of a gradual fall of standard, down to the time of Brasidas. Also of the coins following the supposed Aeginetan standard the weight does not fall in any marked or distinct way with time.

Moreover, the dates of the reductions of the exchange value of gold do not correspond with the changes of standard at Abdera. The fall from fourteen to one to twelve to one should, according to Mr. Head's table, take place about 430. In fact it does not occur until the end of the fifth century; perhaps, as M. T. Reinach suggests, in consequence of the influx of darics into Greece. 'Cette proportion de 14:1,' writes M. Reinach,⁶⁴ 'se maintint probablement en Grèce jusque dans les dernières années de la guerre du Péloponnèse.'

Thus, while we do find at Abdera an unusual number of changes of standard, and the weight of the coins does fall, there does not seem to be any ground for supposing that the motive of those changes was a pursuit of a bimetallic standard. And since Abdera is the example most favourable to such an explanation, we may fairly dismiss it as fanciful in the case of other cities. The early issues of Asia were based upon a desire to make a certain number of coins of silver or of electrum equivalent to one or more gold staters. But this plan was never adopted at Athens, where, as Xenophon implies,⁶⁵ and as clearly appears from inscriptions, silver was the standard of value, and gold was regarded only as an article of commerce. Nor was it adopted in any cities of European Greece. We have, however, evidence, as will appear below, that the cities of Sicily resorted to bimetalism for a few years before B.C. 400.

We have still to consider the curious and unexpected appearance of the Aeginetan standard at Abdera. That it is the Aeginetan, though the coins in some cases slightly exceed that weight, seems to be undeniable; for the weight suits no other standard. This phenomenon may best be accounted for on political rather than financial grounds. After the disaster at Syracuse we know that many of the allies of Athens revolted. We have an indication that Abdera was among these in a passage of Diodorus. Describing the events of the year B.C. 408, he writes,⁶⁶ 'After this' Thrasybulus, with fifteen Attic ships 'sailed to Abdera, and brought over the city, which was then one of the most powerful cities of Thrace.' That so much was accomplished by

⁶⁴ *Histoire par les monnaies*, p. 50.

⁶⁵ *De Vectig.* ix. 10.

⁶⁶ xiii. 72.

so small a force need not surprise us, if we remember that in most of these Greek cities political power was divided between the partisans of Athens and those of Sparta, and a small armament might turn the scale. But the passage definitely indicates that at the time Abdera had fallen away from Athens. At such a time we can scarcely be surprised if she tried to introduce a coinage of Peloponnesian weight. The Spartan fleets were constantly in that region, and the sailors reckoned, as we can prove from the dealings of the Peloponnesian admirals with Chios, by the Peloponnesian standard. But the attempt of Abdera can scarcely have been successful or of long duration. Very soon it was abandoned, and the Persian standard took its place.

The Editor of the Berlin *Corpus* of coins of Thraee⁴⁷ has pointed out that while the people of Abdera were issuing staters of full Aeginetan weight, they were also issuing hemidrachms on a different standard. While the didrachm weighs 196 grains or thereabouts (gr. 12.70), half drachms bearing the same names of magistrates, and so certainly contemporary, weigh only 44 grains or less (gr. 2.85). These smaller coins already seem to follow the Persian standard, which at the end of the fifth century comes in also for the staters.

We are of course used to the phenomenon that small and fractional coins, intended for use only in the home market, are often not struck of full weight. But the weight of the hemidrachms under discussion is so uniform that it would seem to be purposeful. Dr. Strack thinks that this issue of coins indicates that the Persian standard was in the last half of the fifth century coming in on certain lines of trade, especially the trade with Cardia, and the cities of the Hellespont; and that this line of trade became more important about 400, so as then to conquer the whole coinage of Abdera.

The cities of Chalcidice also went over late in the fifth century from the standard of Athens to that of Abdera, which is in effect that of Chios, or very near it. It would be interesting if we could fix the exact date of the change, but this is difficult. The Chalcidian league, which was founded B.C. 392, used only the Abderite standard. Potidaea does not appear to have struck any silver coins after the Athenian siege of 432-429. Acanthus, the most important city of the group, is supposed by Mr. Head to have gone over from the Athenian to the Abderite standard when it was liberated by Brasidas from Athenian dominion in B.C. 424; and this date well agrees with the style of the coins (Pl. XIV. 21). Amphipolis does not issue any coin before the time of Brasidas: after that, the city strikes most beautiful coins on the Abderite standard (Pl. XIV. 22). But the type of these coins is a full-face head of Apollo, which we can scarcely venture to place earlier than the full-face head of Arethusa at Syracuse by Kimon. This head is attributed by Sir A. Evans⁴⁸ to B.C. 409; the coinage of Amphipolis must therefore be given to the very last years of the fifth century. Other cities of Chalcidice, such as Terone, Mende, and Aeneia, followed the lead of Acanthus.

⁴⁷ *Die ant. Münzen N. Græchenlands*, II. 36.
This writer (Dr. M. L. Strack) does not call the
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standard of these coins the Aeginetan.
⁴⁸ *Syracusan Medallions*, p. 70

VII—*Italy and Sicily.*

The cities of Italy and Sicily at no time formed part of the Athenian Empire. In fact it was the attempt of Athens to extend the bounds of her empire in this direction which was the cause of her fall. But it may be well, in the present connexion, to consider what are the results of Athenian influence to be traced on the coins of Italy and Sicily. The Athenians had a claim, the exact nature of which is doubtful, on the territory of Siris, a city of Italy destroyed by its neighbours after the middle of the sixth century. This may have been a reason for the choice of the site of Sybaris, near by, as a place for the foundation of an Athenian colony by Pericles, about B.C. 443. This colony by no means consisted entirely of Athenians, it included the descendants of the old inhabitants of Sybaris, destroyed about B.C. 510, as well as a number of people from Peloponnese, North Greece, and the Islands. This colony is interesting to lovers of Greek literature, because among the colonists were Herodotus and Lysias the orator. And it is interesting to the numismatist, because the coins of the new colony, in their types, give us information as to the history of the colony. On the earliest coins we find the name, not of Thurii but of Sybaris, and the olive with which the helmet of Athena is bound, seems to indicate an Athenian connexion.

Head of Athena, helmet bound with olive.

= $\Sigma\text{YBAP}\Gamma$ Bull with head reverted or lowered.

Wt. 42-40 grains (gr. 2.72-2.60).

= ΣYBA Same type.

Wt. 18-16 grains (gr. 1.16-1.03).

= ΣYBA Head of bull.

Wt. 6 grains (gr. .38).

The attempt to combine the old inhabitants of Sybaris with the new colonists was not successful. The former expected to take the lead⁶⁶, and being frustrated, withdrew to a settlement apart. Some authorities would attribute to this separate town the coins above cited; others think that the colony at first bore the name Sybaris. Before long the old Sybarites were destroyed; and it cannot in any case have been long after the foundation that the regular issue of coins in the name of Thurii began.

Head of Athena, helmet bound with olive wreath.

= $\Theta\text{OYPI}\Omega\text{N}$ Bull butting.

Wt. 230 grains (gr. 14.90).

123-119 grains (gr. 7.97-7.71).

40 grains (gr. 2.59).

18-16 grains (gr. 1.16-1.03).

But Thurii was never a dependent ally of Athens. The people were a mixed race, as we have seen. In the war between Athens and Syracuse Thurii was,

⁶⁶ Diodorus xii. 11.

as a rule, neutral. Only the head of Athena seems to bear witness to Athenian influence; and even there the figure of Scylla, which the helmet of the goddess after the first usually bears, shews that it was rather as a local deity than as a protectress of Athens that Athena was chosen for the obverse of the coins.

The artistic influence of the Athenian settlers of Thurii in Italy and Sicily appears to have been considerable. This subject was first treated by R. S. Poole,⁷⁰ whose views have been accepted and expanded by Furtwängler,⁷¹ Evans, and other writers.

But this artistic influence seems the only kind of influence in Italy that the foundation of Thurii brought to Athens. We cannot doubt that Athens had intended by the foundation to acquire political and commercial power; and here she was foiled. A crucial test lies in the consideration that the coins of Thurii were not minted on the Attic standard, but on that of other cities of South Italy, such as Croton and Metapontum. This standard, being almost exactly the same as the Chian, would favour the coinage of Aeginetan rather than that of Attic weight.

The figure of Athena is also prominent on certain coins of Camarina in Sicily. She appears in a quadriga on coins of the middle and latter part of the fifth century. As about B.C. 427 we find Camarina allied with Leontini and Athens against Syracuse,⁷² we might be at first disposed to see a phil-Attic allusion of these coins. But Camarina soon gave up her alliance with Athens, and since the early coins of the city also bear a figure of Athena, we may best suppose the type to be purely local.

We may therefore say with confidence that the influence of Athens is scarcely to be traced on the coins of Italy and Sicily in the fifth century, save as regards art.

VIII.—*Historic Results.*

We proceed to consider how the data thus gained from a study of the coins fit in with received notions as to the history of Athens and her allies during the seventy years of Athenian domination. We took our start from the claim of Athens to a complete monopoly of the issue of coins where she was strong enough to enforce it. She certainly succeeded in enforcing it firstly in the case of her own colonies, secondly in the case of the Aegean Islands (at all events in the period after B.C. 450), and thirdly at most of the cities of Asia Minor excluding the great islands of Chios, Samos, Lesbos, and Cos.

In some of the cities where Athens was not able to impose her own coinage, she caused a change to the Attic standard in the currency. This is the case in Samos and in Rhodes, where however the supremacy of the Athenian standard was very brief. At Cos it for many years replaced the Aeginetan standard.

In some cities of Asia, while Athens appears to have supplied the bulk of the coin, there were local issues of small denominations. At Miletus these

⁷⁰ *Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 225.

⁷¹ *Meisnerwerke*, p. 143.

⁷² *Thuc.* iii. 86.

fractions were of Attic weight. But in the district of the Propontis they were often of the standard of Chios or of Persia. At Cardia, Abydos, and Dardanus they were of Persian weight; at Parium and Assos they were of Chian weight.

In B.C. 480 the influence of Aegina had been marked by the use of the Aeginetan standard in Pontus, at Teos in Ionia, and more especially on the southern shores of Asia Minor, in Cos, Cnidus, Cameirus, and further east at Celenderis and elsewhere in Cilicia, as well as in Cyprus. It is instructive to see how, as Aegina sinks beneath the yoke of Athens, the Aeginetan monetary standard drops away in the cities of Asia. At Cos it gives way to the Attic standard. At Cnidus and Teos coinage seems entirely to have intermitted. In the district of Pontus, and in that of Cilicia, the weight of the drachm falls from Aeginetan to Persian level. The Aeginetan standard holds its own in Greece Proper, and in the large island of Crete, elsewhere it is everywhere recessive.

In Thrace, Thasos, and Lycia, where the 'Babylonic' drachm was in use, it shows towards the middle of the fifth century a marked tendency to fall in weight, and to conform to the Attic standard. In Thrace especially this result is completely reached by the time when Amphipolis was founded. Aenus, which began to issue coins about B.C. 460, starts with the Attic standard.

The rivals in Asia of the Attic standard were those of Persia and of Chios. It seems that the spread and the recession of these standards is a faithful reflection of the advance or retrogression of the influence of the states to which the standards respectively belong.

In districts to the east of the Bosphorus and Rhodes, the power of Persia seems steadily to increase during the latter part of the fifth century in the Greek cities. The hold of Persia on the cities of the coast tightens, and we are prepared for the revival of Persian preponderance which is so marked a feature of the early fourth century. On the other hand there is but one city of the Ionian coast, Colophon, which actually uses the Persian standard, though in other cities, such as Erythrae and Terneria, we find a weight scarcely to be distinguished from it.

One of the most remarkable features of the coinage of Asia Minor in the fifth century is the tenacity with which the Chian standard kept its place; and, towards the end of the century, rapidly extended its influence. This was the old standard originally used for dark electrum (or gold) coins of the northern part of the west coast of Asia Minor. It was applied to silver in the sixth century at Tenedos, Parium, and Chios; and to billon or base metal at Mytilene, Phocaea, and Cyzicus.

At the time of the Ionian revolt, though the people of Chios were foremost in the rebellion against Persia and at the battle of Lade, Miletus remained the headquarters of the Ionian League; and the coins of electrum and of silver issued by the cities of the League were minted on the standard of Miletus.⁷³

⁷³ *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 121; 1913, p. 105.

After the suppression of the revolt, Miletus suffers eclipse. The Chians, though they had to suffer the rigours of Persian conquest, probably remained the most powerful state of the Ionian coast. They did not issue electrum or gold; but the striking of silver on the old North Ionian standard went on. And towards the end of the Athenian domination, this standard spread from Chios to several cities of the Propontis. About the middle of the fifth century it was adopted at Parium and Assos. Towards the end of the century it was adopted at Byzantium, Antandros, Scepsis, Lamponaia, and Apollonia and Mesembria on the Euxine. But its chief success was at the newly founded city of Rhodes, about B.C. 400. The Chian standard after that spreads in the early part of the fourth century all along the coast of Asia Minor and Thrace, and is even taken up by Philip of Macedon.

In the choice between the Attic and the Chian standards by the cities which issued coins, late in the fifth century, we may perhaps judge whether they preferred the alliance of Athens or that of Sparta, though the slight difference of the standards in normal weight makes the test difficult to apply practically. When dealing with the coinage of Chios, I have shewn that there was a well-known and acknowledged relation between the coinage of Chios and that of Peloponnesian. The Chian tetradrachm was regarded as the fortieth of the Aeginetan mina, or as equivalent to two and a half Aeginetan drachms. The Chian drachm was thus $\frac{1}{40}$ of the Aeginetan mina or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the Aeginetan drachm. This was an official tariff; and the sailors and soldiers of the Peloponnesian fleet were paid in Chian money at this rate. It is clear that we must connect these facts, so clearly established, with the spread of the Chian standard at the very time when Peloponnesian fleets preponderated in the Aegean, and in the very district which they made their headquarters.

The political importance of this fact seems to me to be considerable, and it has not been hitherto perceived by numismatists. The mere facts recorded by Thucydides and Xenophon shew that the Peloponnesian fleets looked to Chios for their resources in money, as the Athenians looked to the silver mines of Thrace and Laurium. But the study of the coins carries us further. For it proves that, precisely at this time, the standard or coin-weight of Chios began to spread rapidly among the cities of the coast. I think that most numismatists have missed this clue, because they have been accustomed to regard this standard as belonging to the island of Rhodes, and its spread as due to the commerce of Rhodes. In fact Rhodes merely adopted it from Chios, and was by no means the earliest city of Asia to do so, although no doubt its rapid spread in the fourth century was favoured by the rise of Rhodian commerce.

The misfortunes of Athens, even before the capture of the city by Lysander, had greatly shaken the Athenian Empire; and the people of Asia Minor, especially those of the Bosphoric region, were no longer under any necessity to accept the Athenian weights and the Athenian coins. Persia had not yet fully used the opportunity to recover predominance on the coast of the Aegean. Thus there was an open field; and at the time Chios was

probably the wealthiest and most powerful state on the coast. At the same time, as we have seen, the Chian money was on recognised terms with that of Peloponnesus.

It appears also to have had a recognised relation to the silver coinage of Persia. For the Chian drachm of 56 to 60 grains (gr. 362-388) was almost exactly of the weight of two-thirds of the Persian drachm of 84-86 grains (gr. 544-557). It is to be observed that at this time several cities of north Asia Minor issued drachms of the weight of 360 grammes, which probably belonged equally to the Chian and the Persian standard.

It would be a gain of great historic importance if we could trace chronologically the spread of the Chian standard. Unfortunately, we can at present only do so tentatively: with time we may attain to more complete knowledge.

Perhaps the most archaic in appearance of the coins on the Chian standard, save those of Chios itself, are those of Ephesus:—

ΕΦ Bee = Incuse square, quartered by two broad or narrow bands.
(Head, *Ephesus*, Pl. I., 15-21.)

The tetradrachm of this series, inscribed with the name ΜΕΝΤΩΡ,⁷⁴ seems to have disappeared and its weight is not recorded. Two didrachms in the British Museum weigh 116-117 grains (gr. 751-758): one bears the name of Timarchus. Smaller coins in the same Museum weigh 42-47 grains (gr. 272-304): one bears the name Timesianax.⁷⁵

These coins are certainly earlier than the coins of the Cnidian League at Ephesus, B.C. 394: therefore the name Mentor cannot be that of the well-known Satrap of the time of Philip of Macedon. Mr. Head assigns the coins to B.C. 415-394. As Ephesus had become by B.C. 410 not only detached from Athens, but even the head-quarters of the anti-Athenian party in Ionia, it is reasonable to suppose that the issue of these coins marked the defection from Athens about 415, and the use of the Chian weight is instructive: the old standard at Ephesus had been quite different.

The coins of Chalcedon of which I have spoken as of Chian weight are certainly early, not later than B.C. 420; and if it seem at first sight uncertain that their weight is Chian rather than Attic, this is rendered at least very probable by comparison with the coins of Mesembria and of Apollonia on the western shore of the Euxine. These cities certainly struck on the Chian standard considerably before B.C. 400. The same holds of Parium, Assos, and Scepsis, all cities near the Sea of Marmora.

It was about the time of the fall of Athens that the Chian standard became rapidly more widely diffused. It is, however, impossible from the coins to trace the course of its diffusion so exactly as to determine what was due to the political events of the end of the fifth century, and what was due to the rapid growth of Rhodian commerce and wealth at the beginning of the

⁷⁴ *Mionnet, Suppl. vi. No. 128.*

similar fabric and Attic weight: according to

⁷⁵ There are also published gold coins of Mr. Head they are forgeries. (*Ephesus*, p. 22.)

fourth century. It will be better therefore to avoid here any further discussion of the matter.

Thucydides⁷⁶ records an interesting fact in regard to the comparative vogue of the Athenian and Aeginetan standards in Peloponnese. When in 420 Athens concluded an alliance with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea it was arranged that the foot-soldiers in the service of the league should receive half an Aeginetan drachm a day, and the horse-soldiers a whole Aeginetan drachm. It is clear that the soldiery of Peloponnesus always adhered to the native standard.

IX.—Gold and bronze at Athens.

Gold coins were first struck at Athens, as has been conclusively shewn by Dr. U. Köhler,⁷⁷ in B.C. 407. It was a time of great need: the Athenian fleet had been defeated at Notium, and the city was nerving itself for a final effort which, as everyone knows, only led to the decisive defeat at Aegospotami. The golden Victories of the Acropolis were melted down; and from the proceeds coins were struck in gold. These gold coins are apparently alluded to in the *Progs* of Aristophanes exhibited in B.C. 405, where he contrasts the good old-fashioned citizens of Athens with the new favourites of the people, likening the former to the old silver, not alloyed, the most beautiful and well struck of coins, received everywhere among Greeks and barbarians, and to the gold coins recently struck (*τὸ καὶνὸν χρυσίον*), while he compares the latter to base copper coins (*πονηρὰ χαλκία*) lately struck in clumsy fashion.⁷⁸

This passage in Aristophanes is very difficult, and has been much discussed. I am disposed to accept the interpretation of it above given, which is due to M. Six. But a further consideration of it is unnecessary for our present purpose. Its chief importance for us is that it has elicited definite statements by the Scholiast as to the dates of the first issues of gold and bronze money. The Scholiast gives the authority of Hellanicus for the assertion that gold was issued in the archonship of Antigenes (B.C. 407) and the authority of Philochorus for the assertion that the gold was procured by melting down the golden Nikes. He also says that the bronze coin was issued in the next year, that of the archonship of Callias.

These gold coins have been satisfactorily identified by Köhler.

1. Head of Athena, early style = A ⊙ E. Incuse square, in which owl on olive branch: behind, olive-spray. Drachm.
2. The same = A ⊙ E. Incuse circle, in which owl to front, wings closed; in an olive-wreath. Hemidrachm.
3. The same = A ⊙ E. Incuse square, in which two owls face to face: olive-branch between them. Diobol.
4. The same = A ⊙ E. Incuse square, in which owl r. on olive-branch. Obol.

The types of 2 and 3 are the same as those on silver coins of the same denominations, an important fact, as shewing that this coinage was meant only to be subsidiary to, or in place of, the ordinary money.

⁷⁶ v. 47.

⁷⁷ *Alt. Goldprägung*: Z.f.N., 1893.

⁷⁸ *Progs*, line 730 and foll. and Scholiast.

This issue of gold coin had far-reaching effects. Hitherto the only coins of pure gold in use in the world had been the Persian darics. But there were issued at just this time a few small coins of Agrigentum (issued just before the destruction in 406), of Camarina and of Gela (issued just before 405), and of Syracuse (about B.C. 413)—all of which coins seem to have been money of necessity, struck from golden images and dedications melted down during great stress. The weights of these Sicilian coins are 27, 20, 18, 13, and 9 grains. According to Mr. Head the ratio given by these coins between gold and silver is fifteen to one; in which case the coin of 18 grains would be equivalent to a tetradrachm in silver. But this cannot be regarded as by any means a certainty. It is, however, in any case probable that the gold was regulated in weight so as to pass for a certain number of litrae in silver or bronze: in a word it was bimetallic.

But the Athenian issue of gold marks a great and important new departure in the matter of finance. It was monometallic: the same weight was used for gold and silver; and the silver being the standard coin, the value of the gold conformed to it. The weights of the gold coins make one suspect that at the time at Athens gold was valued at twelve to one; in which case the four denominations issued would be valued as follows:—

Gold drachm	=	12 silver drachms.
“ hemidrachm	=	6 “ “
“ third	=	4 “ “
“ sixth	=	2 “ “

If this were so, the accident that the relation of the metals at the time stood at twelve to one would bridge the chasm between a monometallic and a bimetallic system.

At a later time the Athenians issued didrachms, hemidrachms, and diobols in gold, bearing a head of Athena executed in a later style. In regard to these Head writes,⁷⁹ 'At what precise date Athens was again compelled to have recourse to an issue of gold coin is doubtful. One point is, however, quite clear, and that is that the gold coins of the second issue are identical in style and fabric with the tetradrachms issued from 393 onwards.' This view conflicts with that of Köhler, who thinks that the gold coins in question were issued in the time of stress of B.C. 339, when Philip was marching on Athens. Köhler points out that, according to the Attic inscriptions, great dedications of gold figures of Victory and of vessels were made in the years B.C. 334–330, which suggests that these dedications had been melted down shortly before.

However, a decisive proof that the Athenian gold coins of the second issue must be given to an earlier time than the middle of the fourth century is furnished by Köhler himself.⁸⁰ He cites Attic inscriptions of 'about the beginning of the fourth century' in which mention is made of Attic staters, and, as appears from the context, Attic gold staters. Now no staters are

⁷⁹ *Hist. Num.* 2 ed. p. 375.

⁸⁰ *Z.f.N.* 1893 (p. 13. of reprint) *J.O. D.* 843.

The inscriptions cannot, unfortunately, be more exactly dated.

known of the first issue, but only gold drachms. It follows that the second issue of gold belongs to quite the early part of the fourth century.

A further proof of this view is furnished by an Attic inscription published by Mr. Woodward in this Journal⁸¹ which records the dedication of certain dies which had been used for gold coin:—οἱ χαρακτῆρες καὶ ἀκμονίσκοι, οἷς τοὺς χρυσοὺς ἐκοπτον. The inscription dates from between 385 and 375 B.C. Mr. Woodward supposes that the dies had been used for the first issue of gold coin in 407–6. But this interpretation will not stand, as the χρυσοὶ must be *staters* of gold, not drachms, which might be χρυσία, but could not be χρυσοί. This proves that the later issue of staters or didrachms must have taken place before B.C. 375.

This dating is satisfactory and removes difficulties. The first issue of small denominations was a money of necessity struck at the time of deepest need. The second issue is of another character, more plentiful and varied, and deliberately intended for currency. The monopoly of the Attic silver having departed, and its place in the commerce of the Aegean being taken by the daries and the staters of Cyzicus, there was no longer any reason to abstain from issuing gold, in competition with these.

The first abundant issue of gold coin by Athens comes naturally at a time when the great victory of Conon at Cnidus had laid the foundation for a new period of expansion and empire. The staters became the models on which were framed the issues of many cities in Asia of Tarentum in the west, and Cyrene in the south. This subject I have already discussed in my account of the gold coinage of Asia.⁸²

As regards the date of the earliest issues of bronze coins at Athens we have definite information. The scholiast on Aristophanes' *Frogs* (l. 730) says that bronze was first struck in the archonship of Callias (B.C. 406). And in the *Ecclesiazusae*, Aristophanes narrates how they were demmetised in B.C. 393. The town-crier announced (l. 819) that they were no longer to be current: ἀνέκραγ' ὁ κήρυξ μὴ δέχεσθαι μηδὲνα χαλκὸν τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀργύρῳ γὰρ χροίμεθα. It seems that the unfortunates, who at that moment possessed the bronze coin, had to submit to the loss. The coins were thus current only for thirteen years. Clearly they were a money of necessity, struck at the time of Athens' deepest need and withdrawn after the victory of Conon at Cnidus, when the gold staters began to be struck.

According to Mr. Earle Fox⁸³ they were only the following:—

Head of Athena to left of fine style, in close fitting helmet = AΘΗ Owl facing, wings closed, standing on a grain of corn, between two olive-branches (*Br. Mus. Cat.* Pl. VI. 5). Also a smaller coin, on which the olive-branches are wanting.

The unusual character of the head of Athena and the Η in the inscription seem to me to be in conflict with the ascription of these coins to so

⁸¹ xlix. (1902) p. 172. Cf. *Num. Chron.* 1911. The reading τὰς χρυσῶν (or τὰς χρυσῶν) is conjectural: but it seems to be fairly certain, as the

number of letters fills a gap.

⁸² *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1907–8, p. 128.

⁸³ *Num. Chr.* 1905, p. 3, Pl. I.

early a date. I am more disposed to regard the following as the coins referred to by Aristophanes.

1. Head of Athena, helmet bound with olive = ΑΘ Two owls within olive wreath (*Br. Mus. Cat.* VI 2).
2. Similar head = ΑΘΕ Two owls with one head: olive spray on either side (*Br. Mus. Cat.* VI 6).

These coins closely mimic the silver diabol: and seem intended to pass as its substitute. This is very suitable in the case of a money of necessity.

Another view has recently been set forth with much learning by Mr. Svoronos.²⁴ He maintains that the only bronze coin issued at Athens in the fifth century was the *κόλλυβος*, a small piece introduced by Demetrius surnamed *ὁ Χαλκός* about B.C. 430. Such small pieces of bronze have long been known at Athens, but they have been regarded as tesserae—Mr. Svoronos publishes a long list. I am by no means convinced by his arguments, but I have not space to discuss them.

Bronze coins had before this been issued in many Greek cities, notably in those of Sicily. It was natural that their use should spread eastward from Italy and Sicily where in early times bronze was the standard of value, as was silver in Greece and gold in Asia.

P. GARDNER.

²⁴ *Journal intern. d'archéologie numismatique*, 1912, p. 123.

THE CRITIAS AND MINOAN CRETE

[NOTE. — The present writer contributed an article to *The Times*, 19 Jan. 1909, which gave an outline of the theory that Plato's legend of Atlantis was partly based on misunderstood records of events in Minoan history. The following essay develops this view and gives reasons and references for the statements it contains.]

THE *Critias* after a long introduction breaks off almost at the beginning of the story. Both in form and subject it presents problems which have occasioned a vast amount of speculation. In the first place if Plato really composed it in order to shew his ideal Republic under the stress of war as illustrated by the ancient Athenians in his story, why is it that most of the introduction describes the rival state of Atlantis with a wealth of detail that is quite superfluous? Atlantis interests him much more than his ideal state, and has interested his readers in all ages to the exclusion of the Athenians. Secondly, why after a few introductory remarks does the *Critias* cease to be a dialogue at all? From the beginning it is an unbroken narrative on the regular lines of an Epic poem. Why, again, should the work be dedicated to Critias, of all people? The attempt to answer these questions involves a consideration of the truth of Solon's visit to Egypt, a review of the whole problem of Atlantis and a glance at the relationship between Solon, Plato, and Critias.

The search for Atlantis has given rise to so many conflicting views (most of them palpably absurd) that few scholars are prepared to take it seriously. The discovery of America gave a new zest to the search for a Lost Continent which has exercised a curious fascination, and a tradition has grown up that long before recorded history begins there was a vast island in the Atlantic Ocean which was the seat of a great civilisation when the rest of the world was more or less barbarous, and that from it other civilisations have sprung; but that it suddenly sank in the sea. It is however geologically certain that no such subsidence in the Atlantic or Mediterranean has taken place in human times or at least since palaeolithic man. Moreover the theory that the earliest civilisations were founded on the wreck of Atlantis is contrary to Plato, whose whole story depends on his statement that Athens and Egypt were as civilised and in the event even more powerful than the mysterious island. This is borne out by excavation, for the development of the

Mediterranean races has been traced back to their respective stone ages, and shows no such sudden and simultaneous influence from without.¹

It seems therefore futile to seek for the geographical or geological site of a huge island now submerged. On the other hand a political and national disaster, a cataclysm in the usual instead of in the literal sense of the word, can destroy an ancient civilisation as completely as any flood, and on these lines it may be possible to find the central historic fact which gave rise to the legend, which clearly is largely imaginative in the form given it in the *Critias*.

Most Platonists regard the episode of Solon's visit to Egypt and his projected poem as a fiction. The arguments for this view are marshalled by Dr. Jowett, who shows how characteristic it would be of Plato to invent the entire story.² In his introduction to the *Timæus* he asks the following questions: (1) Did Plato derive the legend of Atlantis from an Egyptian source? To this he replies, 'It is only a legend that Solon went to Egypt and if he did he could not have conversed with the Egyptian priests or have read records in their temples.'³ (2) 'How came the poem of Solon to disappear in antiquity? or why did Plato, if the whole narrative was known to him, break off almost at the beginning of it?' This may be answered at once. Plato himself says that Solon's poem was never finished, much less could it have been published, so it is hard to talk of its disappearance. Reasons are given below for supposing that an echo of the beginning of this poem does survive in a familiar form. Further, Plato does give an outline of the whole narrative in the *Timæus*. It is only in the *Critias* that he breaks off. The complete adaptation of the legend would have been a long and laborious work; and the break in the *Critias* probably marks the point where the poem of Solon stopped and where Plato would have to begin to invent the details himself. (3) 'Whence came the tradition to Egypt?' (4) 'Passing from external to internal evidence we may remark that the story is far more likely to have been invented by Plato than to have been brought by Solon from Egypt.'

Internal evidence of this kind is sometimes misleading:—'In the 4th century of our era a certain L. Septimius wrote what purported to be a Latin translation of a Greek chronicle of the Trojan War by Dictys of Crete: . . . from the literary flourishes with which the author sought to adorn his work, and the adaptations from Sallust, Virgil, Cornelius Nepos, and other Latin

¹ The different versions of the Atlantis legend in ancient and modern times have been collected and discussed by M. Martie. After describing the various conjectures of philosophers, geographers, and geologists he remarks '... beaucoup de savants étant embarqués à la recherche de l'Atlantide avec une cargaison plus ou moins lourde d'érudition, mais sans autre boussole que leur imagination et leur caprice, ont vogué au hasard. Aussi on s'est-ils arrêtés? En Afrique, en Amérique, aux Terres Australes, au Spitzberg, en Suède, en Sardaigne, en Palestine, en Attique,

en Perse, et à Ceylan, dit-on.' (*Études sur le Timée de Platon*, par Th. Henri Martin, Tom. i, pp. 227-332).

² *The Dialogues of Plato translated into English*, fifth edition, vol. iii, p. 451.

³ If Solon could have conversed with the Priests there would have been no need for him to read the records himself and there is no suggestion that he did so. It is improbable that anyone who had not received a priestly education could read hieroglyphs.

writers with which it is interlarded, advocates were found of the view that the whole was a fabrication of Septimius and that no Greek original had really existed. All doubts on the matter have now, however, been finally removed by the discovery, due to Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's researches at Tebtunis, of a substantial fragment of the original Greek work.¹

Since the last edition of Dr. Jowett's work so much new evidence, so much undreamed of material has been brought to light, that the history of the Mediterranean peoples before the classical age has had to be largely re-written. Let us leave the *Critias* for a while and examine the circumstances narrated in the *Timæus*, for on them depends our appreciation of the *Critias*. First, could Solon have gone to Egypt and talked with the Priest at Sais? If not, the whole story must be a fiction. Solon's laws were passed in 594 B.C., after which he left Athens and journeyed in the East. He was already an experienced traveller, and the moment was especially favourable for a Greek to visit Egypt; above all for an Athenian to visit Sais. Greek influence in the Delta was at that time at its height.² Necho II. depended on his Greek mercenaries for his power abroad and for the security of his throne. He established for them the two great camps or rather cities of Daphnae and Naucratis. At sea he employed foreigners, mainly Greeks and Phoenicians, and it was he who sent the latter on the famous voyage of discovery round Africa. The same policy was continued under his successor Psammetichus II., who in his expedition to the Sudan led his Greek mercenaries in person, and it was probably on this occasion that they carved their names on the rocks of Abu Simbel, where they can still be read. So strong indeed was the Greek influence that the native Egyptians became restive, and shortly after the time of Solon a reaction set in. The leader of the reactionary movement was Amasis, who, though he could not altogether dispense with the Greeks, dismantled Daphnae and confined the Greek settlement to Naucratis, which he made a sort of Treaty-port. Shortly after 594 B.C. was therefore a most opportune moment for Solon to visit Sais, which was then the capital of Egypt and in the very midst of the Greek military and commercial activity on which the Pharaoh and his court largely depended. It is only natural to suppose that some at least of the priests of the chief temple of the Capital must have been able to speak Greek, and we know that Herodotus found *ἑρμηνέας* and also talked with the Assistant Treasurer at Sais as well as with the priests generally. There is thus nothing improbable in Solon's visit to Sais; on the contrary, when we consider all the circumstances and remember the fascination which the antiquity and wisdom of the Egyptians always had for the Greeks, it would be strange if he did not go there. The statement of Herodotus (ii. 177) Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τούτων τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναῖοις ἔθετο seems to imply that Solon had been in Egypt before. Plutarch, *Life*

¹ *Scripta Minoa*, by Arthur J. Evans, p. 108.

It is an interesting parallel that this Greek chronicle is said to have been founded on tablets accidentally discovered at Knossos,

though their translation was clearly a fraud.

² *A History of Egypt*, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, vol. iii. pp. 322-323.

of Solon xxvi. says *πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο, καὶ διέτρεψεν, ὥς καὶ (πρότερον) αὐτὸς φησι,*

Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κανώβιδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς.

This seems definite enough to be conclusive. There is no intrinsic impossibility in the account Plato gives of the conversations between Solon and the aged Priest, between those two, one of whom seemed to sum up in his venerable figure all the wisdom of the Egyptians, while the other was a type of the West by whom the ancient East was fated to be swept away: a man of a young eager active race thirsting for knowledge and adventure. First the old man wishing to show one of these young barbarians, one of the 'Brazen men from the Sea,' how ancient and great was the land of Egypt, enlarged on the advantages his country enjoyed both in position and climate; hence its unbroken prosperity and the preservation of the most ancient records. Then finding that his listener was both intelligent and appreciative he told him of a great but generally forgotten event which illustrated his contention that the Egyptian annals contained all history, including much which had been forgotten by other nations because of their frequent convulsions. At the same time the part played by the Athenians was a compliment to his guest. So he told him that once there had been a great Island Empire in the West which had rule over the sea and over other islands and parts of the continent 'which surrounds the true Ocean,' dominating Europe as far as Tyrrhenia and North Africa as far as Egypt. Then it aspired to universal conquest and made war on Athens and Egypt, but was defeated by the Athenians who were then much more powerful than the Athenians of Solon's time. Soon afterwards the Gods caused it to be overwhelmed by the sea, and Attica also became the victim of a flood which swept away its ideal inhabitants and reduced the land to its present size. The story as it stands sounds like an impossible romance. If however we are content to say that the island empire and not the island itself was destroyed suddenly and finally, then an exact parallel did actually occur.

Some eight centuries before Solon, Egypt had reached under Amenhotep the Third the zenith of her wealth and power.⁶ Her dominion extended from the Sudan to the Taurus, from Libya to Carchemish. Temples and tombs, statues and jewellery attest to this day the might of her rulers and the skill of her artists. We know, too, that Egypt was in close and constant communication with her neighbours. The Tell el Amarna letters prove that there was a regular correspondence with the cities of Palestine and with Babylon. In the West was another Empire also at the height of its glory, and with a history as old as that of Egypt itself. This was the great maritime empire of the Minoans, of which Knossos was the capital.

Of all the discoveries made in recent years that of Minoan Crete is the most amazing and the most vital to the reconstruction of Mediterranean

⁶ Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, vol. II. pp. 174 ff.

history. At the time of the Later Palace period (or Late Minoan II. in the scheme of Sir Arthur Evans), which is contemporary with the XVIIIth Dynasty in Egypt, the Minoans had attained a very high degree of material and artistic development. In many respects it was strikingly modern. The palaces rising storey after storey with their grand staircases, the private houses with their luxury and refinement, the shops and magazines, the system of drainage, even the fashions of the ladies, are all without a parallel in the ancient world. This splendour was the result of no new or sudden growth, nor did it spring from imported ideas grafted on to a primitive people. In spite of much contact with the surrounding nations it was essentially due to long indigenous development stretching thousands of years back into the dim neolithic past when man first settled on the hill of Cnossus.

The excavations show that before the final sack of the Palace there had been at least two periods of depression and upheaval in the Minoan world, which were each time succeeded by an age of yet greater progress and achievement, till about 1450 B.C. the Minoans dominated the Mediterranean. The whole sea-borne trade between Europe, Asia, and Africa was in their hands. Phoenician trade was not as yet considerable; indeed, Phoenicia seems to have done little more than take up the heritage of Crete after the Minoan power had been swept away. Even the famous Tyrian purple was due to the Minoans. The distinctive character of the Minoans was no less striking than their commercial and naval supremacy. They were different from the later Achaeans, and in dress, build, and character presented a marked contrast to Egyptians and Asiatics. This individuality was made more noticeable by the fact that they ruled the mysterious sea. During the great Palace period or Late Minoan II., the Minoan dominion, of which Cnossus was both the political and geographical centre, was a vast and well defined power with a highly centralised government, formed, it is true, of scattered islands and of cities on the coast of the mainland, but united not divided by the sea, and with a genius of its own, so that it may well have seemed to the ancient world more like a fourth continent, a kind of Australasia with all the added power and prestige of wealth, mystery, and an immemorial past. Since very early times the Minoans had been in close communication with Egypt.¹ The three chief epochs of Minoan history were roughly contemporary with the three greatest periods in the history of Egypt. Thus the Early Minoan kingdom flourished during the rule of the Old Kingdom at Memphis²; the Middle Minoan power was at its height when the Twelfth Dynasty reigned at Thebes,³ and the building of the last and greatest Palace at Cnossus with its throne-room, its frescoes, halls, and corridors, which in later ages was remembered as the Labyrinth, was con-

¹ *The Palace in its Egyptian Relations*, by A. J. Evans (Egypt Exploration Fund, *Archaeological Report*, 1900-1901). See also *Scripta Minoa*, pp. 30-31, 236-241, 263-264; *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*,

by L. W. King and H. B. Hall, p. 359; *The Two Labyrinths*, by H. B. Hall (*J.H.S.* xiv, pp. 529-537).

² *Scripta Minoa*, pp. 110-130.

³ *ib.* p. 19, pp. 124-128, p. 142.

temporary with the glories of the Theban Empire under the XVIIIth Dynasty.¹⁰ It is even likely that the first Cretan Labyrinth was influenced by the earlier and greater Egyptian Labyrinth at Hawara. It is certain that Minoan influence was very active in Egypt in the reign of Amenhotep III. and in Akhenaten's palace at Tell el Amarna, and it is probable that their traders were busy in the Delta. Thus important events which happened in one country could not fail to be known in the other. Suddenly the Minoans were overthrown, Cnossus was sacked and burnt, and the might of King Minos was swept away for ever.¹¹ Confident in the long supremacy of their fleet the Minoans had left Cnossus and all the cities yet discovered practically unfortified. A strong raiding party could have ravaged the island in a few days. Nothing as yet is known of the circumstances of this great disaster. It is certain that it fell upon Cnossus when it was at the height of its pride and power and not in a period of depression or decline.¹² Moreover, it seems fairly clear that the loss fell more on the governing class who lived in the great palaces than on the nation as a whole. It is not unlikely that the invader was helped by a revolt of the people against their rulers, and that the whole catastrophe was largely due to rebellion against the central power of Cnossus. In any case the chief and most startling result was the fall of Cnossus.

The invasion seems to have come from the Southern coast of Greece, for at this period the centre of power shifts to Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, and Athens, who grow great on the plunder of Cnossus. At the same time there seems to have been a partial revival among the cities of Minoan Crete, which the overmastering power of Cnossus had destroyed. But their innate vitality was spent, and in this revival Northern influence predominates.¹³ So daring and epoch-making a raid must have required a bold and skilful leader. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the legend of Theseus and the Minotaur contains a popular tradition of the sack of Cnossus. Theseus is the most clearly defined, the most closely localised and the most human of all the heroes of the older generation. All accounts agree that he was a native of Troezen. The story that he was really the son of Aegaeus was clearly invented to legitimise his seizure of the Athenian throne. Usually he is called the son of Poseidon, even by Athenian writers, which indicates a Cretan or at least a seafaring origin, and it is significant that at the end of his life he is said to have withdrawn to Seyros. If there be any truth in the deeply rooted legend of Theseus, the man who had already won fame, who had been born and bred by the sea, and who had established himself in Athens as heir to the throne, was exactly the man to lead the raid which

¹⁰ *Scripta Minoa*, pp. 51-52, p. 72.

¹¹ For the dating see *Scripta Minoa*, p. 52. Mr. E. R. Ayrton suggests that after the sack of the Palace some of the surviving artists may have fled to Egypt, where their art was already in great request, and that they were employed by Akhenaten, thus prolonging Minoan influence

at Tell el Amarna. It ceases for ever in the reaction which followed his death.

¹² *Scripta Minoa*, p. 56.

¹³ *Minoan Pottery from Cyprus and the Origin of the Minoan Style*, by E. J. Faudyke (*J.H.S.* xxxi. pp. 116-117).

was to shake off the yoke of Crete; nor need we be surprised at his desertion of his Cretan ally and the untimely end of King Aegeus. The subsequent synoecism seems to have been a fact, and may well have been his work. Whatever degree of credence may be given to personal details the fact remains that the Minoans had settlements on the coasts of Greece,¹⁴ that Cnossus was sacked by raiders from the coasts and islands of Greece, and that these 'Minoan' settlements in Greece became independent and powerful 'Mycenaean' cities. Thus the Island Empire in the West, its defeat by the 'Athenians' and its sudden and terrible destruction are historical facts, whether they influenced Plato or not.

What of the flood which washed away Athens?¹⁵ The whole description of the Athenian state in these dialogues seems much more fictitious than that of Atlantis itself. Plato acknowledges it to be a continuation of his ideal Republic, and doubtless intended it to symbolise the victories of Athens over Persia, apparently omitting in both cases the parts played by other states. If Atlantis was mighty her conqueror must be mightier, and as the limits of historic Attica were obvious a flood must reduce the ideal state to its actual dimensions. On the other hand several waves of invasion did sweep over the Greek peninsula between 1400 and 900 B.C.¹⁶ The course of events in the earlier part of this period is not yet clear, but it seems as if the men who sacked Cnossus and transformed the old Minoan settlements at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Argos enjoyed but a short-lived triumph, and that they were in turn conquered by a fresh wave of invaders from the North who occupied their palaces and became the Achaeans of Homer. Later came a greater destruction when the Dorians wiped out the Minoan and Mycenaean world, though a degraded type of its civilisation lingered on especially in the islands.

We have still to consider the attempt at universal conquest by the Island Empire in the West. This attempt is an indisputable fact and influenced the whole course of Mediterranean history. Here we pass from conjecture to certainty, from legends to contemporary official records which still survive. We have seen that the sack of the Cretan Palaces did not end the Minoan civilisation, though it changed the whole aspect of the Mediterranean world and began a new epoch of history. On the contrary, during the 'Mycenaean' age (which Sir Arthur Evans calls Late Minoan III.) the Minoan civilisation was more widely spread than before though in a modified form and with a lower artistic standard, much in the same way as Hellenism was more widely diffused during the Hellenistic period than in the fifth century though its creative force was spent and its excellence declined.

¹⁴ The whole subject of the legends and history of this period in the light of recent excavations is fully and clearly treated by the Rev. J. Halpin in *The Sea Kings of Crete*. He maintains that they support the identification of Atlantis with the Minoan dominion.

For the state of Minoan Athens see B.S.—VOL. XXXIII.

Apollodorus iii. 1. 3. 2. iii. 13. 8. 1.

¹⁵ In the *Critias* the 'extraordinary inundation' which reduced Attica to its present size is said to have been the third before the 'great destruction' of Deucalion.

¹⁶ Dr. D. Mackenzie, in *B.S.A.* xi. p. 220, xiii. pp. 424-425.

Until the Mycenaeans were finally conquered in the latter half of the twelfth century there was little outwardly to distinguish them from the earlier Minoans, and as a matter of fact there is no doubt that the Egyptians confused the two: both came from the Great Green Sea.¹⁷ Historically it was these later Mycenaeans who made the great attack on Egypt and the Levant immediately before the date assigned to the Trojan War. Foremost among them were the Cretan Peleset, who afterwards became the Philistines of the Bible; the Siculi, and the Danaï.¹⁸ In the inscriptions of Rameses III. we read: 'Their main support was Peleset, Thekel, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh. These lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land as far as the Circle of the Earth. Their hearts were confident, full of their plans.'¹⁹ Whatever was the precise significance of the phrase 'circle of the earth' to an Egyptian (a disputed point) it would certainly suggest the whole world to a Greek. The end of the thirteenth century B.C. was a period of great unrest.²⁰ Egypt was growing old and weak: her empire had shrunk almost to the Nile valley, she was falling under the power of the Priests, and the Libyans, who had recovered from their defeat by Merneptah, were making a determined attempt, aided by the sea-rovers, to conquer the Delta.²¹ She was still, however, the richest country in the world. To win this royal prize the 'Mycenaeans' of Crete and the Isles combined with the Dardani and their allies on the coast of Asia Minor. It was a mighty confederacy, formed as it was of the rovers of the seas, of the pirate princes and fierce warriors who live in the lines of Homer. The land forces marched slowly down through Syria carrying their families with them in wagons for the invasion was for them not a raid but a migration. The fleet moved with them down the coast. The invaders were the most terrible foes Egypt had ever met. Surely they would occupy Palestine, plunder Egypt, and rule the whole Levant. But they had reckoned without their host. Rameses III. was one of the greatest men who ever reigned in Egypt. He is usually considered to have been only a moderately successful imitator of Rameses II., but when we consider how much greater his difficulties were at home and abroad and how completely he triumphed over them we must acknowledge that he has been underrated. He was an able administrator and a great soldier, and by his victories gave Egypt a lasting peace. He defeated and drove out the Libyans who had occupied part of the Delta. At the same time he defeated the Mycenaean sea-rovers who were co-operating with them, whereby his fleet gained experience which stood it in good stead in the great battle soon after. It may well be that the Egyptians considered that the Libyan invasion aided by these Rovers was part of the general

¹⁷ Later still the Minoans were confused with the Phoenicians. *Scripta Minoa*, p. 20; *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 142. See H. R. Hall, 'Kefiti and Peoples of the Sea,' in *E.S.A.* viii.

¹⁸ Breasted, *Ancient Records, Egypt* iv, p. 24.

¹⁹ Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 28. Mr. Hall reads these names as Peleset, Takkas, Shakalsha

Danaua and Uashasha respectively.

²⁰ Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, vol. iii, pp. 142 ff.

²¹ Hogarth, *Asia and the East*, p. 112. For the whole question of the Mycenaean Sea-Raiders see *The Dawn of History* by Prof. J. L. Myres, pp. 205 ff.

movement of the Peoples of the Sea. In the eighth year of his reign, about 1194, Rameses marched into Palestine while his fleet sailed along the coast and defeated the invaders by land and sea. The site of the battle is unknown, but it must have been somewhere on the coast of Palestine or the Delta. The inscription recording the fight on land has been entirely destroyed, but the battle took place near enough to the sea to enable Rameses to march his troops up in time to take part in the destruction of the Mycenaean fleet. The victory was complete and brought momentous results. The peace of Egypt was secured; and incidentally the Phoenicians must have benefited by this defeat of their enemies. Joshua's invasion of Canaan was facilitated and probably hastened by the destruction caused to the country by the opposing forces. Some of the surviving Peleset were allowed to settle on the coasts and became the Philistines who were known to Jeremiah as the 'Remnant of the country (or island) of Caphtor'.²² It seems almost certain that the Trojan War was also directly due to this, the earliest known of the Decisive Battles of the World.

We have seen then that the main outlines of the story told by the Priest about Atlantis contain a true account of the closing scenes of Minoan history from an Egyptian point of view: there was a great island empire in the far West; it did make an attempt at what seemed to the Egyptians universal conquest; the islanders were defeated by raiders from Greece who were very possibly led by the chief hero of Athens; and these 'Athenians' were not long afterwards in turn overwhelmed.

There is much in the geographical description of Atlantis which confirms this identification. 'This island was the way to other islands, and from these islands you might pass to the whole of the opposite continent which surrounded the true ocean.' These words exactly suit Crete, which has been called 'the stepping-stone of continents'; they are meaningless if applied to any spot in the Atlantic ocean.

The empire which Plato goes on to describe differs from all purely imaginary states such as Plato's own Republic, in that it is not a single homogeneous power: it is a wide and varied dominion under the rule of a central capital: 'In this island there was a great and wonderful empire which had rule over the whole island and several others, as well as over parts of the Continent.' Could the political position of Knossos be expressed more accurately? The site of the Capital is described in terms which apply to the site of Knossos. The island was very lofty and precipitous on the side of the sea, but the country immediately about and surrounding the city was on a level plain sheltered from the North. Further, in the *Critias* we are told that the 'earth-born' man Evenor lived on a mountain 'not very high on any side,' and was found there by Poseidon on the site of the future city of Atlantis. The palace of Knossos is built on a low hill which rises from a plain. On this hill there had been an important neolithic settlement for ages before the Palace was built; it had apparently continued from 10,000 B.C.

²² Jeremiah xlvii. 4. See also Gen. x. 6, 13, 14, Deut. ii. 23, Amos ix. 7.

or earlier up to the founding of the Minoan city. And on the North the plain is sheltered by hills, though it is true that these hills are very low. Again, the boundaries of the empire of Atlantis are identical with those which are specially associated with Minoan influence. Plato says that Atlantis ruled over North Africa as far as Egypt and over Europe as far as Tyrrhenia. The problem of the Etruscans is still unsolved. Pliny quotes Varro as stating that there were altogether four labyrinths and that one of them was the tomb of Lars Porseuma of Clusium. The three others were at Chiossa, Hawara, and Lemnos. Though the statement as it stands is enigmatic, Varro clearly considered a monument in what was then known as Etruria to belong to a type of building associated with Minoan. However that may be, the Etruscans were a sea-power in Solon's day, and would certainly have formed an eastern limit to any other sea-power that was farther West. Even Carthage found it prudent to make a treaty with them and to recognise them as masters of Corsica and the Tyrrhenian sea. They were the chief power in North Italy about 600 B.C. Their fleet was destroyed by Hiero I. of Syracuse off Cumae in 474, after which they declined. Thus it would be more natural for Solon than for Plato to consider them the limit to any Western aggression.

In North Africa we have seen that the Mycenaean sea-rovers co-operated with the Libyans against Egypt and near Gurah in the Fayum. Mycenaean pottery was found in the tombs of the Tursha, who are probably the same as the Tursha who attacked Egypt in the reign of Merneptah.

The geography therefore no less than the history of the empire of Atlantis reproduces with surprising accuracy that of the Minoan empire as it was known to the Egyptians. There remains, however, one obvious difficulty: Atlantis should be outside, and not inside the Pillars of Hercules. The whole treatment of the myth is much farther West, as is everything to do with Atlas. But had the original account anything to do with Atlas? Does this objection, which seems fatal to the later developments of the legend, really apply to the original Egyptian version if any such existed? It is more likely that it is this very name which has led all searchers astray. The actual names in their Greek form as we have them, if they were adapted from Egyptian originals, can in any case be no more than rough equivalents which would convey to the Greek mind an impression corresponding to that which the records gave to an Egyptian. And it is important to remember that we are not dealing with a translation of the annals but at best with the outlines of a poem with a purpose founded more or less on them, which is quite a different thing. The Egyptians have never been a seafaring people. We know that they did send expeditions to the coast of Palestine and the Red Sea earlier than the sack of Chiossa. But Crete lies about 400 miles to the West right out in an open sea²² which can be really rough even for modern ships; and to reach it one must sail out of sight of land, which always filled the coast-hugging mariners of the ancient world with dread. It is in the

²² For the time required to sail from Crete to Egypt see *Odyssey* xiv. ll. 250-257.

highest degree unlikely that Egyptian ships ever reached Crete in Minoan times. Even if they had done so they would have found that the Minoan empire stretched yet further West again. Even if they had ventured to voyage so far into the Great Green Sea it is unlikely that the Minoans would have been more tolerant of rivals in trade than the Phoenicians were in later times. Crete therefore and the Minoan world which we are accustomed to associate with the Near East was to an Egyptian of the Theban Empire the Far West. How far West it might be he would not trouble. The very name Keftiu means 'the men from the Back of Beyond.' According to Mr. H. R. Hall the word *kefti* means 'behind,' 'away back,' and so is often written, when it has this meaning simply, with the symbol of the hindquarters of an animal. The root is a very early one, and occurs in the Pyramid texts. These Keftiu are specifically the men of Minoan Crete and not the Mycenaeans, as is shown by their portraits on the monuments and their dress and the vases they carry.²³ So Keftiu lay in the extreme aphelion so to speak of the orbit of the peoples which revolved around the central sun of Egypt in the remotest part of the Mediterranean Ring.²⁴ References to the land from which the sea-rovers came are very vague in such records as have survived. They came from beyond Egyptian ken, and that was enough. But in Solon's time the Western Mediterranean was familiar enough, and the Phoenician ships traded far beyond it. Only just before Solon's visit they are said even to have circumnavigated Africa. Farthest West therefore must lie far beyond the Pillars of Heracles. It is possible that here we have an echo of an Egyptian phrase which placed the Keftiu beyond the Four Pillars of the World. These Pillars play a prominent part in ancient Egyptian theology and geography. They were at first actual mountains on the borders of the Egyptian world. In later times, as geographical knowledge widened, they had to be idealised and placed farther away. 'Atlantis' seems to have experienced a similar fate; or rather, in its Greek form it starts with this later adaptation of the old idea, though its foundations were laid unconsciously on the older and geographically true tradition. In any case, if Solon hoped to sing of the vanished island, his first need would have been to find a Greek name fitted in form and associations for employment in Epic verse. As such the name Atlantis is admirable: it can be used with ease and dignity in hexameter lines and it conveys a hint of the magic and mystery of that boundless Ocean which stretched beyond the limits of human travel. It is thus a Greek equivalent to the name Kefti. It is worth noting that before the story is elaborated the first description attributed to the Priest begins with the words: *ἤρσαν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος εἶχερ ὁ καλεῖται, ὡς φασί, ἱμεῖς Ἡρακλέους στήλας...* 'before the Pillars.'

²³ Since this was written G. A. Wainwright in *Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology*, iv. part 2, p. 24, argues that the Egyptian name *Keftiu* does not mean Crete. There are strong arguments against his view, but even if he prove correct his theory will affect only the

same. It will not weaken the main identification of Atlantis with the Minoan power which is independent of the meaning of *Keftiu*.

²⁴ H. R. Hall, 'Keftis and the Peoples of the Sea,' *E.S.A.* viii. pp. 162-163.

though he speaks of the *δύναμις ἐξωθεν ὀρηθεύσαν*. To anyone sailing from Egypt, Crete is in front of the Pillars and the Atlantic is behind them. Finally there is the tradition of the shallowness of the ocean and of the mud-banks which marked the site of the lost continent. It seems impossible that the early discoverers and traders should have brought back such a report of the real Atlantic Ocean. On the other hand, if they hugged the coast too long on their way to Crete or were driven out of their course they would soon strike the Syrtes, the quicksands which were dreaded even by the Romans. When the power of Cnossus had been swept away in perhaps little more than 'a day and a night' and the island was considered to have been engulfed in the waves it would have been no unnatural deduction to consider that its site was marked by the shoals which were reported in that direction: especially as the Egyptians seem to have lost touch with Crete after the sack. When Atlantis was placed beyond the Pillars the mud-banks had also to be transported.

There would have been an additional reason for Solon to locate Atlantis outside the Pillars of Heracles. From the Greek point of view the struggle would then become one between the civilised Aegean peoples and the dread forces of τὸ πέραν, i.e. that which was monstrous, beyond the limit, barbarous. Here again the name Atlantis gives a hint of a comparison with the Battle of Gods and Giants, for Atlas was one of the Titans. Such transpositions in the light of wider geographical knowledge are natural and widespread. In the Norse legends of Vineland accounts of the actual Azores were transposed so as to prolong an actual exploration of Labrador and Maine.²⁰ In the same way in the original Babylonian story 'Ararat was the name of the desert mound where the Ark rested; and when the families of the younger sons of the patriarch moved off and made new settlements, they gave the name Ararat to the highest mountain they knew in honour of the spot where the Ark rested. This Armenian Ararat could no more have been the Ararat where the Ark rested than New York be York.'²¹ We have already seen how the Egyptian Pillars of the world receded as the geographical horizon widened, and many critics believe that the scene of the original Odyssey was in the Black Sea but was later changed to the West which remained mysterious after the Black Sea had been explored.

The completeness with which the glories of what we now know to have been Minoan civilisation had become dissociated from Crete is shown in Homer's account of the Phaeacians. The picture given by the poet is substantially true of the great period of the Palace of Cnossus, but quite unlike that of Crete as he knew it. So the Phaeacians, who cannot be located, have to be found on an island which should have been almost desert. Phaeacia is to Homer just what Atlantis is to Plato with the vital difference that in the Homeric picture the catastrophe had not yet occurred. This seems to show that in Homer's time Minoan legends and poems still

²⁰ Lecture by Dr. Nauman; *The Geographical Journal*, December 1911. *Present, and Future (The Geographical Journal, January 1910.)*

²¹ Sir William Wilson, *Mesopotamia: Past,*

survived either in their original form or in translations, and that the Epic cycle may have adapted and embodied some of them. Yet Homer is familiar with the name of Minos. Odysseus, with fine irony, pretends that he himself is son of Deucalion son of Minos, and so brother of Idomeneus. Minos, Deucalion and Idomeneus form, however, a true sequence if they represent the last days of Minoan power, the coming of the Achaeans, and the generation of the Trojan War.

Thus both Greeks and Egyptians had records of the old Minoan civilisation before the sack of Cnossus. Both of them in time came to know Crete well, but neither connected the island with that particular civilisation, though the Greeks knew that Minos had once ruled there with fabulous power and magnificence. This unidentified civilisation must therefore have belonged to a land that had since disappeared with its people. They were already familiar with a flood tradition. What more natural than that this ancient and unknown people also had been overwhelmed by a flood? In this case the transposition of the island and the theory of the flood, and indeed the whole Atlantis legend in its popular form, is due to a lack of identification.

But Plato (or Solon) still gives Atlantis rule over part of Europe and Africa. Why should he do this before their attempt at conquest, unless he had started with this idea given him by the true record? It is most significant that when the myth is pushed further west so many of the old geographical landmarks are kept.

The question next arises, How much Minoan history was actually preserved in the Egyptian state records and temple traditions in the sixth century B.C.? It is impossible to tell; but we may be sure that Minoan history as far as it affected Egypt was clearly and accurately recorded. We know for example that the attack of the Mycenaens on Egypt described above was given in great detail, for much of the account remains to this day at Thebes, and the accompanying reliefs are so faithful that even if there were no inscriptions the Mycenaens could be identified with certainty. But the sum of all the inscriptions which have survived is but a small fragment of those which existed in Solon's day when the records were still complete. Especially is this the case with Sais and the Delta, the very part of the country which we should expect to have contained most evidence of the Minoans. We may safely assume, however, that some mention was made in the royal or temple records of the overthrow of Cnossus no less than of the later Minoans, for the event must have affected the Egyptians. The sudden destruction of the ruler of the seas and the chief commercial power in the Mediterranean began a new era in history. When later Greek historians tried to trace history back to its beginnings they went thus far and no farther. Behind that date all was attributed to Minos, a great though shadowy name. After him a new order of things arose; after the sack of Cnossus there was no longer any central control of the seas, and the period of the sea-rovers begins. This period culminated in the Trojan War, when the different Mycenaean states, after having combined

against Egypt were defeated by Rameses III. and baulked of their prey. This caused them to fall out among themselves and turn their arms against each other, soon after which the Achæans were overwhelmed by the Dorians and the period Late Minoan III. comes to an end. Then begins the list of Thalassocracies given by Eusebius.²⁷ Thus the great break in the normal intercourse between the Minoans and Egypt was caused by the destruction of Cnossus. This event affected the foreign relationships of the Minoans much more suddenly and rapidly than it affected the course of their general civilisation. Before that time Minoan influence had been strong in Egypt; from that time onwards until the attacks of the later sea-rovers all connexion with Crete suddenly stops. The same result is shown by the excavations in Melos.²⁸ In Egypt, after the sack of Cnossus, the name Keftiu, which really meant Minoan Cretans, falls completely out of use and is superseded by various other tribal names belonging to the Peoples of the Sea.²⁹ So it is almost inevitable that the destruction of the Palace at Cnossus which ended the old régime and began such a turbulent time did find some sort of notice in the Egyptian annals. Once there it would remain, whether it was understood or not. It is doubtful whether the Egyptians of Solon's day associated the Keftiu with the island of Crete, though they certainly meant the men who we now know came from there. When we consider the vagueness with which the Egyptians regarded the sea and the islands, and the way in which the later Mycenæans were confused with the Phœnicians, it is more than likely that the Keftiu were regarded as a curious people, who once existed in the West and had since disappeared, as indeed they had. Closer acquaintance with the Crete of the Dorian period would tend to prevent them from locating the Keftiu there. In this connexion it is interesting to notice that Proclus says he saw references to the men of Atlantis on Egyptian monuments and that there were many such. Dealing with this question (*op. cit.* p. 431) Dr. Jowett remarks, 'The story may be false—there are similar tales about columns set up by the Canaanites whom Joshua drove out (Procop.)'. But such tales of the 'Canaanites' tend to confirm the statement of Proclus, for they have left large numbers of columns. Dr. Jowett further maintains that if the statement is true it only shows that the Neoplatonists took the trouble to forge stone monuments just as they forged books. Surely this is carrying scepticism too far. It is much simpler to suppose that Proclus saw representations of the Keftiu, whom we now know to have been Minoans and who would answer in every respect to his 'men of Atlantis'. Be that as it may, a fair number of public and private records of the Minoans still remain in Egypt.

There is nothing therefore intrinsically impossible or even unlikely in the statement that Solon went to Sais, and was told by the Priest a story of the great island empire that once had existed in the far West; and that this story was drawn from the Egyptian records. It is equally probable that, if

²⁷ J. L. Myron, *J.H.S.* cxvi, pp. 84-130 and cxvii, pp. 123-130. xlii, pp. 424-429.

²⁸ H. R. Hall, 'Keftiu and Peoples of the Sea,' *B.S.A.* viii.

²⁹ D. Mackenzie, 'Cretan Palaces,' *B.S.A.*

he did hear such a wonderful and thrilling tale, he would use it or intend to use it as the basis of an epic poem. Solon was a poet no less than a politician and it was by a political poem which still survives that he first won fame. Now that his political work was done, he would compose a patriotic poem on the *ἔθρις* of the forgotten island like that of the *Τετάρτη κακομήται ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντες*²⁰ and its defeat by the Athenians of old, a theme which would appeal to the national pride of his countrymen and might help to smooth their dissensions. For this purpose the history would have to be modified. The glory must go to Athens and the part played by Rameses III. would not be mentioned; and the battle must come before and not after the destruction of Chossus. It is also a fact that the Egyptians had no share in the overthrow of Chossus and the Cretan Palaces: they were concerned only with the wars of the later sea-rovers. Further, the Epic would be a type of Hellenism against Barbarism, cosmic in scope like the Battle of the Gods and Giants. (Plato would have made it a prototype of the Persian wars.) *ἵνα τῆς ἀναλογίας ἡμῶν ἀναμνήσῃ, διὰ μὲν τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ονόματος ἐπὶ τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀναπέμψῃ τοὺς ἀκούοντας συστοιχίαν, τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίας στρατηγουμένην, διὰ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ἀτλαντίων ἐπὶ τοῖς Τιτανικοῦς θεοῖς, εἰς γὰρ πόν τῶν Τιτανικῶν καὶ ὁ μέγιστος Ἀτλας.*²¹ Another familiar struggle was also suggested, the strife of Athens and Poseidon τῶν Ἀτλαντίων Ποσειδῶνος ὄντων ἐκγόνοι.²² The theme was one to fire the imagination of any poet and would appeal especially to an Athenian: most of all to a poet who was also a statesman and in the position of Solon.

The epic was never completed; but if Solon had really begun or planned it, had Plato any special reason for knowing it, and if so why did he associate it with Critias? Dr. Jowett says (Introduction to *Critias*, *op. cit.* p. 526) 'It is singular that Plato should have prefixed the most detested of Athenian names to this dialogue, and even more singular that he should have put into the mouth of Socrates a panegyric on him. (*Tim.* 20 A.)' In the first place Plato belonged to the family of Solon: in the second this family had been friendly with that of Critias for generations. The relationship is variously given, Suidas: *Lexicon*, s.v. Solon, says *ἕστη γὰρ ἦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου παῖς γενομένη Δρωπίδας τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σόλωνος*.

This is confirmed by the anonymous *Prolegomena* (Teubner Text, vol. xv). Olympiodorus in his *Life of Plato* traces his descent from Solon on his father's side. Proclus says *ὥστε ὁ Γλαύκων Κριτίου θεῖος ἦν, ἀνεψιὸς δὲ Χαρμίδος, θεῖος δὲ Πλάτωνος, Σόλων δὲ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἐπιπάστου (τοῦ) Κριτίου· τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἀληθὲς ταιούτων ὁ δὲ γε θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος ἄλλως πῶς παραδίδωσι τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν* (*Commentary*, 25 r). There are also other variations, but all authorities agree that Solon, Critias, and Plato were inter-related. Again, in the opening scene of the *Charmides* (15 r) Plato states that Anacreon, Solon, and many other poets had composed panegyrics in honour of Critias son of Dropidas. Apart from the *Timaeus* and the *Critias* it is evident that

²⁰ Proclus, *op. cit.* I. 172.²¹ *ib.* I. 172.²² *ib.* I. 71.

Solon was ranked high as a poet by the old school, and that he was a friend of the elder Critias.

Though in some quarters Critias was, as Dr. Jowett reminds us, the most hated name in Athens, yet it is probable that he was popular with at least a section of the Aristocrats. Plato was essentially an aristocrat; even in his Republic the Guardians are the only class in which he really feels any interest.

Thus though the whole episode in the *Timaeus* of Solon's visit to Egypt and his poem on Atlantis may be a fiction it may also be true. What then of the *Critias*? It seems to be no less than a transcript in prose of the beginning of Solon's epic which Plato at one time intended to complete as a Dialogue, but which he, too, left unfinished and unchanged in general form, though he may have modified it to make it further symbolical of the Persian Wars.

After a short perfunctory introduction the *Critias* starts from the beginning as an unbroken narrative cast in the regular form of an Epic poem, with Invocation of the Muse, detailed description of the combatants, careful mention of dates and numbers, and a Council of the Gods. It breaks off immediately before the great speech of the Father of Gods and Men which would set forth the argument of the coming struggle, at a point which is curiously abrupt in prose but which is exactly where an epic poet would naturally pause in composition.

Further the speech of *Critias* from the beginning of the invocation to the end of the description of Atlantis and the beginning of the Council of the Gods is almost exactly the same length as the first book of the *Iliad* up to the promise of Zeus to Thetis and the subsequent scene among the Gods. It is strange too that an outline of the whole story has already been given in the *Timaeus*, where it would be superfluous if it were going to be told again at greater length in the next dialogue. It almost seems as if Plato might have inserted the sketch in the *Timaeus* when he doubted whether he would ever complete the *Critias*. The whole atmosphere of the *Critias* is frankly imaginative. The city of Atlantis becomes a medley of marvels from all the non-Hellenic world. The great temple with its 'strange Asiatic look' seems to be inspired by the Babylon that Nebuchadnezzar was building to the wonder of the world, and the facing of the city walls may be a glorification of the glazed tiles which covered the walls of some of the Babylonian fortified palaces. The vast canals are derived from those of Egypt and Babylonia.³³ Horses and chariots were used in Crete as well as in most of the ancient world.³⁴ The elephants may have come from Egyptian records of the wars of Thothmes,³⁵ or may have been contributed by the Carthaginians. None of these non-Minoan wonders appear in the *Timaeus*, but they

³³ Necho II. had begun the canal which was finished by Darius from the Eastern Delta to Suez. It was four days' sail in length, and so wide that triremes could pass each other; *vide* Prof. W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, III.

p. 356. Herodotus II. 153.

³⁴ *Scripta Minoa*, p. 42.

³⁵ For the presence of elephants in Mesopotamia *vide* Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altertums*, I. 243.

are exactly what would have struck a Greek traveller most and are exactly suited to embellish an epic of the struggle of Hellenism against Barbarism. Dr. Jowett remarks in his introduction to the *Timaeus* that the later forms of the Atlantis legend current in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries contain features taken from the *Edda* as well as from the Old and New Testament; also from the tales of missionaries and the experiences of travellers and colonists. Would it be surprising if in the same way Solon added to and exaggerated the wonders he had seen and heard? At the same time Dr. Jowett admits that no version of the story is known earlier than Plato. Yet in spite of these additions Minoan Crete dominates the scene. This is apparent in the details no less than in the general plan. The great harbour with its shipping and its merchants coming from all parts is typical of Crete: the elaborate bathrooms and the Stadium³⁶ are striking features in the Minoan scheme of life, and the solemn sacrifice of a bull was a Minoan ceremony. It is true that these points of resemblance are not in themselves enough to prove Minoan origin, but this inference is warranted when we read that 'the bull is hunted in the Temple of Poseidon without weapons but with staves and nooses'.³⁷ This cannot be anything but a description of the Bull-ring at Cnossus, the very thing which struck foreigners most, which became a very type of the rule of Minos and gave rise to the legend of the Minotaur. Plato's words exactly describe the scenes on the famous Vaphio cups which seem to have been imported from Crete and which certainly represent catching wild bulls for the Minoan bull-fight. This bull-fight as we know from frescoes in the palace of Cnossus itself, the Temple of Poseidon, differed from all others in the very point which Plato emphasises, namely that no weapons were used.

It is not impossible therefore that Solon went to Egypt and learned what was in fact the Egyptian version of the overthrow of the Minoans, although he did not recognise it as such; that he used it as the basis of an epic which he never completed, but the plot of which Plato knew and adapted to his own use. This view is at least consistent with known facts.

The chief objections which remain are the following:—

(1) The world remembered Minos pretty clearly in the sixth century B.C. It certainly did remember a great power personified under that name just as the Minoan civilisation was typified by the fabulous inventions of Daedalus. Tradition was right in maintaining that before the Achaeans there had been a greater power and a higher civilisation of which Crete had been the centre. But its historical value when not illustrated by other evidence may be judged by the way in which the bull-fights and magnificence of the Palace of Cnossus are represented by the legends of the Minotaur and the Labyrinth.

³⁶ Cf. also the 'Dancing-place of Ariadne'.

³⁷ In the temple of Seti I. at Abydos the King is shown lassoing a bull for sacrifice, but the scene is wholly different from the Minoan bull-fight. For an account of the Thessalian bull-fight, the *εργαστήριον*, and its possible

derivation from the Minoan, see Farnell, *Culte of the Greek States*, iv. p. 25. The Thessalian hunters, however, were often mounted and gave a sort of 'Wild West' exhibition, whereas the foresters at Cnossus performed on foot and vaulted over the bull.

which are meaningless unless we, like Theseus, hold the clue. The chief point is that neither Solon, the Priest, nor Plato recognised that the Egyptian records referred to the same fact as the Greek legends. The point of view of the Egyptians and their accurate but dry annals had little in common with Greek traditions. Even to-day many critics refuse to accept the identification!

(2) Plato was quite capable of inventing Egyptians or anything else, and gives several hints that the whole story is a fiction. He certainly could have invented a similar tale, but it is also quite in his manner to take a story from history and adapt it to his own use. The story of Gyges as it is told in the *Republic* is as complete a fairy-tale as can be. Yet the characters are historical and the story without the magic is mainly true. Dr. Jowett classes the story of Atlantis with that of Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels, and the Homeric poems. But while Gulliver's Travels were purposely made impossible, Robinson Crusoe and the Homeric poems, which like Atlantis have a semblance of truth, were founded on fact.³⁸ Plato may not have believed the story himself. That would make his involuntary evidence all the more valuable.

(3) The Priest would not confuse Rameses III. with Akhenaten even if he were to confuse the Keftiu with the sea raiders, which is also unlikely. He would not; but then we have not got his version. Our text of Herodotus, Book II, which is not an epic poem but serious Egyptian history, puts the fourth Dynasty after Rameses.³⁹ Solon may have consciously altered the sequence of events to make the narrative more effective after the manner of Dumas; or the two main stages of the Minoan overthrow may have been condensed into one dramatic episode when considered apart from strictly Egyptian history. Similarly, in Greek legends an earlier and a later Minos⁴⁰ and an earlier and a later Theseus can be distinguished. This tendency is almost universal in traditional history.

It would be indeed strange if so great and terrible an event as the sack of Cnossus and the downfall of the all-powerful Minoans should be left unrecorded. It would be still stranger if a thousand years afterwards a philosopher 'evolved from his own inner consciousness' the story of a disaster unique in human history, which he himself considered a fiction, but which agrees in its main features with that which really happened; for the parallel between fact and fiction is complete provided the doom of Atlantis be regarded as the overthrow of a political power and not as the disappearance of a geographical site. If this point be conceded, then the Minoan Empire, the sack of Cnossus, and the exploits of the Mycenaean sea-raiders furnish the underlying historical facts which can be recognised in the legend.

K. T. FROST.

³⁸ See lecture by Prof. J. L. Myers at Whinnipeg, 1909.

³⁹ Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *J.H.S.* xxviii, p. 275, explains how the mistake may have

arisen. The interesting point for the present argument is that the mistake was made and was not corrected.

⁴⁰ *Scripta Minos*, Preface, p. 1.

THE CUP IN THE FIRST IDYLL OF THEOCRITUS.

[PLATES XV. XVI]

THE cup which the goatherd in the first Idyll of Theocritus gives to Daphnis as a reward for his song has not attracted very much attention either from commentators or archaeologists. Legrand¹ is content to regard the description as a phantasy composed of reminiscences of various works of art strung together at random. Theocritus, he thinks, not only had no actual cup in his mind, but was even at no pains to visualise the work he describes; hence many of the details mentioned are unintelligible when the work is regarded as a whole, and it is useless to try to reconstruct a cup from the description.

This is an extreme view. Brunn² allows that the poet had some actual cup in his mind, but believes him to have transferred to it descriptions of other works of art, and to have confused the whole by the addition of decoration invented 'nach seiner eigenen Phantasie.' Stripped of these additions, the vessel was a bowl decorated on one side with the woman between her suitors, on the other with the boy in the vineyard, and in the interior with the fisherman. This arrangement corresponds with that of Fritzsche, except that he places the erotic group in the interior, and accounts for the acanthus by supposing it to be placed under the handles like the palmettes of Attic cylices. Chalmers and Edmonds³ on the other hand suppose all the scenes to be on the outside of the cup between the bands of floral decoration, and Flaxman, who seems to have come to the same conclusion, produced from the description given by Theocritus a silver vase resembling a calix-crater, which is now among the English royal plate.⁴ Wilamowitz⁵ alone arranges the scenes as they must, in my opinion, be arranged—that is to say, all in the interior of the cup.

There is, it will be seen, a good deal of uncertainty on the subject, and it seems to me worth while to consider the question in more detail than previous writers have done. It can, I think, be shown that Theocritus had a clear idea of the cup, and that his description, whether it refers to a real cup or not, contains nothing which might not have been found on a vessel made in the third century before Christ.

¹ *Revue des Ét.* p. 222.

² *Sitzungsber. Akad.* 1879, ii. p. 4.

³ *C.R.* 1912, pp. 241 ff. An earlier discussion by Guedechius I have not seen, but I gather that he also arranged all the scenes on

the exterior.

⁴ E. A. Jones, *The Gold and Silver of Windsor Castle*, Pl. LXVI.

⁵ A brief discussion will be found in his *Festschr. d. griech. Bukchsch.* p. 227.

I. Theocritus describes the vessel as,

βαθὺν κισσύβιον κεκλυμένον ἀδὲ κηρῷ
ἀμφότες, ρεστειχῆς, ἐτι γλυφάνοιο ποτόσδον.

Our first duty then is to enquire what a kissybion is, and, in particular, whether the name attached to a cup of any definite shape and, if so, of what shape.

Athenaeus devotes a chapter* to the discussion of the kissybion, in which he states that it was a rustic vessel made of wood and that, according to Philemon, it had one handle. Our particular specimen, however, has two, and the shape probably varied, for we are told that the Aeolians called a scyphos by this name and that Demysius of Samos, commenting on the passage† in which Odysseus gives the Cyclops κισσύβιον μέλανος οἴνοιο, paraphrases the word by κυμβίον. Some indication, however, of the literary use of the word by Theocritus's contemporaries may perhaps be obtained from a criticism which Athenaeus makes on Callimachus. Callimachus used ἀλεισον as a synonym of κισσύβιον,‡ and though Athenaeus, a purist in such matters, complains that in so doing τὴν ἀκριβῆ θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐ διαφυλάττει, we may assume that the two words were to Callimachus very nearly synonymous and denoted vessels of approximately the same shape. Now the ἀλεισον seems from another passage of Athenaeus§ to have resembled a phiale or shallow saucer-shaped dish.

The proof that Theocritus meant a vessel of this shape by his use of the word is not a strong one, but since, as we shall presently see, a cup of this shape is demanded by his description and might have been deduced independently from the account of the ornamentation, the conclusion is satisfactory. We may therefore note that when Theocritus says the κισσύβιον was deep, we are to understand the word to be used comparatively. Its depth is that of a soup-plate, not of a tumbler. That, for a saucer-shaped vessel, it must have been deep, we should also have been able to deduce from the account of the ornamentation.

II. Having thus determined provisionally the shape of the vessel, we may take a brief preliminary survey of the decoration before considering its arrangement on the cup.

The cup has two handles and round its lip

μαρύεται ἐνφῶθι κισσός,
κισσὸς ἐλιγρύνω κεκοινόμενος· ἃ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν
καρπῷ ἔλιξ εἰλεῖται ἀγαλλομένα κροκόεντι.

'Within' (ἐνφῶθεν) is the group of the woman and her two lovers and, besides (or after) them, an old fisherman standing on a rock and gathering

* xi. 476 x, scq.

† *Id.* ix. 246. Athenaeus returns to this comment at xi. 481 x.

‡ For this we must take Athenaeus's word.

In his quotation of the passage it is not clear that the same vessel is meant by Callimachus, but this may have appeared from the context.

§ xi. 782 a.

his net for a cast.¹⁰ Quite near the fisherman is the little boy weaving his locust-cage on the wall of a vineyard while the two foxes plunder his vines and his lunch. All over the cup spreads the pliant acanthus.

First therefore we must consider the character of the floral decoration mentioned at the beginning of the account of the cup. What are the relations of the ivy and the 'helichryse,' and where do they come on the vessel?

The general meaning is clear, says Mr. Cholmeley, 'that ivy and helichryse are mingled' and this is the view held by all recent commentators upon the passage. Fritzsche talks of 'eine Garlande von Ephen und Rainblume,' and the interpretation is an old one. The scholiast talks of ivy and helichryse intertwined, and the imitation of the passage in Virgil¹¹:

lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis
diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos,

suggests that he too took the words so. The *Etymologicum Magnum* is also of this opinion,¹² and Nonnus, in a passage usually quoted as an imitation of Theocritus, says¹³

τὸν περὶ χεῖλεος ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀμπελόεντι καρήνῃ
† κισσὸς ἔλαξ χρυσέῃ δὲ πέριξ δαυδάλλετο κόσμῳ. †

Helichryse is, according to Fritzsche, 'unsere Rainblume, auch wohl Immortelle genannt, gnaphalium stoechas' and he refers to a plate showing the plant known in English as Goldilocks. The botanical question must be left to more competent judges, but it would appear that helichryse is the name of one or more of the species to which the name has in modern times been given as generic. They have for the most part yellow flowers and slender leaves.

Now it is to be observed that Virgil, and perhaps also Nonnus, have modified the description of Theocritus in that they speak of ivy intertwined, not with a flower, but with another climbing plant, the vine; and it is obviously much easier to imagine an ornamental wreath of two climbing plants combined than of ivy mingled with flowers.¹⁴ Still, such wreaths were used at banquets¹⁵ and Ovid is content with an embroidered border which

nexilibus flores hederis habet intertextos.¹⁶

so that the interpretation cannot be condemned on this ground even though examples of such composite floral motives cannot be found in the extant remains of Greek art. Supposing them not to belong to art, we could

¹⁰ *ἐν βόλῳ ἔλατ*. The commentators translate 'for a catch' which seems to me inferior both in point of Greek and in sense.

¹¹ *Ecl.* iii. 38 f.

¹² s.v. *ἔλαξ*.

¹³ xix. 25.

¹⁴ A combination of ivy and vine could be paralleled from pottery: it occurs for example

on the neck of an Etruscan stamnos in Munich, (811) but it is certainly very rare: vine leaves, grapes, and ivy leaves on same stem on an Etruscan mirror, *Ess. Mus.* xxvii. p. 285.

¹⁵ *Ath.* xv. 679 v. For helichryse in garlands cf. *Ath.* xv. 689 a seq., *Dioscorides* iv. 57.

¹⁶ *Mec.* vi. 128.

always fall back on the view of Legrand or Brunn and suppose this decoration to have been drawn from the poet's imagination.

Assuming therefore that ivy and helichryse are intertwined, how are we to translate the lines 30-31?

κισσός ἐλιχρύσῳ κεκοιμένος ἃ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν
καρπῷ ἔλιξ εἰλείται ἡγαλλομένα κροκόντι.

Κεκοιμένος ought to mean 'dusted' or 'spotted,' and in what sense can an ivy wreath be 'dusted' with another flower? The scholiast who says συμπεπλεγμένος, κεχρισμένος explains what in his opinion the word ought to mean but not how it should mean any such thing. In the *Etymologicum Magnum*, where the passage is quoted, some MSS have the hardly more satisfactory κεκολλημένος which is interpreted συμπεπλεγμένος, and appears to be a desperate attempt to emend the passage to the desired meaning.¹⁷ Modern emendations are hardly more satisfactory: κεκλισμένος, κεκορημένος, κεκραμένος, κεχρυσμένος, have all been suggested, but have neither deserved nor met with much approval.¹⁸

Nor are explanations of the word much more satisfactory. Salmasius proposed to abandon the view that helichryse was a flower and to interpret the passage as referring to *hederæ auripigmento conspersa*. A few scholars followed him, but since there is no real evidence that ἐλιχρύσος means *auripigmentum*, the view has been abandoned by all modern critics.¹⁹ Fritzsche translates the word correctly enough 'bestäubt,' but hardly persuades us that this '=*aus dem Ephen blicken die Blätter der Rainblume hervor*.'²⁰ Cholmeley translates (rather disingenuously) 'painted o'er,'²¹ hazards an odd conjecture that the ivy is dusted over with the pollen of the helichryse, and finally wonders whether Theocritus uses the verb in a somewhat new sense.

Nor are our difficulties at an end with κεκοιμένος, for the words

ἃ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν
καρπῷ ἔλιξ εἰλείται ἡγαλλομένα κροκόντι

have given much trouble. To say that the ivy-tendrils winds either along the helichryse or along the ivy, rejoicing in saffron fruit (of which we have heard nothing before), has been felt by commentators to be awkward, and various explanations have been put forward. Ahrens, followed by Hiller and Cholmeley, supposed that 'opposite to' the first band of decoration is another band of ivy with fruit, but this explanation is open to the gravest objection, since it precludes the possibility of any plausible arrangement of the rest of the decoration. Others have thought that ἔλιξ means the variety of ivy so called, and have regarded the wreath as composed of two kinds of ivy and of helichryse. Edmonds postulates ἐλίχρυσος as a feminine to which he may

¹⁷ κεκοιμένος is preserved in *Et. Mag.* s.v. *κροκόντι*, with an absurd explanation.

¹⁸ Wilamowitz (*Festschr.* p. 228) rightly emphasises the point that there are no real variants in the tradition.

¹⁹ A discussion will be found in Meincke's

note on the passage; see also Wilamowitz *Festschr.* p. 228.

²⁰ This explanation is retained by Hiller in the Fritzsche-Hiller edition.

²¹ Similarly Edmonds 'ivy fringed with a safflower.'

refer *ἀ*, and translates, taking *ἐκ* as an adjective, 'cassidary which goes twisting and twining among the leaves in the pride of her saffron fruitage.' But flowers woven into wreaths do not 'go twisting and twining.' Conjecture is easy but not very convincing: *κατ' αὐτῶν* (sc. *τῶν χειλῶν*), *κατ' ὅθεν*, *κατ' ὅτων* have been proposed. Wilamowitz,²² after a long discussion, despairs of the passage, and it is clear that some new explanation is badly needed.²³

Let us therefore begin from the other end and consider briefly the history of ivy as a decorative motive in Greek pottery. The commonest form is that in which two rows of ivy-leaves are set base to base, usually with a straight line running between them to represent the ivy stem. The line is sometimes undulated, and, more rarely, omitted altogether. The leaves are not connected with each other or with the stem (Fig. 1).²⁴



FIG. 1.—IYV PATTERN; EARLY FORM.

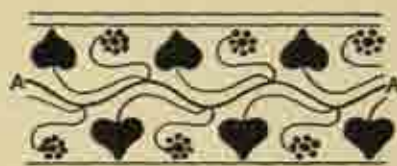


FIG. 2.—IYV PATTERN; LATER FORM.

This pattern is extremely common, especially in the later b.-f. period, and occurs most frequently on lids of amphorae, on the flat sides of amphora handles, and as a frame at the sides of the panels on hydriae and sometimes of oenochoes and craters. The design is perhaps not consciously stylistic, for it is habitually used also to represent actual sprays and wreaths of ivy on the vases.

The development of this pattern need not be traced in detail. The main steps are the addition of stalks connecting leaves with stem,²⁵ a more realistic disposition of the leaves in relation to the stem, and the addition of fruit, first as dots or groups of dots formally disposed among the leaves but unattached to the stem,²⁶ and then finally attached to the stem by stalks which alternate with the leaf-stalks (Fig. 2). This final stage is reached already in the b.-f. period,²⁷ but it is rare both in b.-f. and in

²² *Teopischichte* pp. 223 ff.

²³ Copeck translates the lines:

When kids do seem to browse,
The berries creep, and wanton in the boughs.
The key to this mysterious version probably lies in the ambiguity of the Latin word *exprenderet*.

²⁴ I omit here occasional variants of the pattern with disconnected leaves which may be found here and there—chiefly on vases of Indian or Etruscan fabric.

²⁵ E.g. Brit. Mus. B 294 (crater by Nikosthenes), Munich 1682 (b.-f. hydria), Vienna, Hofm. 288, 289, 291 (b.-f. amphorae) Kunst.-a.-Ind. Mus. 279, Würzburg 189 (b.-f. cups).

²⁶ E.g. Brit. Mus. B 413, Munich 2135, Vienna, Hofm. 307, Würzburg 181 (b.-f. cups);

the first two by Hecatomnes), Louvre F 9, Munich 1684, 1698 (b.-f. hydriae), Berlin 1696 (b.-f. amphora). There are many variants of this pattern; for example, a form with symmetrically recurved leaf-stalks and with dots close to main stem appears on a sherd of b.-f. elpae: Brit. Mus. B 474, Louvre F 334, Vienna, Hofm. 299, and several in the Museo Civico, Bologna.

²⁷ E.g. Munich 1745 (b.-f. oenochoe) Brit. Mus. B 379, 380 (Ionian or Chalcidian cups). The pattern probably comes from Ionia as it occurs in very elaborate form on Caeretan hydriae: Louvre E 588, 599 cf. Endl. *Ion. Vasamal.* p. 4 figs. 1-4, 6.

r.f.²⁸ until we come to the Italian fabrics, when, together with the same pattern without the fruit-stalks, it practically ousts the earlier forms.

The examples of our patterns vary a good deal in details (such as the disposition of the stalks on the stem), but the main features are the same. These two patterns are unquestionably those which were in common use in Theocritus's time, and they are not confined to pottery. I reproduce two examples of the pattern from silver vessels (Plate XV); the first is a small silver amphora from Bagni di Vicarello, now in the British Museum, the second, one of six bowls of different sizes found at Hildesheim, and now in the Berlin Antiquarium.²⁹ On *a priori* grounds, therefore, we should expect one of these two patterns to be that mentioned by Theocritus if his words could be explained on that hypothesis.

Fortunately, Suidas and Zonaras give us the required assistance: their gloss on the word ἐλίχρυσος runs as follows:—

ἐλίχρυσος· τὸ τοῦ κίσσου ἄνθος· ἀνθὲι ἐλίχρυσου ἐναλίγκιος.³⁰

This gloss at once reconciles Theocritus's description with what we know to have been the common form of decorative ivy in use in his day—ivy dotted with its fruit, along which the undulating main ivy-stem (marked A in Fig. 2) winds, rejoicing in the yellow fruit which springs from it on either side. Given the fact that the fruit is represented by dots and that ἐλίχρυσος refers to these dots, the metaphor in κεκοιμήσας becomes immediately intelligible.

This band of decoration then runs along the lip of the cup. The description is not precise as to whether it is inside or outside, but on the whole favours the view that it is outside, and here we should probably place it.³¹

III. This ivy-pattern has necessitated a digression. We may now consider the arrangement of the three scenes which form part of the ornamentation. They are said to be 'within,' and it is natural to take these words as meaning 'within the cup.' Those who suppose there to be two bands of floral decoration on the outside of the vessel (translating κατ' αὐτόν

²⁸ Good r.f. examples: two cups by the Bouchoffles Master (Munich 2683, 2689; *Fav. Alb.* 6 and 55), the German Master's large amphora (Berlin 2890; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. XV and XVI.), Louvre hydria G 49. The pattern also occurs in black on r.f. vases: e.g. Vienna, Hofm. 482, 495 (r.f. vases).

²⁹ A variant of the pattern occurs on a silver alabastron from Thessaly (*Alb. Mus.* 1912, Pl. III.) and inlaid in silver on a bronze cup in the Berlin Museum.

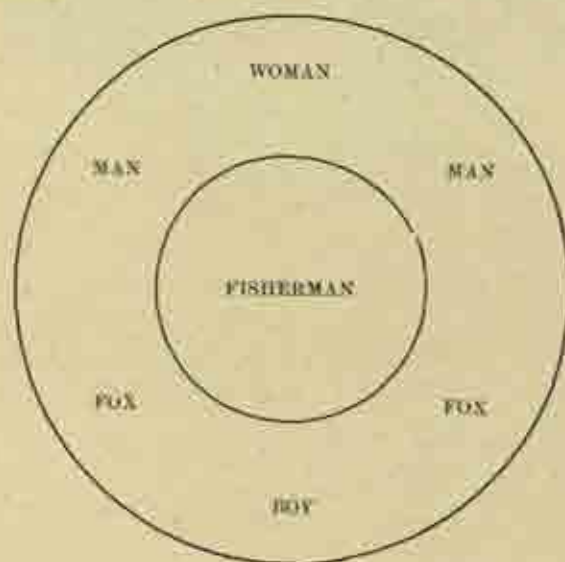
³⁰ Nonnus's ἡμετέρας ἀέρας suggests that he may have understood Theocritus's ἐλίχρυσος in this sense, but the corruption makes inference uncertain. The fact that Suidas says ἄνθος, not ἄνθη, though in itself immaterial (since ivy

flowers and fruit might easily be confused), shows that his comment is not a deduction from Theocritus. Moreover the last three words seem to be meant for an illustrative quotation from some other source. In the known pattern the dot probably represents fruit.

³¹ Bands of ivy and other floral patterns are, however, common on the inside edge of S. Italian cups and plates—especially of black Campanian ware—so that the pattern may conceivably occupy this position on Theocritus's cup. This is Wilamowitz's view (*Textgesch.* p. 227): I cannot, however, assent to the statement that to place the wreath outside the cup is 'eine willkürliche Einteilung.'

as 'opposite this') place the scenes between the two and account for *ἐντροχίῳ* in this way. But even supposing that *ἐντροχίῳ* could bear this construction, the difficulties involved are too great to admit of the interpretation. In the first place it is clear from the enumeration of the three scenes that they are all close together, and the reconstructions which place one in the interior and two on the outside of the cup, are condemned by the language used by Theocritus. Now a cup with two handles is divided on the outside into two fields for decoration, and it would only be possible to include the three scenes enumerated by a complete sacrifice of the symmetry which demands that the two sides shall be at least approximately balanced. In the second place two of the three scenes form, as Wilamowitz has rightly seen, suitable and symmetrical pendants to each other; the woman between two men is balanced well enough by the boy between two foxes, but if the third scene is to be accommodated on the outside of the cup, this balance is hopelessly disturbed. In the third place such an arrangement leaves no room for the *anathus* which is said to cover the whole cup and must naturally be supposed to come on the outside. But on this theory, it can only be inserted with the utmost difficulty, for the outside is already occupied with two bands of floral decoration and with the three scenes.

However, we have seen that there is no reason to suppose more than one band of ornament, and that the difficulties of the lines in which it is described are far from being insuperable. It follows therefore that the scenes must be within the cup, nor does the arrangement of them there offer much difficulty. Two of the three scenes, as has been said, present a balance which, if not perfect, is at least reasonable enough, and these two scenes must be placed as pendants. The third scene—the fisherman—comes between these two in the description. We may therefore arrange the interior decoration with some confidence thus:—



Theocritus describes the interior of the cup quite naturally as follows: Inside is a woman and two men, and besides them (τοῖς μέτα)²² an old man gathering his net for a cast, and, quite near the old man (τὸν δ' ὄσσον ἄποθεν), a boy and two foxes.

A word or two may be said as to this arrangement of the interior before we proceed to discuss the actual scenes represented. First, the position of the fishing scene in the centre of the cup, though it is dictated by the balanced correspondence of the two other scenes, might have been deduced independently, for this is the commonest position for aquatic subjects on Greek drinking vessels. By a natural, if not very logical idea of appropriateness, these scenes are so placed that they are seen through the liquid



FIG. 3.—INTERIOR OF APULIAN PHIALE.

when the cup is in use, and the fish appear as though in their own element. This convention is not confined to the earlier Attic ware. Two r.-f. cups²³ and a bronze ladle from Priene²⁴ actually have a scene of a fisherman in this

²² Or τοῖς μετὰ . . . ἄποθεν. But the *μέτα* printed by Heinscke and Ahrens is not open to the objection of Fritzsche as *die ganze Darsel lung stört*.

²³ Hartwig, *Melisserschalen*, Pl. V. (Chachry-

lion) and Fig. 8 (= B.M. E 108: later work). See *ib.* p. 58.

²⁴ Now in the Berlin Antiquarium (Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, Fig. 296).

position, and the central medallions of Calene phialae and of metal vessels, representing aquatic creatures, are too familiar to need more than passing mention here.²⁵

Secondly, as to the arrangement of the other two scenes, a circular band of decoration which is all visible at the same time and is not broken by the handles or other structural parts of the vase, is usually filled with a composition forming a more or less continuous whole. There are however examples, especially in the later Greek and Italian fabrics of painted pottery, where the frieze is broken up into two or three panels. A good example is an Apulian phiale²⁶ in the British Museum (Fig. 3) which has on the one half of the interior a woman and two men, and on the other a similar group of a man and two women. The two panels are in this case separated by palmettes, and it is possible, though not necessary, to imagine some such decoration separating the two scenes on the cup we are discussing.

The interior of our cup has thus to accommodate three scenes. The technique of the work described must be discussed later, and it is sufficient to say that this interior decoration postulates a broad shallowish bowl in order that the scenes may be properly displayed. This is the shape which we have already seen reason to ascribe to the cup on other grounds.

IV. The three scenes which form the interior decoration of the cup do not call for very much comment. Perhaps only the fisherman can be exactly illustrated from extant monuments, but the other two scenes are natural enough products of the Hellenistic age.

As to the woman and her lovers, a group of three persons in conversation is a subject suitable for the decoration of the space here to be filled, and it occurs with ever increasing frequency on the similarly shaped field outside later Attic r.-f. cups²⁷; the tendency to sentiment is of course characteristic of the pictures on the later Attic and Italian vases. The little boy in the vineyard is also a natural product of late Greek art, and though the monuments have not preserved many examples of bucolic genre of exactly this kind, there is sufficient to assure us that the conception need not be a mere phantasy of the poet's.²⁸ As foxes are not common in Greek art I reproduce a good and appropriate specimen from a gem in the Ashmolean Museum²⁹ (Fig. 4). The fisherman descends from b.-f. vases right through to

²⁵ For metal vessels I may mention a bronze patera with Scylla (B.M. 682); another with a Triton (Bibl. Nat. 1428); a silver phiale with Eros on a sea-monster (B.M. unatalogued); a silver cylix with a woman on a sea-monster (*Jahrbuch*, xzv, p. 219) and the bronze phiale (B.M. 884) reproduced below (Pl. XVI).

²⁶ F 46L. Another good example, Munich 8274. This breaking up of the circular frieze seems to be especially common on the lids of pyxides. See Reinach, *Repert.* I, 32, 474, 476, 477, II, 2 and 3. An example on the interior of an earlier cup is the Phileus cylix at

Würzburg.

²⁷ E.g. Brit. Mus. E 95, Munich 2999 and, still later, Louvre G 641; all show a woman between two men.

²⁸ E.g. the Louvre relief of a shepherd teasing his dog with a dead hare. As to such gentle scenes on cups, I may mention the very remarkable plaster model for part of a cup found at Memphis which represents a woman milking a reindeer cow (Rehmschön, *Hellenist. Silbergesch.*, T. xiv.).

²⁹ Chalcedony intaglio from Trikkha in Thessaly: Ashmolean 1892. 1494. Mr. D. G.

Roman times. Perhaps the best illustration of Theocritus is to be found on the incised bronze phiale in the British Museum which I reproduce (Pl. XVI). In the centre of the design at the top will be seen a man with a net about to make a cast; balancing this at the bottom is a man drawing in his net full of fish.⁴⁰

The costume of the fisherman in Greek art is either the exomis or merely a loin-cloth; if Theocritus's fisherman wears the exomis, the special reference to the muscles of the neck is appropriate, since the exomis leaves the neck and shoulder bare but covers the rest of the body.



FIG. 4.—INTAGLIO IN THE ASHMOLLEAN MUSEUM (2:1).

The three scenes depicted on the goatherd's cup are thus all quite characteristic of the art of the age. They are all genre-scenes, two of them

Hogarth, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish the gem, dates it first century B.C. Cautiarms, fox and bunch of grapes on coins of Alopeconnesia, fox eating bunch of grapes as *epicurus* on the Crates cup in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Hartwig, *Meistertisch*, Fig. 14), foxes as *epicurus* on three craters (see *J.H.S.*, xxx, p. 62), fox caught in gin (Schreiber, *Atlas*, lxxx, 31. On *g-ma*, Hemicles and fox (Furtwängler, *Ant. Gamm.*, vii, 54), fox and store (ib. xi, 7, xii, 13), running fox (Bartholomew Club *Cat. of Ancient Greek Art*, 1894, Pl. CXII, 0 95 a). My friend Mr. J. D. Beazley calls my attention to the fox on the Vatican Aesop cup (phot. Mémont 8001). Grotesque figure with fox or dog in vineyard on a Cabaillon cotyle in Dresden. Vineyards are not very uncommon, especially on *b.-f.* vases.

* The history of fishing scenes, as far as I have been able to trace it, is as follows. The earliest and commonest scene represents a man (or in the earliest examples a god) fishing from a rock with a rod: *Ellis Ols.* iii, 14, 75 (b.-f. vases), Hartwig, *Meistertisch*, T. v. and Fig. 8, *Arch.-Epig. Mittheil. aus Österreich*, 1879, T. iii. (c.-f. vases), small silver vase with reliefs

in the British Museum, *Bulletin Arch. du Comité d. Travaux Hist. et Scient.* 1893, Pl. X. (silver ladle from Oberhof), Wiegand and Schreiber, *Friese*, Fig. 296 (bronze ladle), *B.C.H.*, viii, Pl. IV, 128 (leaden tessera). This type is reproduced in sculpture: British Museum, Ince Blundell, Naples, etc. Fishing scenes with nets are, as far as I know, late. A polychrome *amphora* from Cyrenaea in the Louvre has a drag-net scene (Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict.*, Fig. 5933), net scenes combined with rod-scenes occur on the Hellenist's phiale here reproduced, on a wall-painting (Schreiber, *Atlas*, lxxv, 4) and Roman lamp (Brit. Mus. 527) and net-scenes alone on a relief (Schreiber, *H.R.*, lxxix, 1; cast-net) and a Roman lamp (Brit. Mus. 170; drag-net). The net with a handle, seen on the phiale reproduced, occurs again in the field of the silver ladle mentioned above. There are also several genre figures of fishermen in sculpture (Brunn-Brockmann 164, Collignon, *Sc. Gr.* ii, pp. 564 f.). The drawing from which my illustration is taken (*Cat. Brunn*, No. 584 = Fig. 25) has been kindly lent by the Trustees of the British Museum.

depicting the kind of life which is described in the *Idylls*,⁴¹ while the third, the disdainful woman wooed by two lovers, finds many echoes in the situations displayed in the *Idylls*. The cup, if it existed, would be a characteristic work of the Hellenistic period.

V. The decoration of the cup has now been discussed except for one detail which Theocritus mentions last. This is the acanthus, which, since it

πυρρὰ ἀμφὶ δέπας περιπέπταται,

must be placed on the exterior, in addition to the band of ivy which we have already assigned to that position. Now it is possible to conceive of the acanthus decorating a cup in two different forms; it might cover the whole body of the vessel with arabesque-like scrolls and volutes, or it might be represented in large leaves starting up from the base of the cup. The former pattern goes back to the required antiquity,⁴² and may be seen on several of the silver vases from Hildesheim and Boscoreale. It is however more suitable for deep vessels, craters and the like, and does not readily harmonise with the band of formal floral ornament with which the upper part of our cup is decorated. The other form, besides suiting the word *περιπέπταται* better, has the advantage of being a very characteristic decoration of certain relief ware which goes back to the third century, and it is to be preferred for a reconstruction of Theocritus's cup. The Megarian bowls, which are a close imitation in pottery of metal work, are very constantly decorated with long leaves of acanthus and other plants which radiate from a rosette on the foot and are sometimes bordered at the lip of the cup by bands of formal ornament, scrolls or wreaths.⁴³ This method of decoration is sometimes supposed to be of Egyptian origin,⁴⁴ but, however this may be, it is certainly common in Hellenistic art and descends to Roman times. It may be seen on very many Megarian bowls and their Roman imitations, and in silver on two vessels of similar shape from the Hildesheim treasure,⁴⁵ and on two jugs from Boscoreale.⁴⁶

The outside of the cup then has acanthus leaves radiating from the base over the sides and, above, a band of ivy. This decoration postulates a phiale of some depth, for in the flattest forms of this shape so much exterior decoration would be wasted. As we have seen, Theocritus calls attention to the depth of the cup, though we have also seen reason to suppose that its depth is comparative rather than absolute.

VI. The form of the vessel is now determined; it is a deep saucer with two handles decorated on the interior with three scenes, and on the outside with vegetable motives of two different kinds. Has any vessel survived from antiquity to give us an idea of this shape?

⁴¹ Fishermen are represented only in xxi, but compare three epigrams by Leonidas (*Anth. Pal.* vi, 4, vii 293, 294).

⁴² See A. Hekler, *Jahrbuch*, 1909, p. 32.

⁴³ Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, ii, 490.

⁴⁴ Héron de Villefosse in *Mon. Piot.* v., p. 199.

⁴⁵ Winter and Dornow, *Hild. Silberf.* Pl. VI.

⁴⁶ *Mon. Piot.* v. Pl. III. and IV.

The cup in question appears to me to be most nearly represented by a silver drinking vessel found in the Hildesheim treasure.⁴⁷ This cup is either a Hellenistic original or a Roman copy of a Hellenistic piece, for the Athena which forms the central medallion closely resembles that on the coins of Attalus.⁴⁸ The shape of this cup may be seen from the accompanying figure (Fig. 5). The body of the cup is covered with long narrow leaves, probably of myrtle, which start from the base of the cup above the foot and end at the beaded line just below the lip. The lower part of the foot is decorated with an anthemion border. The interior is occupied with a central medallion of unusually large size showing Athena seated on a rock. The interior of the sides is covered with a palmette pattern.

The cup described by Theocritus I imagine to differ from this specimen in having the sides decorated with acanthus instead of myrtle, and it is probably rather deeper in proportion to its size, so as to accommodate, above the acanthus, the ivy-pattern in place of the simple bead here used. In the interior, the central medallion will be smaller (in the Hildesheim cup it is so large as to be out of proportion),⁴⁹ and on either side of it will be two strips



FIG. 5.—SILVER CUP IN THE HILDESHEIM TREASURE.

of frieze containing the other scenes. Of the foot of the cup Theocritus makes no mention, and we should probably conceive of it as much lower than in the Hildesheim specimen. Many of the cups of this period rest directly on the ground without any foot at all, and where a foot occurs, it varies in elaborateness from a simple narrow circle to the ornamental base of the Hildesheim cup which approximates to the stem of a cylix. If Theocritus's cup had a foot at all, it was no doubt of the simpler form.

VII. It appears therefore as the result of these enquiries that Theocritus may be acquitted of the charges brought against him by Legrand and Brunn. His conception of the shape and decoration of the cup is logical and reasonable, and he describes it in terms which need not involve any inconsistency. Two questions however remain, and to these the answer cannot be given

⁴⁷ Winter and Pernice, *op. cit.* Pl. I. and text.

⁴⁸ *Arch. Anz.* 1897, p. 127.

⁴⁹ Rahmsdorf, *Hellenistische Silbergeräthe*

Pl. I., shows a plaster model for the interior of repoussé metal cup with a small head of Athena surrounded by a broad lotus and palmette band, outside which is a small frieze of ducks.

so confidently. First, what does Theocritus conceive as the technique of the cup, and is this technique possible in itself and consistent with the rest of the account? Secondly, was he thinking of a real work of art which he had seen, or is he inventing a cup, which, though it might have existed (as we have seen), yet never did exist outside his imagination? These questions may now be discussed in order.

The cup, says Theocritus, is a *kyssibion*. It has been waxed and still smacks of the *γλύφανος* with which it was made. It is then certainly of wood.⁵⁰

The other indications of technique are more obscure. The muscles of the old man's neck are said to be swollen, the lovers have swollen eyes, the flowers of the ivy are saffron coloured and the old man has white hair. The question, however, is complicated by the fact that these descriptions may be the poet's embroidery on the themes suggested by a work of art.

When Theocritus says that the two lovers quarrel with each other in alternate speeches,⁵¹ and that the object of their affections now glances smiling at the one and now turns her attention to the other, he follows the example set by Homer in elaborating the scene with details that the work of art may indeed suggest to the imaginative observer but which it cannot possibly represent.⁵² Similarly art shows us a fox eating grapes or in an attitude suggesting motion; Theocritus tell us that the fox 'is going to and fro (*φοιτῶ*) damaging the vines.' A similar effort of the imagination enables him to interpret the intentions of the other fox as expressed by its attitude. Once only in the descriptions of these three scenes does he recall the fact that it is a work of art he is describing and not the real scene.⁵³

Thus if any one should choose to maintain that all the details set down above as indications of technique are really due to the poet's imaginative interpretation of the scene he is picturing, it would be impossible to produce definite evidence to the contrary. My opinion is however that the swollen muscles of the fishermen do definitely imply a certain technique, more especially as they are mentioned precisely at the moment when Theocritus has recalled the fact that it is an artistic representation he is depicting. The swollen eyes of the lovers are much more problematic, but, on the strength of the former instance, I conclude without much hesitation that the

⁵⁰ So Virgil's are *faginas* (*Ecl.* II. 37).

⁵¹ I do not understand why Wilamowitz (*Theocritus*, p. 227, cf. p. 228) translates *ἀναλλάξ* 'an beiden Seiten'.

⁵² The shield of Achilles is full of these extraneous details (e.g. *Il.* xviii. 493, *ῥαχὴν δ' ὀδύνην ὀδύνην*) and once only, when we are told that the earth grows black behind the plough, does the author recollect that he is exceeding the limits of strict description (546). The author of the Hesiodic Shield, though he repeats the phrase quoted above (274) and is generally ready to imagine sounds, yet tells us

that the Muses are *ἀργὴ μάλα κούρουσι δαίμονα* (206), and is on the whole cautious in describing motion. His son is *ἐκφύωντος ἱκέτας* (209), his dolphins *εὐχόμεναι ἱκέτας* (211 cf. Moschus, *Euc.* 47), his fisherman *ἐπαρριφάντι δαίμονα* (215), and Perseus *σπυρίωντι καὶ ἀρριφάντι δαίμονα* (228). Similarly his women 'appear to be alive' (244) and his chariot race is 'eternally unfinished' (310).

⁵³ *Id.* 41, 42.

ἀδμονεὶ τὸ καρτερεῖ δολφὶ ἔκαστος.
φαίγῃ αἶψ' ὅλως καὶ ἵερ' ὀφείας Ἰαλόντων.
ἄδῃ αὖ γῆθεοντι κατ' ἀόχλην κάρτερος ἵερ' α.τ.λ.

scenes are supposed to be in relief. This view is supported by the word *ὑγρός* applied to the acanthus, which suggests, though it does not necessarily involve, plastic treatment. The question of colour is open to more doubt. The white hair of the old man obviously cannot be pressed since the word *παλιός* had been used figuratively in the sense of 'old' long before Theocritus's time. The colour of the ivy fruit²⁴ might easily be explained as one of the imaginative turns already discussed, and if any one choose to interpret it in this way I shall have nothing to say against the view. The ivy is however gilt on the silver amphora mentioned above,²⁵ and the ivy fruit is often painted yellow on the pottery. The facts therefore support us in taking the words in the literal sense which they seem most naturally to suggest, and I incline to suppose that they were actually yellow.

The cup then is decorated with reliefs and possibly coloured; it is also of wood. Are these two facts consistent? On the whole I believe that they are not. Cups of wood carved in relief no doubt existed, but it is difficult to imagine a wooden cup carved with elaborate reliefs in the interior. The cup was meant for use, for the goatherd says that he has never yet made use of it, and finely worked reliefs are surely impossible on the interior of any vessel the material of which is not entirely impervious to liquids. The question cannot be definitely settled, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Theocritus is transferring to the rustic wooden cup a description drawn from the elaborate cups of more permanent and valuable materials with which he, as a town dweller and frequenter of the houses of the rich, was familiar. The minuteness of the details described seems almost to preclude in itself the use of wood and to postulate some harder material.

I conclude, therefore, on the whole that Theocritus has conceived his work of art in metal (in which case it would be among the prototypes of the numerous surviving metal cups), and then assigned it to the goatherd,²⁶ to whom, after all, so elaborate and artistic a piece of work is hardly appropriate even if it be of wood. As a natural consequence of the use to which Theocritus puts the cup, he has to change the material and state that it is made of the substance of which the cups of the rustics were in fact made. The elaborate description of the cup is not very appropriate to the context in which the poet has placed it, and it need not surprise us to find a further inconsistency of this kind.

VII. Theocritus conceives of the cup as made of metal and perhaps gilt. The remaining question, whether he is describing an actual work which he had seen, is one which cannot be altogether evaded although it is impossible to arrive at any final conclusion or even at any confident opinion.

The cup, as we have seen, may well have existed, for it corresponds

²⁴ I say nothing of *σευδαῖα ἀνθοῖαι* in l. 46 as the meaning of the adjective is uncertain.

²⁵ No trace of gilding remains on the silver bowls from Hildesheim but a polychrome effect

is obtained by inlaying the pattern as in mille work.

²⁶ This seems also to be the opinion of Wilamowitz (*Teopokh.* p. 227).

closely enough to what we know of the art of Theocritus's own time. There are nevertheless some grounds for supposing that the poet was inventing a cup in accordance with the products of the artists of his day rather than describing an actual specimen. This opinion, if it be held, must rest upon the similarities between parts of Theocritus's description and details contained in the two accounts of shields in the Epic.

The cup contained three scenes: two men quarrelling in the presence of their mistress, an old man fishing, and a vineyard scene. Now the *Shield of Achilles* contains a scene of two men quarrelling⁵⁷ and a vineyard⁵⁸ scene, and the *Shield of Heracles* repeats the latter of these⁵⁹ and adds a man fishing.⁶⁰ Theocritus, as a close student of the Epic, which he imitates in other Idylls, cannot have been ignorant of these two descriptions, but it is not easy to decide whether he had them prominently in his mind at the time when he was composing the cup.

The circumstances of the quarrel in Homer are certainly quite different; there the dispute is concerned with the payment of a blood price, and except that the scene is a *véikos* it has little enough in common with the quarrel in Theocritus. It is however conceivably not without significance that Theocritus, departing here from strict description and mentioning actions which take place consecutively, speaks of them as taking place *ἀμολαδῆς*, the word with which Homer describes the action of the elders. The vineyard scenes also of the elder poets do not much suggest direct imitation by Theocritus, for both are describing the vintage. Homer speaks of

σταφυλῆσι μέγα βρίθουσιν ἀλωήν . . . μέλανε δ' ἀνὰ βότρυες ἦσαν,

and the other poet, who imitates him closely,

ὄρχος . . . βριθόμενος σταφυλῆσι μελάνθησάν γε μὲν αἶδε.

If Theocritus tells us that *πυρραῖαι σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἀλωά*, this similarity of phrase, like the other mentioned above, might be due to coincidence (since it is not particularly noteworthy in itself) or might again be caused by Theocritus fitting the phraseology of the older poets to the description of an actual work before him.⁶¹

The Hesiodic account of the fisherman

αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄκταις
ἦστο ἀνὴρ ἄλιός τεδοκήμενος· εἶχε δὲ χερσὶν
ἰχθύσιν ἀμφίβληστρον ἀπορρίποντι εἰκόων,

undoubtedly reminds one strongly of the account in Theocritus, but, as has been said, the fishing scene has a long history in Greek art and the central scene of Theocritus's cup can be illustrated even from extant monuments, so that

⁵⁷ *Il.* xviii. 497-502.

⁵⁸ *Id.* 561-572.

⁵⁹ *Hes. Scut.* 291-300.

⁶⁰ *Id.* 207-215.

⁶¹ Of the three words common to the three

descriptions—σταφυλή, βριθεῖν, δακτύ—σταφυλή alone is not used elsewhere by Theocritus (*σταφυλὴ* xxvii. 9). The coincidence of words is suspicious but not conclusive.

Theocritus might certainly have seen such a piece without turning to poetry for his inspiration.

The introduction of this disproportionately long incident into the first idyll is distinctly in the Epic manner, and this fact, in conjunction with the verbal similarities, does suggest that Theocritus had these two poems in his mind when he wrote.⁶² Whether he also had in his mind a cup on which these three scenes occurred, or whether he was combining in his account reminiscences of other works of art not so connected,⁶³ or whether finally he is dependent on his imagination and the earlier literature, is a question on which I shall express no opinion. It suffices to say that if he depends on the literary tradition only, he has made the earlier descriptions so much his own that the resultant cup is a perfectly possible product of Alexandrian art.

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⁶² Hiller (*ad* 46) holds the resemblances to the Epic sufficient to prove that Theocritus had no extant work in his mind. I cannot assent to this view.

⁶³ It is to be noted that I have found no parallel from Theocritus's times of a cup with three scenes disposed in the interior as they are

disposed in Theocritus's cup. The arrangement does not, however, seem to me impossible or even improbable, and our knowledge of Alexandrian silver and metal work is extremely scanty, so that I am unwilling to base any conclusion on the absence of examples.

THE LEGEND OF CADMUS AND THE LOGOGRAPHI.—II.

§ 2.—THE ERRORS OF THE GREEKS—*ἱστορίη*.

THUS far I have tried to show that the fully developed legend of Cadmus the Phoenician does not appear before the fifth century. This of course leads to no certain conclusion. Apart from the possibility (which I think an unlikely one) that the fragmentary state of our knowledge of the earlier writers forbids our coming to any conclusion, however tentative, on a subject like the present, it is still possible that the fifth century writers represent an older and better tradition than the poets before them.¹ There is no more unproductive idea than that which assumes that every story bears the date of the writer who preserves it. We find Pausanias especially citing legends which are manifestly older and truer than many told by earlier writers, and Asius the Samian—to take a parallel case—giving a better version of a Boeotian myth than the local Pindar.² But if it can be shown that writers of the fifth century, Herodotus and the logographi, were less interested in local tradition than in learned theory, especially when the latter was based on researches in foreign countries, we do then get some probability for the view that a statement found in them, but in no earlier writer, may be theory and not tradition. To do this we must get some idea of their methods.

The object of the logographi, according to the now generally received opinion, was only to write down the legends of the Epic in prose: 'es war ihre Hauptaufgabe, den vorhandenen Sagenstoff in Prosa wiederzugeben, so dass sich ihre Werke dem Inhalte nach nicht wesentlich von

¹ A very likely contingency unless the logographi were especially given to theory, as I maintain; yet one overlooked by Crinias, who supposes them always to be drawing from old epic sources. Indeed when he says at the conclusion of his article (p. 889), 'durch die oben gegebene Entwicklung des Materials ist diesen Hypothesen (the Eastern origin of Cadmus) von vornherein der Boden entzogen. Die ältesten Zeugnisse kennen Cadmos nur in Böotien und wissen nichts von seinem Verhältnisse zur Europa und zum Phöniz, oder gar von seinem Phöniz-

kertum,' we may remark with Macan on a passage in Herodotus (iv. 189) that 'clearly the statement is an inference not a tradition; but it may be a sound inference, even though he was hardly entitled to make it.'

² If the Boeoti are really new-comers into Boeotia as is probable, the best instances of early and local writers giving what is presumably only a pragmatic form of a story are Hesiod (Fr. 4) ed. Rzach, 1902) saying that Oenestus, and Corinna (Fr. 31) that Ogygis, was a son of Boeotus.

den epischen Chroniken unterschieden';³ a conclusion reached by the simple method of combining two contradictory statements in different authors, with no regard paid to the context in which they occur or to the character of the writers, and then applying to all the logographi what is specifically said of only one. Clement of Alexandria said Aensilaus turned Hesiod into prose; Josephus that he differed considerably from him: hence the aim of all writers of this class was to write down the material of the Epic with some variations of more or less importance.⁴ A closer examination of the evidence would seem to lead to a somewhat different conclusion. Clement was interested to show that Greek writers had no conscience in borrowing from one another: he gives a large number of examples, including Homer from Orpheus, Hesiod from Musaeus, Aristophanes from Cratinus, Plato Comicus and Aristophanes from one another, τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μετέλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον καὶ ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν Εὐμηλὸς⁵ τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι. Μελεσαγόρου γὰρ ἐκλεψε Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνος καὶ Εὐδήμος ὁ Νάξιος οἱ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖτοις ὁ Προκοπνησίος Βίαν, ὃς καὶ τὰ Κάδμου τοῦ παλαίου μετέγραψε κεφαλαιώμενος. Ἀμφίλοχος τε καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς καὶ Δευνόριος καὶ Ἀναξίμενης καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἑκαταῖος καὶ Ἀνδροτίων καὶ Φιλόχορος, Διευχίδας τε ὁ Μεγαρικὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δευκαλιωνείας μετέβαλεν. Not to mention Heraclitus' thefts from the Orphics, and Plato, who got his immortal soul from Pythagoras, and others. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ. ἐπιλείψει γὰρ με ὁ βίος εἰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξίεναι αἰροῖσθαι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διελέγχων φίλαντον κλοπὴν, καὶ ὡς σφετερίζονται τὴν εὐρεσίαν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλλίστων δογμάτων ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰλόφασιν.⁶ This may have seemed to Clement's readers a shrewd and pointed condemnation of the profane Greeks, but for modern scholars to take one rhetorical sentence from such a passage as this, and apply it wrongly, is not good criticism.

Josephus was impressed in a contrary way: 'It is foolish to suppose that the Greeks alone know anything about antiquity; for they have no old records, as the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Phoenicians have; and they learnt even their letters late, and boast of taking them from Cudians and his Phoenicians . . . I will show from the Greeks themselves that we are the oldest of nations, and refute their slanders from their own self-contradictory writings. ἢ τίς οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν ἂν τῶν συγγραφέων μάθοι βεβαίως ὅτι μὴδὲν βεβαίως εἰδότες συνέγραφον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰκαζον; τὸ πλεον γοῦν διὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἀλλήλους ἐλέγχουσι

³ Busolt, *Gri. Gesch.* I.² p. 147.

⁴ *Id.* p. 149, n. 2. As to the genuineness of the fragments of Aensilaus (whose book was used by Plato (*Sym.* 178c), the Aristotelian Eudemus, and perhaps by Demetrius of Scopela, *op.* Strabo, x. p. 472), see Busolt's remarks here.

⁵ This Eumelos seems to have been the same as the epic poet, though in ancient times it was

doubted whether the prose history was his: *Paus.* ii. i. 1.

⁶ *Clem. Alex. Strom.* vi. 3. 26, pp. 751-2. A knowledge of Herodotus or of Hecataeus of Abdera was clearly not a strong point with Clement: yet he admits that Herodotus and Ephorus said the alphabet came from Phoenicia ('barbarians invented nearly everything', *Strom.* i. 75, p. 363).

καὶ τὰναντιώτατα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι. περίεργος δ' ἂν εἴην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμὸν μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσίλαος περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος, ἢ τινὰ τρόπον Ἐφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, Ἐφορον δὲ Τιμαῖος, καὶ Τιμαῖον οἱ μετ' ἐκείνον γεγονότες, Ἡρόδοτον δὲ πάντες, κ.τ.λ. Even Thucydides is blamed by some as untrustworthy.⁷ Now there is some truth, if but little point, in these remarks, and Josephus speaks with more knowledge and less rhetoric than Clement. We are told at least that Hellanicus and Acusilaus differed, and that the latter corrected Hesiod; yet the one sentence in this passage quoted by scholars is that about Acusilaus and Hesiod, and is used slightly to modify a statement that all the logographi merely put into prose the material of the Epic.⁸

A more considerable writer than either the Jew or the Christian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is quoted in support of the Christian: "I will say a word or two about the predecessors of Thucydides, to show the pre-eminence of the latter. There were many ancient writers in different parts of Greece before the Peloponnesian War; among them Eugeon of Samos, Demochus of Proconessus, Eudemus of Miletus, Damocles of Phrygia, Hecataeus of Miletus, Acusilaus of Argos, Charon of Lampascus, and Melesagoras of Chalcedon. Nearer Thucydides' own day were Hellanicus of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeum, Xenomedes of Chios, Xanthus the Lydian, καὶ ἄλλοι συγχροί. οἷτοι προαιρέσει τε ὁμοίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ δυνάμει οὐ πολὺ τι διαφοροῦσας ἔσχον ἀλλήλων, οἱ μὲν τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἀναγράφοντες ἱστορίας, οἱ δὲ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς, αὐτὰς τε ταύτας οὐ συνάπτοντες ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐκφέροντες, ἵνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσφρόντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μῆμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴ τ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴ τ' ἐν βιβλίοις ἀποκειμέναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξεργάζετο, οἷας παρέλαβον, μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτε ἀφαιροῦντες, ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοι τινες ἐνήσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαὶ τινες περιπέτειαί, πολὺ τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι. They wrote in a simple unaffected style, with no elaboration, but yet one which had a certain χάρις, οἷ' ἦν ἐτι μένουσαι αὐτῶν αἱ γραφαί. Herodotus was the first to write a complete history in a suitable style."⁹ If we must be accurate, it is easily demonstrable that Dionysius is wrong about some of the writings of Hecataeus and Hellanicus, and it is perhaps noteworthy that he omits to mention Pherecydes, for whom he had some respect;¹⁰ about Eugeon of Samos and the rest he is presumably correct. But his statement that they neither added to nor took away from the records which they copied has no relevance to the question of the relation of the

⁷ *c. Apom.* i. 9-12.

⁸ Busolt (p. 149) speaks of "die 'Genealogien' des Akusilaos, in denen ex hominibus Genealogien in Prosa bearbeitet und 'verbessert'": which is a plausible view of this

anc. author.

⁹ *de Thuc. indic.* 5 (cf. 23 for the genuineness of writings attributed to still earlier authors).

¹⁰ *Antiq. Rom.* i. 13.

logographi to the Epic, but refers only to such works as Charon's *Records of Lampyræans* or Hellanici's *Priestesses of Hera*.

There is one more passage, from Strabo's introduction, quoted to prove the dependence of the logographers on the Epic: ὁ πεζὸς λόγος, ὃ γε κατεσκευασμένος, μῦθμα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ἐστὶ· πρῶτιστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εὐδοκίμησεν. εἶτα ἐκείνη μιμούμενοι, λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τάλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικά, συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον καὶ Φερεκύδη καὶ Ἑκαταίων. εἶτα οἱ ὕστερον ἀφαιρῶντες αἰεὶ τι τῶν τοιούτων εἰς τὸ νῦν εἶδος κατήγαγον ὥς ἂν ἀπὸ ὕψους τινός.¹¹ But it is clear from the way Strabo goes on to talk about the value of myths in early training, how even the cities and the lawgivers sanctioned them, τοῦ χρησίου χάριν βλέψαντες εἰς τὸ φυσικὸν πάθος τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῆφου· φιλεοδήμων γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, προϊὼν δὲ τοῦτον τὸ φιλάμυνον, that when he says that the logographi, dropping the metre, preserved the poetic, he is referring, not to their treatment of the myths of the Epic, but to their love of the marvellous, their recounting of miracles, their tales of one-eyed men, of dog-headed and headless men with eyes in their chests, wild men and women καὶ ἄλλα πλῆθει πολλὰ θηρία καὶ κατάψευστα καὶ ἀκατάψευστα, stories that Herodotus would not swallow.¹² It is the characteristic noted by Dionysius in the last sentence of the passage above quoted, and by Josephus when he says: 'Noah died at the age of 950; and let none be sceptical of this: whom the gods loved lived long. Greeks and barbarians agree in this: Manetho and Berossus Μῶχος τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἱερώνυμος οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συνταξάμενοι συμφωνοῦσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις· Ἡσιόδος τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ἐφωρος καὶ Νικόλαος ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς ἀρχαίους ζήσαντας ἐτη χίλια.'¹³ Strabo does not mean that the logographi simply re-wrote the myths without alteration, but that they preserved the mythical and did not confine themselves to sober history. And the extant fragments justify Busolt when he remarks, 'diese ältesten Historiker hatten jedoch weniger Interesse für das Chronologische, als für das Genealogische und Mythographische.'

This ends the evidence from ancient critics of the logographi, upon which is based the current opinion concerning their work. The evidence as to their methods from Herodotus himself and from the fragments of the other writers lends no further support to this view. The opening sentence of the *Genealogiae* of Hecataeus is preserved to us and is very instructive: Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται. τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι ἀληθία δοκίει εἶναι.

¹¹ L. 2. 9, p. 15. One might add another passage from Strabo (vii. p. 341), where he blames Hecataeus for distinguishing the Epicum from the Klonia (Fr. 249): πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ μὴ ὅσα λεγόμενα οἱ ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς, συνεθάρμυνον τῷ φίλῳ διὰ τὰς μυθογραφίας. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οὐχ ἐμμελοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῶν αἰτῶν.

¹² Hist. iv. 191; cf. iv. 13, 32 (when he

says εἰ δὲ λέγουσιν γὰρ ἐκὼς Λιβύας, he is surely throwing additional doubt on the statement of some predecessor, Hecataeus or Scylax may be, that the Libyans did tell such tales. There is no reason to suppose that he himself ever questioned the Libyans on such matters. See Maser at loc.). Cf. too Diog. i. 37 for the mythical tendencies of the logographi.

¹³ Antiq. Jud. i. 107-8.

αἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοῖοι ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται εἶναι.¹⁴ These are not the words of a man intending only 'den vorhandenen Sagenstoff in Prosa wiederzugeben.'¹⁵ Rather is it clear that his interest is to correct the errors of the Greeks, and substitute for them scientific theory. We may guess that one of those errors was the attribution of the invention of writing to Palamedes: Hecataeus had been to Egypt and knew better; he had seen in Egyptian Thebes inscriptions far older than Palamedes, and lists of priests that put to shame his own claim to be descended from a god in sixteen generations.¹⁶ It was Danaus who introduced writing into Greece, from Egypt. Hecataeus may have told legends that had been already sung by the poets, as about the Lernean hydra: τὴν μὲν ὕδραν τὴν Λερναίαν, τὸν ἄθλον τὸν Ἡράκλειον, ἀδέτωσαν ποιηταὶ καὶ μύθων ἀρχαίων συνθέται, ὥνπερ οὖν καὶ Ἑκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς ἐστίν.¹⁷ But more frequently he appears to correct them, as when he rationalises the story of Heracles and Cerberus,¹⁸ says Parthenopneus was the son of Calaus, not of Atalanta,¹⁹ or expressly differs from Hesiod as to Aegyptus and his sons,²⁰ or makes an inference from the tradition in the manner of Thucydides: Ἑκαταῖος μὲν οὖν ὁ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου φησὶν ὅτι πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦκησαν αὐτὴν βάρβαροι.²¹ In another place he contradicted an Athenian tradition about the Pelasgians in Attica,²² which certainly proves Dionysius inaccurate in details. A very interesting fragment perhaps throws light on his methods with regard to foreign myths: Herodian says on word-terminations in *ā*: ἴστω ὅτι τοῦτο παρ' Ἑκαταίῳ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ χρήσει τῶν Φοινίκων, ὡς αὐτὸς φησὶ, οὐκ ἔτι μέντοι Ἀττικοῖς καὶ τῇ συνθεῖσι γνωστὸν.—Χρᾶ οὐτῶ γὰρ πρότερον ἢ Φοινίῃ ἐκαλεῖτο. And Choeroboscus in Bekker's *Anecdota*

¹⁴ Fr. 352; Demetr. *de elocut.* § 2 and § 12.

¹⁵ This is not of course a new view with regard to Hecataeus; see Diez, *Herodot.* xii. 1887, pp. 411 ff.; Wells, *J.H.S.* xix. p. 41; 'It is Hecataeus whom we must credit with the first attempt to test Greek tradition by native sources of information. Herodotus has only borrowed this practice from his predecessor.'

¹⁶ Hdt. ii. 143; above, pp. 61-2.

¹⁷ *Asiatic Nat.* iii. ix. 23; fr. 347.

¹⁸ Fr. 346. Cf. Phlegon, fr. 32, Hallan, fr. 61, for early rationalism. 'The Greeks were Kabeiroi before Kabeiroi, at least in regard to this particular case (Salmoneus and his underground chamber). The "historicizing" method had been introduced presumably by the first logographer, Democritus, Hierocritus, perhaps partly as an adaptation of the wisdom of the Egyptians (Hdt. ii. 43, 143), and is illustrated by Herodotus himself (ii. 44 et al.) as well as by Thucydides (i. 3, 3; ii. 15, 15; ii. 26)'—Mason in Hdt. i. 55. A little later, Herodotus seems to have been the chief representative of the rationalist school of mytho-

graphers: fr. 16, 18, 24-4.

¹⁹ Schol. Soph. *O.C.* 1320 (*P.H.G.* iv. 627).

²⁰ Fr. 357 (*P.H.G.* i. p. 28 and iv. p. 627); see Schol. Eur. *Orest.* 672 ed. Schwartz.

²¹ Fr. 356; Strabo, vii. 321. The words following, however, given to Hecataeus by Müller, are probably not his, *εχέον-εἰ-εὶ καὶ ὁ γένεσθαι Ἑλλᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκ καταλίσσει, ἐκ' αὐτῶν λογιζόμενοι τὸν μετὰ τὸν γένεσθαι*; for they are only the beginning of a sentence, which gives a list of some of the barbarian inhabitants of the Peloponnese, Phrygians under Pelops, Egyptians under Danaus, Dryopes, Carians, Pelasgians, Laeages and the like; and outside the Isthmus, Thracians in Attica and Phoenicians under Cadmus in Thebes, Acarnans, Temnices, Hyantes in Boeotia, etc.; and some of the heroic names are foreign, such as Ceryne, Colras and others. The Thracians, Illyrians and Epirotes and *πεχέον-εὶ-εὶ καὶ ὁ γένεσθαι Ἑλλᾶς, κ.τ.λ.* The words of this sentence must be Strabo's. (If it were Hecataeus this would be the first known reference to the Phoenician theory; above, p. 61.)

²² Fr. 362; Hdt. vi. 127.

ὁ Χνᾶς, τοῦ Χνᾶ—οὕτω γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὁ Ἀγήνωρ, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη Ὀχνα (Χνᾶ? Cansan) λέγεται.²⁵ If this refers to Hecataeus of Miletus, we may have here one of the arguments used in establishing the Phoenician theory (perhaps by Hecataeus himself): he learnt in Phoenicia or he read in a book or traders told him of Chnas or Ochnas, and this was the same as the Greek Agenor; so Agenor came from the East.²⁶

But the fragments of the lost logographers are scanty, and it will be more productive if we examine as far as we can the methods of Herodotus. Unfortunately, though we can often tell when a statement of his is inference, and when tradition, it is nearly always obscure by what steps he arrived at the inference. The clearest case of his rejecting a tradition and substituting a theory is that of the Gephyraei already referred to: οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Φοίνεες οἱ Ἰππάρχου, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἐρετρίας τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπυθανόμενος εὗρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην, οἵεον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν. ἐνθεν τε δὲ Κάδμῳ προτέρων ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι αὐτοὶ δευτέρα ἐπὶ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφραγίσαντες ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολίτας, πολλῶν τέων καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπληγίων ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ . . . ἐσήγαγον εἰδασκάλια κ.τ.λ.²⁷ We have all the elements of a theory: a tradition to be contradicted, discovery by long enquiry (if only Herodotus had given us his reasons!), one or two opinions firmly stated, and, in the next section, confident dogmatism. Is it not exactly the way of scholarship, of research? οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι. Nothing could show better the way to correct the errors of Greek tradition.²⁸ It is a pity Herodotus does not relate the details of his enquiry: his conclusion may have been based to some extent on the separate

²⁵ Fr. 254; *F.H.G.* I, p. 17, iv, p. 327. The reference may be to Hecataeus of Abdera, not to the logographer, in which case it would still be instructive as to the methods of a later scholar. Cf. Fr. 358, which should come at the beginning of fr. 254, from Herodotus.

²⁶ Cf. perhaps, the presence of Hyrachne in Cilicia (*Hdt.* vii. 91, where see Macan), which may have helped the argument.

²⁷ v. 57-8. Crusius is never so unfortunate, as when commenting on Herodotus. He says on this passage (p. 262): 'Die Gephyraei wissen, dass sie aus Euboea geliehen und zählten sich zu den Kadmeern: das ist Tatsache; sie stammen nicht aus Euboea, sondern mit Kadmos aus Phönizien, das ist Sage oder Hypothese, die nie hätte geglaubt werden sollen.' Not only is there nothing in the Greek to imply that the Gephyraei called themselves Kadmeans, but anybody acquainted with Herodotus would see, that had they done so,

the historian would have had no need 'to find out by enquiry' that they were Phoenicians who came over with Kadmos; he would have assumed it as he does elsewhere. What he found out was that they were Kadmeans from Tanagra, instead of, as they said, Greeks from Euboea; and hence they were Phoenicians.

²⁸ We have, perhaps, another instance of this method in the story of the bribery of Themistocles: οἱ δὲ δὲ τῶν καὶ ἄλλων θρασυνομένων, οἳ ἔχοντες εἰσὶν, οὕτω δὲ τῶν καὶ ἄλλων εἰσὶν καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ μένουσι. . . . Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀρπάξας πρὸς νηυσὶν ἑνὶ τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἔλατο στρατηγὸν (viii. 112): 'the conjecture of four lines back becomes a precise matter of fact, by repetition: a frequent fallacy in historiography—and criticism.' (Macan); though I am not clear that Herodotus is here returning back to his conjecture, but to his statement of fact, that Caryatus and Parnes did bribe Themistocles.

cults of the Gephyraei in Attica: but he will not say: ²¹ καὶ σφί ἱρὰ ἔστι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἱδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μετὰ τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀλλὰ τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῆς Διμήτρος ἱρὸν τε καὶ ὄργια. [Ἦ μὲν δὲ ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐντεταῖται.] καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὅθεν ἐγεγόνισαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππάρχου φωνές, ἀπὴγγηταί μοι.²² In another instance of a family of foreign origin in Attica, Herodotus is not so certain: Ἰσαγόρης ὁ Τισάνδρου οἰκίης μὲν εἶναι δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι. θύουσιν δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ.²³ In others again he would seem to support the family's own view against the general opinion: Ἀλεμαωνίδαι γένος εἶναι Ἀθηναῖοι,²⁴ and, more clearly, in the case of the Macedonian kings: Ἕλληνας δὲ εἶναι τοὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκω γεγονότας, κατίπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸν τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὥς εἰσι Ἕλληνες.²⁵ For the descent of Miltiades from Aeacus and Ajax he followed Pherecydes.²⁶

The phrase ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, and the analogous ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω occur frequently when Herodotus is giving an inference of his own; and parallel to πυνθάνεσθαι is ἱστορεῖν, ἱστορίη, the word which occurs in the preface: the results of his ἱστορίη are the λόγοι. But though he tells us that where his inference differs from popular tradition, it is the result not of an arbitrary judgment but of deep enquiry, he seldom lets us know what line his enquiries took; though we may often infer it. Thus when he says of the temple of Aphrodite in Ascalon ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρὸν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ,²⁷ it is probable that his enquiry took the form of asking his guides what the priests said, not only at Ascalon but elsewhere, for he was a painstaking man, nor easily credulous, and learning from interpreters the meaning of inscriptions. And his assertion that the names of nearly all the Greek

²¹ The terminology (*ἐν ἱερῶσι διέμεναι* &c.) is suspiciously recent, and the statement seems to imply the *apoikism* of Attica, and a graded franchise. The partial taboo, or excommunication, looks like the most genuine element in the tradition.—Mann: especially when you call it taboo.

²² See Topffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 202 full; who denies the Phoenician origin, and suggests that the theory was due to a confusion between Phoenicians and the Greek hero Phoenix, who as son of Amyntor king of Eleon, is a Boeotian. One of his arguments is singularly un sound. Eleon was quite close to Tegea: "gerade hier waren aber noch die attische Ueberlieferung auch die Gephyraei (Hdt. v. 67) bevor sie von den eindringenden Boeotern aus ihrem alten Sitze vertrieben und in dem freundenfreundlichen Attika aufgenommen wurden." It is as clear as can be that the statement (which may go back to Hesiodus, fr. 89) that this clan of the

Gephyraei came from Tegea is as much inference on Herodotus' part as his assertion of their Phoenician origin. Topffer also asserts that this Boeotian river Phoenix was near Eleon, whereas it really flowed by Tegea (not Tegea) near Orchomenus.

²³ v. 66.

²⁴ v. 62. "H. appears to be expressly combating and denying the view that they were foreigners"—Mann.

²⁵ v. 22. They were Temenids from Argos, *ibid.* 137-9.

²⁶ vi. 55. Pherec. fr. 20; so also did Hellanicus in his *Asopos*, Fr. 18 (Asopia, mother of Aeacus being a daughter of the river Asopos). The names Agenor and Laioi occur in this genealogy; one could suggest perhaps that this was the kind of fact that might have led an ancient author interested in such theories to suggest a foreign origin of a family, though it did not in this case.

²⁷ i. 165.

gods came from abroad, διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει πυνθανόμενος αὐτῷ εὐρίσκω εἶναι,³⁴ we may reasonably infer to be based on 'enquiries' of the priestesses at Dodona; for originally the Pelasgians had no names for their gods, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δαϊδῶνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας, and only learnt their origins and forms the other day, as it were; so αἱ Δαϊδωνίδες ἱερεῖαι λέγουσι.³⁵ In other cases πυνθάνομαι means no more than that Herodotus is giving a report, like ἀκούω: after the battle of Himera τὸν Ἀμίλκαν ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι. οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς: τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα, where he is only giving the inference of others.³⁶ Both it and ἱστορεῖν as well are frequently used in the simple sense of 'asking questions.'³⁷

But ἱστορίη generally has the wider meaning of 'research.' His description of the wild animals of Libya is the result of exhaustive enquiry (into books as well as travellers' stories): τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἢ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γῇ ἔχει, ὅσων ἡμεῖς ἱστορεύοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι;³⁸ as is what he tells of the Nile, ἐπ' ὅσῳ μακρότατον ἱστορεῖντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι.³⁹ His whole account of the difficulties he had in his enquiries concerning the river, and of the sources of his knowledge of Egypt generally is interesting and to the point: τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσις περὶ οὔτε τι τῶν ἱστέων, οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα παρ' αὐτῶν πυνθέσθαι, ὅτι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύνων. . . . τοῦτων ὃν περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἷός τ' ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ. . . . ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἱστορεῖν, κ.τ.λ.⁴⁰ 'About the sources of the Nile, nobody, Egyptian, Libyan or Greek, would know, except a grammatistes of Saïs, who I thought was not serious, ἄλλον δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυνθέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μεχρὶ μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἔλθων, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου, ἀκοῇ ᾗδ' ἱστορεῖν.'⁴¹ Then at the end of his description of the country, and before giving a history of its kings he says, μεχρὶ μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε Αἰγυπτίους ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον.⁴²

The simplest example of the parallel phrase ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω (in all these instances there is point in the personal pronoun; it is Herodotus' own inference), is that in which he discovers the numbers of the

³⁴ II. 30.

³⁵ II. 52, 53.

³⁶ vi. 106; cf. III. 135. (Persian enquiry) and II. 85 where both ἐρεδόμενος and ἀκούω occur. In II. 54, he gives an Egyptian inference as a result of their 'enquiry.' Cf. IV. 95, where he does not quite believe what he learnt, and v. 2.

³⁷ E.g. II. 118; III. 49, 50, 77; VII. 193.

³⁸ IV. 192, Μῦθον αὐτὸν ἔοικε.

³⁹ II. 34.

⁴⁰ II. 19.

⁴¹ II. 28-9; cf. 145.

⁴² II. 99. It is interesting that ἱστορίη here

means the results of his enquiry (in this case only asking questions about what he did not see), not the enquiry itself: 'ἀφα, eigene Anschauung u. das dadurch erworbene Wissen: γένεσις, eigenes Urteil u. auf Velerlebung gegründete Einsicht; ἱστορία, durch Umhören u. Nachfrage erlangte Wissenschaft' Stein. In another passage (VII. 98) ἱστορίη means the telling or writing down of the results of enquiry (see Mommsen's note on loc. cit. and Stein on i. 1), and gets very near to the later meaning.

Persian forces that have reached Thermopylae; ⁴³ this is arithmetical reckoning only, the data, the number of men in each ship, etc., being assumed. He uses the same words with a wider meaning when he 'infers' the cause of Phocian patriotism. ⁴⁴ He fortunately gives his reasons for an inference elsewhere: *ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρόν, τὸ καλεῖται Ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης. συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδαρέω, καὶ τὰν λόγον ἀκηκοὺς ὡς διαιτῆθῃ Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτέϊ, ⁴⁵ καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι Ξείνην Ἀφροδίτης ἐπωνυμίον ἔστι. ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἔστι, οὐδαμὸς Ξείνης ἐπικαλεῖται.* ⁴⁶

There is another class of cases in which Herodotus expresses his own opinion (*δοκεῖ μοι, γνώμη*), sometimes dogmatically, at others with some justice, or after giving his reasons: more especially when he is differing from 'the Greeks,' or 'the Ionians,' or 'people themselves.' 'The Carians themselves say they are from Crete; but my opinion is they are autochthonous.' ⁴⁷ 'The Oceanus is mythical; of the three theories concerning the rise of the Nile, ὁ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας, ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνεύεικας, οὐκ ἔχει ἐλεγχον. οὐ γὰρ τινα ἐγὼ οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν εἶντα.' ⁴⁸ Elsewhere he is less dogmatic; he asks the priests about the story of Helen in Egypt: *ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον. ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τὰδε ἐπιλεγόμενος*, and he gives some truly foolish reasons of his own to contradict the errors of the Greeks. ⁴⁹ Sometimes he just expresses an opinion (*κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας*), as about the usefulness of the Borysthenes river, how it supplies more wants than any other, except of course the Nile; ⁵⁰ sometimes he adds the results of his own researches to support the general view: the Carians once lived in the islands (though they say themselves they are autochthonous on the mainland) subject to Minos, but paying no tribute, *ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ*. ⁵¹ In another place he suggests a warning against dogmatism on an obscure subject: 'the Greeks, those of them who have pretensions to wisdom, have foolish theories about the rise of the Nile in summer. εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω διότι μοι δοκεῖ πλεθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρος.' ⁵² He

⁴³ vii. 184. Another instance of the word being used arithmetically is the famous one of Ariston, the Spartan king, and his son, *οὐδ' ἔστι δαστάλειαν συμβάλλομαι τοῖς μῦθαι, οἷος ἀπομύσει οὐδ' ἐν ἐμοὶ εἴη* (vi. 63).

⁴⁴ viii. 39; and immediately before *ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ*: as to the value of which inference, with a note on Herodotus' method, Maury says: 'Hdt. accepts, nay invites, full responsibility for the very unfavourable verdict on the Phokians at this crisis. . . . He wholly discomfits, in fact, and discredits the spirited and patriotic reply of the Phokians, which he faithfully proceeds to report.'

⁴⁵ This would include knowledge of the story in Stesichorus, as well as hearing it con-

firmed by priests on the spot.

⁴⁶ ii. 112. On another occasion he is unable to draw an inference (iv. 45).

⁴⁷ i. 172.

⁴⁸ ii. 23.

⁴⁹ ii. 120.

⁵⁰ iv. 63. cf. ii. 120 and iii. 120. (*ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμῃ ἀποφαίνομαι*); and ii. 43 (early Greek voyages, *ὡς ἔλπομαι γὰρ καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρεῖται*).

⁵¹ i. 171.

⁵² ii. 24; cf. vi. 84, viii. 133 for Herodotus giving an opinion in an uncertain case (*οὐδ' ἔχω φέρεαι. ἀλλ' ὅτι δὲ λέγεται. δοκεῖ δ' ἔγωγε κ.τ.λ.*). For his sense of 'accurate knowledge' (*τῶς γὰρ ἡμεῖς θύμεν, τὰς καὶ πέρι ἀποκρίει τι λέγεται*, etc.), see vi. 14, vii. 148,

states why he was thoroughly persuaded of what the natives said, in one case because the theory was a reasonable one in itself, in another because he could confirm it by what he had heard elsewhere: concerning the Lake of Moeris, *ἐπεὶ τε τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὄρεον τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἔδντα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἀγχιιστα οἰκόντας τῆς λίμνης, δοκὺς εἶναι ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεὶς. οἱ δὲ ἐφρασάν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθῃ, καὶ εὐπετέως ἐπειθον. ἤδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίμφῃ τῇ Ἀσσυρίῳ πάλι γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτο.*³³ At other times he was not to be persuaded, *ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἄλλω δὲ δὴ τεφρῇ,*³⁴ *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὦν:*³⁵ for he will always report a story, even if he himself thinks it improbable: *οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡσσων πιθανόν, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι,*³⁶ and his readers may believe which they will.³⁷ This is his whole method, which he justifies in a famous passage about the embassy of the Greeks to Argos in 481: *Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι . . . ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λέγομενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κ.τ.λ. . . συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινες Ἑλλήνων κ.τ.λ. . . εἰ μὲν νυνὶ Ξέρξης κ.τ.λ. . . οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην γε ἢ τὴν περ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι. ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσούτο . . . (α γνώμη) . . . ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ εἰμὶ λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντῶν οὐκ εἰμὶ. καὶ μοι ταῦτα τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται κ.τ.λ.*³⁸ He often is not at the trouble to reconcile two different stories or to note their incompatibility: 'it is important to recognize the *insouciance* with which Herodotus writes down in different contexts different data from different sources without troubling himself to rationalize them. This acceptance of the local source for all it may be worth is of the essence of Herodotus' method or unmethod; it is half the secret of his charm and the chief cause of his value; the unity of his work is a literary, a poetic illusion; not a scientific miracle.'³⁹

We obtain from this some idea of what Herodotus means by research, when he says that he finds by research that the Greeks are in error. We can get closer to his methods of dealing with problems more closely analogous to our immediate subject by an examination of his studies in Egypt.

ix. 84, iii. 98, 115 (these especially instructive), iv. 17-20, 51, 183-4, 187 (where see Maass), v. 9.

³³ ii. 150, iii. 12 (cf. also *αὐτὸν δὲ τούτου τοῦτο λέγεται, καὶ ἀπὸ γ' αἰσθητῶν ἔκδοτος*, of the different natures of Persian and Egyptian skulls).

³⁴ iv. 42, v. 86.

³⁵ iv. 5 (Targitanes, the first Scythian, son of Zenis and the river Borysthenes' daughter); cf. iii. 3, vii. 214. A good instance in iv. 105: according to both Scythians and Greeks who live in Scythia, once each year every man of

the Nauri becomes a wolf for a few days; *ἐπεὶ μὲν νυνὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθεσθαι λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν λέγεται.*

³⁶ iii. 9; cf. iv. 173, 179, 195, etc.

³⁷ iii. 100, v. 44-5; cf. iv. 95.

³⁸ vii. 148-152. Maass, of course, says that we have here an argument for the priority of Bks vii-ix, that Herodotus introduces his defence here. But it could be as easily a reply to criticism of earlier books. Cf. ii. 123.

³⁹ Maass on vii. 45.

§ 3.—PRIESTS OF EGYPT AND PRIESTESSES OF DODONA.

Herodotus' respect for the authority of the priests of Egypt was unbounded. He is continually consulting them, to hear what they say, primarily about Egypt, and especially Egyptian history,⁶⁰ as was his custom in every country he describes; also, once he was convinced of their great knowledge, about other matters. His method in one instance was to obtain a story from the priests of Memphis, and then enquire of the Heliopolitans to see if they agree; 'for they are said to be the most learned of the Egyptians.'⁶¹ He sometimes expressly adds that his own judgment convinces him that they are right, *ἐν μοι ἔδοκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐγὼ δοκέω ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς*, etc.⁶² He was impressed by the antiquity and apparent trustworthiness of their records: the real age of Heracles, Dionysus and Pan ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτη:—the ages of the Greek Heracles, Dionysus and Pan—τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι τις πείσεται λεγομένοισι μᾶλλον· ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται,⁶³ that the Egyptians are right.⁶⁴ Herodotus observes a similarity between the customs of Greek and Egyptian, in ritual, in the service of gods, in the wearing of armour; therefore, the argument runs—he plainly assumes this step—one borrowed from the other, and once it is established, as it was easy to establish, that the Egyptian civilization was the older of the two, then it was Greece who borrowed from Egypt, not Egypt from Greece. All the steps of the argument are illustrated in the case of Melampus and the Dionysiac rites: 'The rites are similar in the two countries, I assert that Melampus taught them to the Greeks. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσέειν γε φήσω τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιούμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· ὁμάτροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσαγμένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων λαβόντες ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμιον. And my opinion is that Melampus learnt them immediately from Cadmus.'⁶⁵ The Phoenicians as often are the middlemen. In saying that the Egyptians borrowed nothing from the Greeks, Herodotus may be contradicting Pherecydes, who held that Isis-worship had been introduced into Egypt by Ogygus and Thebe.⁶⁶ Moreover the Egyptians have a

⁶⁰ II. 29-142; from Men, the first king, to Setlio, the priests are his only authority. After Setlio he writes down what Egyptians and others say in agreement (cf. 147). The phrase *Ἰαγρὸς οἱ ἱερεῖς* is constantly recurring in Chap. 29 foll.; on one occasion at least, the story of Sennatis, c. 107, to express his own doubts. Most of the early kings named by Herodotus are connected in some way with the building of the Ptah-temple at Memphis, and the priests here cited are probably those of Memphis (cf. II. 3-4); see Stein on c. 29, 100.

⁶¹ II. 3.

⁶² II. 3, 10, 12, 15, etc. The priests expressed the opinion that Egypt was an *ἐκείνητος*

γῆ. So did Herodotus, Fr. 379. Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* 7, 6: 'Both Herodotus and Herodotus called Egypt "a gift of the Nile," if the books of the latter on Egypt are really genuine.' In modern times too the *rés véglés* has been rejected as apocryphal, on no good grounds *in fact*. See Wells, *J.H.S.* xlix, p. 41 ff.; Caspari, *ibid.* xxx, pp. 236 ff.; Baudt l^c. 150.

⁶³ II. 145.

⁶⁴ II. 45-4.

⁶⁵ II. 45-9.

⁶⁶ Above, p. 67, cf. II. 45 for the 'Greek' story of Heracles in Egypt, a foolish story in Herodotus' eyes.

peculiar hatred of all foreign customs, and preserve their own;⁶⁶ so it is not likely that they would have borrowed from the Greeks. They said that they invented the year and its twelve divisions, from observing the stars (and in their practice are wiser than the Greeks), and the names of the twelve gods, altars, votive offerings (perhaps statues of the gods), temples and bas-relief sculpture: *καὶ τούτων μὲν νυν τὰ πλεόν ἔργω ἐδήλουν οὕτω γεγόμενα.*⁶⁷ A simpler instance of his method is: the Egyptians first held *πανηγύρεις καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμνηθήκασι, τεκμήριον δὲ μοι τοῦτον τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ποιεύμεναι· αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεώστί ἐποιήθησαν.*⁶⁸

Herodotus' arguments concerning the Egyptian Heracles are instructive; 'Heracles in Egypt is one of the twelve gods: but nowhere there could I discover anything about the Heracles whom Greeks know. That it was not Egyptians that took the name of Heracles from the Greeks, but Greeks from Egyptians, and indeed those Greeks who gave the name to the son of Amphitryon, there are many proofs (*τεκμήρια*), among which is that both Amphitryon and Alcmæna were of Egyptian descent, and that the Egyptians do not know the names of Poseidon or the Dioscuri, nor count them among the gods. For if they had taken any names of gods from Greece, they would have taken these first of all, if they and the Greeks were early engaged in sea-trade, *ὥς Ἐλπομαί γε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρίει*. They would have known of these gods sooner than Heracles. But there is an old Egyptian god Heracles; for, as they themselves say, it was 17,000 years up to the accession of Amasis, from the time when first there were twelve gods, of whom Heracles was one, instead of eight. Anxious to attain certainty on this point, I went to Tyre, as I heard that there was a temple of Heracles there. I asked the priests when the temple was founded; and they did not agree with the Greeks either; but said it had been founded at the same time as the city, that is 2300 years ago. I saw a temple of Heracles Thasius at Tyre, too. So I went to Thasos, and found a temple of Heracles there established by the Phœnicians who settled in the island when on the search for Europa, and this was five generations before the birth of the son of Amphitryon in Greece.⁶⁹ *τὰ μὲν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ζῶντα. καὶ δοκέουσι δὲ μοι αὐτοὶ ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν, οἱ διζῶντες Ἡράκλεια ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκτινῆται, ἓν τὸ θεῷ καὶ ἓν τὸ ἥρωι.* But the Greeks have many idle tales, including their story of Heracles in Egypt; which, besides being grossly improbable in itself, betrays, it seems to me, an entire ignorance of Egyptian customs.⁷¹

⁶⁶ II. 70, 81. Very noticeable is the first passage, about Linus: 'the Egyptians know the Linus-song, which is sung in Phœnicia, Cyprus and elsewhere (under different names in different countries, but it is always the same as the Greek Linus); *ὅταν πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθευόμενοι μὲν τὴν περὶ Ἀλκυονίδος ἱστορίαν, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ λαβοῦν φαίνονται· δὲ αὖτε καὶ ταῦτα ἀδύνατοι.*' Herodotus seems not

quite to have made up his mind that the other nations borrowed the song from Egypt.

⁶⁷ II. 4.

⁶⁸ II. 58.

⁶⁹ A result, of course, obtained, once the Phœnician origin of Cadmus was established, by comparing his date with that of Amphitryon at Thebes.

⁷¹ II. 43-5.

He returns to Heracles later, in conjunction with Dionysus and Pan, 'the three youngest of the Greek gods, all much older in Egypt, Dionysus, the youngest of the three, being put 15,000 years before Amasis. *καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτῳ ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτη.* My readers may believe which version they will: my opinion has been given. For if these gods had lived in Greece only, one would say that they, as sons of mortals, had borrowed those names from the gods who had existed before them; whereas in fact, the Greek legend is, that Dionysus was taken by Zeus to Nysa in Ethiopia above Egypt; as for Pan they do not know where he was brought up. *δῆλα ὦν μοι γέγονε ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπίθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῦτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπίθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τοῦτου γενεολογούμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.*'⁷²

For what Herodotus has previously stated as 'what the Egyptians say,'⁷³ he afterwards proceeds to argue himself: that the Greeks got the 'names' of their gods from Egypt. It is interesting to note the steps in the argument: *σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω εἶναι. δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῆλθαι.* For except Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I said before, Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Graces and the Nereids, the Egyptians have always had the names of the other gods (I am here stating what they themselves say). Those names which they do not know come from the Pelasgians, except Poseidon, whom the Greeks learnt from Libyans: *οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὐνομα ἔκτηνται, εἰ μὴ Αἴβυες· καὶ τιμέουσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεὶ . . . ταῦτα μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ταῦταῖσι τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι.* Some other matters they learnt from the Pelasgians.⁷⁴

It was about this important question that Herodotus, to make assurance double sure, consulted the priestesses of Dodona—originally the Pelasgians had no individual names for their gods, *ὥς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδωνῇ οἶδα ἀκούσας* (the authority of the priestesses was sufficient for him). After a long time they heard of the names of the gods from Egypt, and they asked about them at the oracle of Dodona—the oldest of all Greek oracles and the only one then existing. Dodona answered that they should adopt them. And from the Pelasgians the Greeks received them later. The particular cult-epithets and

⁷² ii. 145-6; cf. 52.

⁷³ ii. 4.

⁷⁴ ii. 50-1. What exactly Herodotus means by the 'names' of the gods it is difficult to discover; see Stein *op. loc.* In ii. 79 (Lique-Maurous) he uses the same word to say that this hero was called by different names in different countries. Nor does he mean that the Greeks borrowed simply the system of giving individual names (as is shown by the statement that they learnt the names of Heracles, Dionysus—cf. ii. 52—and Pan later than the others). Herodotus gives us many of these pairs (Zeus-Amun, Dionysus-Osiris, Demeter-Isis, etc.),

and seems to assume others (Athena-Sais, for example); see ii. 42, 46, 59; (79), 144, 175, iii. 37, 37. Perhaps some of the details had been worked out before him: cf. Hellanicus *Fr.* 150 (Bakys=Typhon). Similar is Zeus=Belus (L. 181). It is interesting to note how these equations between Greek and Oriental gods are worked out by Eastern writers, e.g. Berossus the Chaldean, priest of Belus (temp. Alexander the Great), *fr.* 2, *F.H.G.* ii. 408; or Philo Byblinus (temp. Hadrian, *fr.* 2, 21) *F.H.G.* iii. 508, or by Alexander Polyhistor, a Milesian (temp. Sulla) *fr.* 3, *F.H.G.* iii. 212.

acts and powers of the individual gods were only learnt the other day, as it were. It was Homer and Hesiod who established this, about 400 years in my opinion before the present day.⁷⁵

Indeed the Egyptians and Dodonaean said that the oracle itself was in origin Egyptian; and Herodotus, though critical, inclines to a belief in the story. The version of the priests of Egypt was that some Phoenicians (again the middlemen) carried off two holy women from Thebes, one to Greece and one to Libya; and these first founded the oracles in those countries: *εἰρομένον δέ μιν ἀκόθεν οὕτω ἀπρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα, ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφείων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων. καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφείας οὐ δυνατόν γενέσθαι· πυνθέσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν τάπερ δὴ ἔλεγον.* At Dodona the story was that two black doves flew from Thebes to Libya and to Dodona; and the latter settled upon an oak tree and cried out with a human voice that they must found an oracle of Zeus. And the other dove did the same in Libya. This is what the priestesses of Dodona say, and the other Dodonaean connected with the oracle agree. *Ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τήνδε· εἰ ἀληθὲς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱσὰς γυναικῆς, and one was sold in Greece (then Pelasgia) and the other in Libya, I think the former founded the oracle of Dodona beneath an oak tree, as was natural, having been an attendant at the temple of Zeus at Thebes, she remembered the cult. The other was sold by the same Phoenicians in Libya. They were called 'doves' at Dodona, because when she first arrived and talked in her own barbarian tongue, they said she talked like a bird; afterwards she learnt their language, and so 'she cried out with a human voice.' For it is unlikely that a dove would speak with the voice of a man. She was a 'black' dove, because she was an Egyptian. ἡ δὲ μαντινὴ ἢ τε ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι τυγχανούσι τοῦσαι. And so, adds Herodotus, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίου ἀπορρέουσα.⁷⁶*

Using this method Herodotus concludes that the Greeks borrowed many things from Egypt, besides the names of their gods, altars and divination, the year, and other things—certain religious ceremonies,⁷⁷ ritual observances,⁷⁸ months and days sacred to particular gods (this was borrowed by the Greek poets),⁷⁹ *gyrometria* (the poles, the guoman and the twelve divisions of the day came from Babylon),⁸⁰ the ideas of the immortality and transmigration of the soul,⁸¹ the theory that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter (stolen by Aeschylus),⁸² perhaps the custom of honouring soldiers and despising artisans,⁸³ the mysteries of Demeter called by the Greeks *thesmophoria*, introduced by the daughters of Danans,⁸⁴ a blameless law taken over by Solon,⁸⁵ the helmet and the shield.⁸⁶ Hellanicus may have worked on the same lines as Herodotus,

⁷⁵ II. 52-3.

⁷⁷ II. 59.

⁷⁸ II. 82.

⁷⁹ II. 123; cf. v. 81.

⁸⁰ II. 106-7. This is instructive: 'I cannot say for certain whether the Greeks learnt this

⁸¹ II. 54-7.

⁸² II. 84.

⁸³ II. 109.

⁸⁴ II. 156.

from Egypt, for Thracians, Lydians, Scythians, Persians and nearly all barbarians have the same custom; *μεμαθήσαντο δ' ἐκ τούτων πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἀλλοτρία Λακεδαιμόνιοι.*

⁸⁵ II. 171.

⁸⁶ II. 189.

⁸⁷ II. 177.

for he said the vine came from Egypt.⁸⁷ Circumcision was another custom discovered by the Egyptians (or the Ethiopians)⁸⁸ but one not borrowed by Greeks.

Herodotus sometimes uses language like that of Clement of Alexandria, and suggests that Greeks never confessed their debts: *ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου, Δισχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἠρπάσσε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσσω, μόνους δὲ ποιητῶν τῶν προγενομένων. ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα Διμήτρον.* The Pythagoreans and others, who borrowed the Egyptian idea of the soul, were even worse: *τούτῃ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ αἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑαυτῶν ἐόντι. τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.*⁸⁹

Occasionally he only notes points of similarity between Greek and Egyptian customs, as when he speaks of reverence for old age being peculiar to Egyptians and to the Spartans alone of the Greeks,⁹⁰ or the custom of having the professions of herald, flute-player, and cook hereditary,⁹¹ or again the likeness between Persian and Spartan customs of honouring a dead king, and of remitting debts on the accession of a new king.⁹² It is perhaps strange that he does not definitely assert that the Spartans borrowed from the East, for he believes in the Egyptian origin of the Spartan kings and gives the Persian story of the Assyrian origin of Persens, the ancestor of the kings.⁹³

But it is not only about matters Egyptian, or customs perhaps common to both Greece and Egypt, that Herodotus consults the priests; he also wants their opinion on the cardinal fact of Greek legend—was Helen ever in Troy;⁹⁴ or was the whole war about a phantom, and the Greek story an idle one? Stesichorus had started the strange tale in the same playful strain in which Euripides was afterwards to tell it,—

οὐκ ἔσ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος
οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν ἐυσέλμοις,
οὐδ' ἔκα πέρ γαμα Τροίας.

Herodotus saw a temple of Aphrodite the Stranger at Memphis in a quarter inhabited by Phoenicians; this Aphrodite would be Helen. So he suspects that the story of Helen in Egypt and her sojourn with King Proteus may be true, and he asks the priests. They give their authority, and he is satisfied, adding some considerations of his own and an attempt to show that Homer knew the story. Thus is the most famous of Greek legends denied, and the authority of the greatest of poets deserted.

⁸⁷ In his *Aegyptiaca*, fr. 155, in opposition to Hecataeus, who said the vine was first found in Aetolia, fr. 341. We may note again the growth of a theory as geographical knowledge gets wider.

⁸⁸ II. 104.

⁸⁹ This last sentence must have been appreciated by Herodotus' hearers in Athens. (He

uses a very similar phrase to describe Themistocles' appropriating the blows of Mnesthophus about fighting at Salamis, viii. 58; a passage about which Plutarch gets so angry, *De Malig. Herod.* 37, p. 369 x.)

⁹⁰ II. 89.

⁹¹ vi. 38-9.

⁹² II. 115.

⁹³ vi. 60.

⁹⁴ vi. 53-5.

We can observe the same train of thought, though far less developed, in Herodotus' cursory treatment of Libya. Poseidon came to Greece from that country,⁹⁶ as did the ritual dress of Athena (excepting a few details) and the four-horse chariot, and probably the cry *ὀλολυγή* *δοκέει μοι γε καὶ ἡ ὀλολυγή ἐν ἱροῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι* *κάρτα γὰρ ταύτη χρέωνται αἱ Λίβυσσαι, καὶ χρέωνται καλῶς*.⁹⁷ Generally, however, he is content to give reports, *λέγω ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες*:⁹⁸ in the Lake Tritonis is an island called Phila, *ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασι λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι*⁹⁹ and 'they say' that Jason went to Libya,¹⁰⁰ that the Maxyes come from Troy,¹⁰¹ and that 'the native goddess whom we call Athena' is a daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis.¹⁰² They have a yearly festival to her, in which the maidens do battle against each other. They dress Athena in complete Greek armour, and lead her round the lake in a chariot: *ὁτέουσι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους, πρὶν ἢ σφί* *Ἕλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαι* *δοκέει δ' ὅν Αἰγυπτίοισι ὅπλοισι κοσμέσθαι αὐτάς* *ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κρίνον φημι ἀπῆχθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας*. Herodotus will not allow that perhaps the great part of the ceremony itself was borrowed from the Greeks.

This is Herodotus' method when abroad; he is convinced that Greeks were borrowers from the barbarians. He was helped to this conclusion by certain legends, like those of the daughters of Danaus and of Cadmus and his Phoenicians, already familiar in his day: these would be the middlemen; but also by the borrowing from Egypt by the sects of the Orphics and the Pythagoreans. This was not doubted, that many of their doctrines came from the East; and Solon may really have borrowed his law, and Aeschylus stolen his idea, from Egypt; astronomy certainly reached Greece from Babylonia, and there was much to be said for the alphabet being in origin Phoenician. Then there were the Phoenicians, as carriers between the two countries, their presence at Memphis,¹⁰³ in Cyprus and Cythera,¹⁰⁴ and perhaps Miletus.¹⁰⁵ All these things Herodotus noted, and inferred from them those earlier and more extensive borrowings by Greeks, whenever he observed a similarity of custom, *ταῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἀλαζονείαις καὶ μυθολογίαις τὰ σέμνότατα καὶ ἀγνότατα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν ἀνατρέπων*, as Plutarch pathetically puts it.¹⁰⁶ The one Greek custom in Egypt, noted especially, is the athletic festival in honour of Perseus at Chemmis;¹⁰⁷ while the only habit that barbarians seem to have borrowed from the Greeks was paederasty.¹⁰⁸ It is not that Herodotus is credulous or uncritical, or fails to

⁹⁶ II. 20; cf. iv. 189, 188.

⁹⁷ iv. 189. It is strange that in this last case Herodotus should have selected an almost certainly Semitic word, and derived it from the Libyans, not the Phoenicians. Or did he hear in Sicily that it had been borrowed from Carthage?

⁹⁸ iv. 172.

⁹⁹ iv. 179.

¹⁰⁰ iv. 178.

¹⁰¹ iv. 191.

¹⁰² iv. 189.

¹⁰³ I. 105, vii. 93.

¹⁰⁴ *De Malign. Her.* 13, p. 857 n.; cf. II. 142, Stein, *ad loc.*, for a probable correction of Hesiod and other Greek poets by Herodotus.

¹⁰⁵ II. 91; cf. 98, where Herodotus points out that the name of 'the city of Archandros' is non-Egyptian.

¹⁰⁶ I. 135; cf. Plutarch *op. cit.* 857 n.

¹⁰⁷ II. 112.

¹⁰⁸ I. 170.

give his authorities, and state clearly what is his own inference and what has been told him;¹⁰⁸ he frequently doubts Egyptian stories, or reserves his judgment. He will not believe the Heliopolitans about the phoenix¹⁰⁹ (this is characteristic); nor the story of Mycerinus and his daughter and the hands of the colossi¹¹⁰ (here the Egyptians *φληγέουσι*); he implies a doubt about the tale of Rhapsinities,¹¹¹ and the floating island of Chemmis;¹¹² he says an Egyptian story about Cambyses and the body of Amasis is a foolish one, *ἀλλως αὐτὰ [μοι δοκέουσι] Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν*¹¹³ but once, in rejecting their version of the parentage of Cambyses he adds, *εἰ γὰρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσίων νόμιμα ὀρθῶς ἐπιστάται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι*.¹¹⁴ In the main, however, like Hecataeus before him and probably many another Greek who went to Egypt, not for trade, but to 'see the country itself,'¹¹⁵ Herodotus was impressed with the evidences of Egyptian antiquity, as well he might be, and ready to believe what the priests told him; especially when he thought he could confirm it by what he had himself observed elsewhere or by legends that he knew or by authorities like the Dodonaean priestesses.¹¹⁶ His general admiration for the barbarians, especially for the Egyptians, helped him to reach his point of view; an admiration traceable throughout his work, notably when he is telling the story of the Elean mission to Egypt about the Olympian games,¹¹⁷ or expressing his sense of the folly of the Athenians in joining the Ionian revolt,¹¹⁸ or wondering at Phoenician skill in engineering.¹¹⁹ And indeed there was some ground for Plutarch's charge that he was so *φιλοβαρβαρος* as to be positively prejudiced in favour of Egypt and against Greece, as for instance in dealing with the story of Helen in Egypt.¹²⁰ Plutarch will not believe in his foreign origins for Isagoras or the Gephyraei or the Greek gods; and he preserves to us an interesting fact:

¹⁰⁸ Cf. especially II. 53: *καὶ τὰ αἰε πρῶτα αἱ Δελφίδες ἱερεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ἑστέρα, τὰ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Ὅμηρος ἔχοντα, ἐγὼ λέγω.*

¹⁰⁹ II. 73.

¹¹⁰ II. 181.

¹¹¹ II. 123-5.

¹¹² II. 156.

¹¹³ III. 16.

¹¹⁴ III. 2.

¹¹⁵ III. 139.

¹¹⁶ The influence of Delphi, apparent when he is dealing with the history of the Greek cities, is not obvious in his treatment of Greek religion. If the legend of the Gephyraei preserved by Pausanias Atticists and Suidas (quoted by Crusius, p. 863; cf. Töpffer, pp. 297 f.), which is almost exactly parallel to the story of the foundation of Thebes by Cadmus (Delphic Oracle, following cattle till they tire), is at all ancient, it may have been told Herodotus by the priests of Delphi, and led him to infer the kinship between the Gephyraei and the Cadmoans.

¹¹⁷ II. 180.

¹¹⁸ V. 97.

¹¹⁹ VII. 24. For other general expressions of admiration, see II. 4, 64, 77, III. 129 (cf. II. 84), et al.

¹²⁰ *Op. cit.* II, p. 357 A-B. Cf. Stein's note on II. 119. According to Diodorus (I. 37), the theory of the Nile which was held by Hecataeus (fr. 278), and as successfully rejected by Herodotus (II. 20, 23), was held by the priests too. If Herodotus knew this, and yet did not put it on record, it would indeed be a case of prejudiced suppression; but he was hardly so ingenuous; and Diodorus may be wrong.

The tract *De Malignitate Herodoti* is an interesting work, and Plutarch, in his pedantic way, does touch on some of the crucial points in the case against Herodotus as a partial historian, as his prejudice against the Thians, the Phocians, the Corinthians, and Theatocles (564 B, 568 C-D, 570 C, 589 E-F), and indeed his fondness for barbarian origins (cf. 559 E, 557 A-F, 560 E). But he is sometimes astonishingly futile (e.g. 555 C, 558 C-D); and he quite misunderstands the Herodotean version of *λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα* (583 D). Yet he has a good analysis of the perversity of Herodotus' malignity (554 F-555 A, 574 A-B).

καὶ οὐ τοῦτο δεινόν· ἀλλ' ἀναγαγὼν εἰς Περσέα τὸ Ἡρακλέους γένος Περσέα μὲν Ἀσσύριον γεγονέναι λέγει κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν λόγον· αἱ δὲ Διορμέν' φησὶν 'ἡγεμόνες φαίνονται' ἂν Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές εἶντες, καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἀπὸ Δανίης τῆς Ἀκροῖου πατέρας· τὸν γὰρ Ἐπαφόν καὶ τὴν Ἰὼ καὶ τὸν Ἴασον καὶ τὸν Ἄργον ὅπως ἀφῆκε, φιλοτιμούμενος μὴ μόνον ἄλλους Ἡρακλείς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Φοίνικας ἀποφαίνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον, ὃν αὐτὸς τρίτον γεγονέναι φησὶν, εἰς βαρβάρους ἀποξενῶσαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καίτοι τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ λογίων ἀνδρῶν οὐχ' Ὅμηρος οὐχ' Ἡσίοδος οὐκ Ἀρχίλοχος οὐ Πείσανδρος οὐ Στρησίχορος οὐκ Ἀλκμῶν οὐ Πίνδαρος Αἰγυπτίου ἔσχοι λόγον Ἡρακλέους ἢ Φοίνικος, ἀλλ' ἓνα τοῦτον ἴσασι πάντες Ἡρακλέα τὸν Βοιωτίου ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀργεῖον.¹²¹ We may be grateful that Plutarch was so angry with Herodotus as to tell us this important fact. We know that the Eastern origin of Heracles, at least, was an idea of Herodotus' own.¹²²

§ 4.—CONCLUSION.

Before concluding we may take one or two analogous legends, which, to judge from the tradition only, are no more learned theories than that of Cadmus, but which from their inherent improbability are universally so regarded. There is as good reason to believe that they are founded on genuine tradition as that the legend of Cadmus is; but the one is adopted, the others ignored. Closely parallel is that of Aegyptus and Danaus; and it has a far more respectable history, going back to Hesiod¹²³ and the Epic¹²⁴; it was like others, accepted by the logographi¹²⁵. Herodotus reports the tradition that the temple of Athena at Lindus was founded by the daughter of Damus¹²⁶; and the Spartan kings, like the Heraclids, are true Egyptians by descent.¹²⁷ We do not know whether Hesiod also told of the wanderings of Io and her descendants, a legend which makes the Egyptians Argive as much as the Argives Egyptian; we have only three fragments concerning her (from the *Aegimius*), which tell of her tormentor Argos, and make her, according to a tradition which was followed as far as we know by no other author except Acusilaus, the daughter of Peiren, not of Inachus.¹²⁸ Similar

¹²¹ 14, p. 837 s-f.

¹²² It is perhaps an argument in favour of Macan's theory of the prior composition of Bk. vii-ix, that there Herodotus is apparently unconscious of any idea that the Greek gods are not Greek in origin, though with regard to Heracles at least he had a good opportunity—his shrine at Thermopylae, with a river Phoenix close by (vii. 176); an opportunity taken by Macan.

¹²³ Fr. 24-5.

¹²⁴ The poem called *Danaë*, of which but little is known.

¹²⁵ Hecst. fr. 837; Hdt. i. 91. 171, 182; vi. 54.

¹²⁶ ii. 182. It is noteworthy that Diodorus

(v. 38) and Apollodorus (ii. 18) are more certain than Herodotus, and leave out 'It is said.' (According to them it was Danaus, not his daughters, who founded the shrine.)

¹²⁷ xi. 54.

¹²⁸ Fr. 157-9; Acusil. fr. 18. Acusilaus knew of Inachus as the first king of Argos, fr. 18. (If the author of the *Aegimius* was Cernaeus of Miletus, as some ancient scholars thought, Io may have wandered as far as the limits of Milesian knowledge of geography. In the same way Arctinus of Miletus conveyed Achilles to Lence in the *Aethiops*, probably for the first time; Pindar quoted by Kinkel, *Frugon. Epic. Gr.*)

is the legend that the Medes were descended from Medus son of Medea and Argens (or Jason), and the Persians from Perses son of Perseus and Andromeda, who was left behind in the East when Perseus returned to Argos.¹²⁸ This is affirmed by Herodotus actually to be the Persian and Median legend.¹²⁹ We may quote Mr. Macan on these theories: 'that the kings or chieftains of the Dorians were really of 'Assyrian' or Egyptian origin is more improbable than that they were of non-Dorian origin. The 'Egyptian' hypothesis was the common Greek view; but the license of conjecture practised by the 'Persians' is an indication of the way in which these stories or genealogies originated or developed. The Egyptian origin of the Heracleids is, perhaps, largely a product of the attempt to connect the Greeks and their civilization with the oldest and wisest folk of antiquity, of which we have other examples in the Dodona legend, and the Egyptian origin of the Hellenic nomenclature of the Deities. At the same time it should be recognized that not merely tradition but archaeology points to a real intercourse between Egypt and Greece, particularly Argos, long before the days of Psamatik I. The Phoenicians may have been the carriers or go-betweens in a later 'middle-age,' but the probabilities now point more and more to a belief in early movements and intercourse between Europe and Egypt, though it is not at present credible that any Egyptian dynasty was established in Greece. So freely, in fact, were these obscure but real connexions handled by the contemporaries of Herodotus, that Argos itself was made the ancestral home of the Danaids, whose advent there is consequently a return to their native land (Aesch. *Suppl.* 15 ff.)¹³⁰ Yet Mr. Macan is inclined to believe that a Phoenician dynasty ruled in Thebes.¹³¹

Other legends of this kind are those of the Heracleids in Lydia,¹³² and in Scythia,¹³³ and of Lydians¹³⁴ or Pelasgians¹³⁵ in Etruria, Arcadians in

¹²⁸ Medus: *Heaut.* fr. 171; *Hdt.* vii. 62; *Cleusis* fr. 13 (see Gilmore's note on fr. 15, p. 79); *Diod. Epit.* Bk. X. (letter of Datis to Aithons); *Perseus*; *Hdt.* vi. 53-4; vii. 61, 150; cf. ii. 91 (*Perseus* at Chemmis in Egypt); *Hellian* fr. 169; *Cleusis* fr. 13. Herodotus is inconsistent; see Macan on vii. 150. (I do not know why Mr. Macan says, on vii. 61, 'Hellenians differed from Herodotus on this point'; *Steph. Byz.* s.v. 'Idra.' There is no mention of Hellenians in this article of Stephanus, and fr. 169, also from *Steph.* s.v. 'Araia', shows that he agreed; and see fr. 30, *F.H.G.* iv. p. 696 and 168. Pherecydes, perhaps, did differ; *Perseus* is not mentioned in the long extracts about *Perseus* and his adventures given by *Schol. Ap. Rh.* 1090-1, 1513=Fr. 26.)

¹²⁹ 'A truly incredible assertion, bearing the impress of Hellenic fabrication, and irreconcilable with the fact that the real name of the Medes was Mada. [Does this follow?] A Hellenised Mede or Persian, now and then may

have been persuaded to accept such Greek fictions; but this coincident assertion of Herodotus is a good illustration of the illusory character of his *Quellen-Angabe*.' Macan, pp. 19-4. I suspect there is something more behind Herodotus' statement than this.

¹³⁰ On vi. 54; and see his remarks in App. x. § 26 ad fin. Io was probably earlier in Argos than in Egypt, where she became almost identified with Isis (*Hdt.* ii. 41).

¹³¹ Note on v. 58. The various localisations of the Perseus-Andromeda myth are interesting as a parallel, especially the placing of Andromeda at Joppa (first made popular by Theopompus), with which Io was inter-connected. *Steph. Byz.* (s.v. *Jope*) definitely rejects the Greek version; see Roscher.

¹³² *Hdt.* i. 7, 39, *Arund.* fr. 27.

¹³³ *Hdt.* iv. 8.

¹³⁴ *Hdt.* i. 95. It is noteworthy that Xenophanes the Lydian knew nothing of this story, fr. 1 (*Diogenes Laërtius*, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 28).

¹³⁵ *Hellian* fr. 1.

Italy¹³⁷ or—to take a later story—Messapus the Boeotian in Italy.¹³⁸ None of these genealogical tables is worth anything ethnographically. And I suggest that Cadmus and his Phoenicians owe their existence to the same order of thought, and have no larger element of truth. Unfortunately we do not know who it was who first noted the error of the Greeks, and ‘found out by enquiry’ that Cadmus was from the East. But almost any one of the more prominent of the logographi may have done so.

It is clear, I think, that the main object of the chief writers of this class was not reproducing local records of epic legends in prose, but re-arrangement (which would of itself imply much correction) and, above all, criticism; though some like Hellanicus may have busied themselves with both kinds of work. We can perhaps make certain distinctions between them. Of Cadmus the Milesian (and with him the very earliest prose-writers) we know nothing: the works current in antiquity under his name were suspected;¹³⁹ but we need not, with most German scholars, doubt the main tradition about him.¹⁴⁰ Both Hecataeus and Acusilaus are fairly clear figures; the former the first perhaps of the great travellers to criticize Greek traditions by parallel legends from the East; Acusilaus the opposite of him, more interested in Greek legends for their own sake, and perhaps more dependent on Hesiod and the epic poets. Among his few fragments are indeed as many in which he is cited because he differs from, as because he agrees with Hesiod; but he generally corrects him on some special point concerning his native Argos;¹⁴¹ and it is as an authority on that city that he was evidently regarded. Frequently ‘Acusilaus and Hesiod say,’ or the like, is the beginning of a quotation.¹⁴² He is clearly not so bold as the others.

¹³⁷ Thuc. II. 85 (Diogen. Halic. *Antiq. Rom.* I. 13).

¹³⁸ Strabo IX. 405.

¹³⁹ Diogen. Halic. *de Tâtes*. 123.

¹⁴⁰ See Ihmolt, I. p. 148, n. 2. Crusius is one of those that reject him (p. 874); ‘Soll C. Müller (*J.H.G.* II. p. 2) gilt der “Logograph” Kadmos mit recht als mythische Person; schon die Zusammenstellung mit Aristias lehrt, dass wir uns hier nicht auf historischem Boden befinden; u. die Überlieferung selbst sagt es, wenn sie den Mann mit Orpheus in Verbindung setzt. [On this argument, once Cadmus is mythical, we must reject Hecataeus too, who is joined with him frequently; and so on in a never-ending chain.] Im Grunde ist er wohl mit dem epischen Hekatas identisch.’ For Suidas calls him the inventor of letters, and he is often ‘the first prose-writer.’ I think it possible that it may be the other way about: Cadmus the Phoenician as inventor of letters is identical with the logographer. If Suidas is preserving an old tra-

dition, as is conceivable, and not merely confusing the man and the hero (as is probable), it may be that there was at Miletus in the 6th century a tradition (true or false) that Cadmus the Milesian was the first writer, or the inventor or introducer of letters; and that Herodotus may have inferred (‘found out by enquiry’) that this was wrong, and the invention really belonged to the Phoenicians. It may have helped Herodotus to his theory. Prof. Murray confirms both ancient tradition and modern theory when he writes (*GK. Lit.* p. 121), ‘The names of the earliest chroniclers have a mythical ring. . . . The chronicle of Miletus, commonly acknowledged to be the oldest of all, was the first thing written by Cadmus, when he had invented letters.’

¹⁴¹ Fr. 19 (Hesiod, fr. 27); where the latter would appear to give a more pragmatic account; fr. 12, 16 (Hesiod, fr. 40, 143). In fr. 5, 7 (Hesiod, fr. 150, 3) he differs on general matters of mythology.

¹⁴² Frs. 1, 3, 8, 10, 18.

Pherecydes is the important man;¹⁴⁰ for he appears to have written about little but Greek myths and genealogies, and was not himself a geographer. He was not so impressed with barbarian antiquity, and could believe that Greeks introduced the worship of Isis into Egypt; though he must have been one of the first to accept Cadmus as a Phoenician, if this was Ionian theory. But he is none the less independent of the Epic. He is often quoted as the main authority for a story, for example that of Perseus and Andromeda,¹⁴¹ Melampus and the daughters of Proetus,¹⁴² the birth of Heracles,¹⁴³ the apples of the Hesperides,¹⁴⁴ and as frequently for his important variations from the legends current in later times. He may have been the first to tell the story of Amphion building the walls of Thebes by means of his lyre.¹⁴⁵ He was followed in this by Euripides in one of his most famous odes.¹⁴⁶ When we are told that Pherecydes and Hellanicus differed as to why Polynices left Thebes, and that Euripides was impartial,¹⁴⁷ it is arbitrary to assume that they are all following the Epic, and that one version was from the *Thebais*, the other from the *Oedipodea*.¹⁴⁸ And if authorities differed among themselves, and all from Homer and Hesiod, as to the number of Niobe's children¹⁴⁹ or who was Phrixus' mother¹⁵⁰ this was no small matter in books dealing mainly with genealogies. Pherecydes is in many respects independent of the Epic; and what is more important, Euripides seems often to follow him and Hellanicus, not apparently the earlier poets. It must be remembered that even a question like that of the mother of Oedipus' children was not considered settled in the fifth century. We are too much inclined to trace everything that we are told by later writers 'über Aristodemus' *Thebais* auf Hesiod und die Katalogen zurück.'

Xanthus of Lydia is an interesting figure, and commanded the respect

¹⁴⁰ Professor Murray (pp. 121-2) says he is 'a half-mythical "Jeding Koenig" parallel to "Heracles-people" (Aevadans) of Argos. The first real chroniclers come from Ionia and the islands . . . Bion of Priene and Dionysius of Miletus, etc. Does he mean that the evidence for the work of Bion, Dionysius and the others is more plentiful and of better quality, less myth-made and more respectable than that for Pherecydes, or even Acusilaus? They are far vaguer figures to us. And is 'Pherecydes' a more 'mythical' name than Pericles or Demosthenes?'

¹⁴¹ Fr. 28; from Schol. Ap. Rh. iv. 1090, 1515.

¹⁴² Fr. 24.

¹⁴³ Fr. 27.

¹⁴⁴ Fr. 33.

¹⁴⁵ Fr. 102a. Pausanias (ix. 5, 7) tells us that Homer did not know the story; and proceeds to relate what other poets said of him. But Palaephatus (c. 42) says that Hesiod and others told the story (Hes. fr. 133).

¹⁴⁶ Phoen. 818 ff. Is this too 'dilekt aus

epischen Quellen?'

¹⁴⁷ Fr. 40 (Hes. fr. 12), ap. Schol. Phoen. 71.

¹⁴⁸ Certainly on such matters can never be obtained until we know how trustworthy are the quotations even in the good Scholia; that is, not in the Scholiast correct in saying Pherecydes said this or that, but in his right to quote Pherecydes at all, implying that he is an original authority, not an epigone of the Epic! This is a matter that has not so far as I know been properly worked out. But even if a Scholiast generally quotes the Epic and the logographi at secondhand from some such book as Lydimachus' *Collection of Paradoxical Theories*, he may be still as trustworthy if Lydimachus was a careful writer. It is perhaps noteworthy how seldom handbooks like Igei-machus', or Asclepiades' *Tragicorum*, are quoted.

¹⁴⁹ Hes. fr. 34; Pherecyd. fr. 102b; Hes. fr. 24; Xanthus, fr. 18 and Schol. Eur. Phoen. 159 (on F.H.G.); Paus. fr. 40.

¹⁵⁰ Pherecyd. fr. 52.

of Dionysius of Halicarnassus;¹²⁴ but he seems to have conformed more than the others to the type of authors, noted by that rhetorician, who confined themselves to recording the local traditions without bringing them into the general body of Greek tradition;¹²⁵ for when Dionysius quotes him as a good authority who did not support the view that the Etruscans were originally from Asia Minor, he does not say he denied it, but only that in his history of Lydia he makes no mention of Tyrrhenus or any colony to Etruria, 'though he tells many less important things.' His methods may have been like those of Herodotus, giving various versions of a story as he heard them.¹²⁶

Hellanicus had an unenviable reputation,¹²⁷ and does somehow give the impression, perhaps incorrectly, of having been only a second-rate Herodotus. Thucydides' severe judgment on his attempt to write history has prejudiced him in the eyes of all.¹²⁸ Yet he may, from the width of his interests—he seems to have travelled more than Pherecydes—have had as much influence as anyone on the stories of the Greek tradition as they were popularised by the tragedians and the later mythographers. But a historian who would know the very day on which Troy was taken¹²⁹ should not be open to the accusation that his chronology of the events of his own day was inaccurate.

It was by these writers, thoroughly critical of Homeric stories of gods and heroes, and not at all insular, that I suggest that the poets of the fifth century were especially influenced—perhaps Euripides more than others.¹³⁰ I should suppose it meant a great deal to a Greek of that age to hear from some learned man that their gods had existed thousands of years in Egypt before their supposed birth in Greece, that the real Heracles was an Egyptian, the Greek no god at all, that Agenor was Phoenician and the Theban royal house Semitic. To bring Greece into touch with the old civilisations of the East, to infer extensive early borrowing of customs from

¹²⁴ *Antiq. Rom.* i. 28.

¹²⁵ Above p. 222. Yet he told the story of Hermes and Argos fr. 9 (perhaps in connection with wanderings of Io in Lydia?). To him Philotas the Lydian was the husband of Niobe, who remains apparently in Lydia; fr. 12 and Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 152.

¹²⁶ See Vossius quoted by Müller on Fr. 19.

¹²⁷ Yet few would suppose that when Prof. Murray writes (p. 131) 'Strabo himself would sooner believe Homer, Hesiod and the tragedians' than Hellanicus, what Strabo really says (xl. 508 by the way, not 'xlii. 612') is 'I would sooner believe the stories of Homer, Hesiod and the tragedians about heroes, than Ovidius and Herodotus and Hellanicus and similar writers, when they are speaking of what they never saw, nor heard of (at least, not from those who had seen them), merely to give pleasure to their hearers.'

¹²⁸ l. 97. I cannot agree with those scholars (e.g. Busolt II. p. 5, Murray, *loc. cit.*), who think that 'Thucydides means that the system of putting the events down in a lump against an archon's name, was inexact compared with his own division of succeeding summers and winters'; for he does not himself use this method when recording the events of the Pentecostia, the treatment of which he criticises in Hellanicus. Quite obviously he means that Hellanicus got his events in the wrong order.

¹²⁹ Fr. 143.

¹³⁰ A well-known instance of the adoption of a learned theory by the tragedians, is their taking over Anaxagoras' idea concerning the rise of the Nile (Hdt. ii. 22, Diod. i. 88; Athen. ii. 87). All three accepted it: Aesch. fr. 283, where see Nauck; Soph. fr. 797; Eur. *Helles*, *not lost*; fr. 220.

Egypt from the later borrowing of beliefs by Pythagoras and the earlier Pherecydes, meant a real widening of interest, and, though probably in nearly all particulars incorrect, was fundamentally true, and implied that Greece was not a specially chosen nation marked off from all others. For this development of Greek thought, in its application to Greek legendary history, the logographi were primarily responsible—especially Hecataeus, Herodotus and Hellanicus. And I conceive that Euripides at least may have appreciated what the development meant.

A. W. GOMME.

THE GROWTH OF SPARTA

I

Λακεδαίμων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Λάκωνες, Λακωνική, Σπάρτη, Σπαρτιάται.

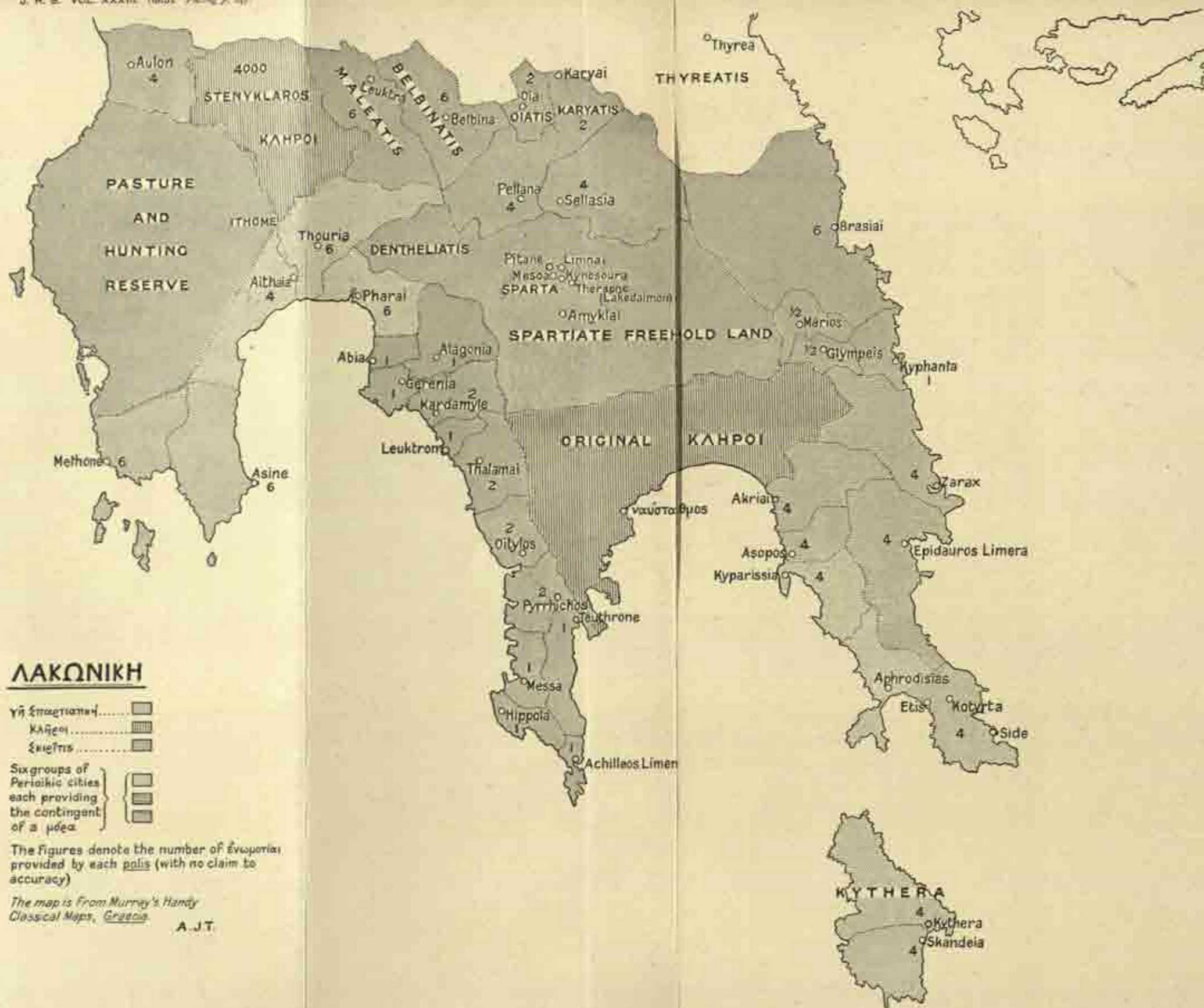
If you walk out of modern Sparta by the Tripolis road, and take the first branch road to the right after crossing Eurotas, you find yourself moving parallel to the river, with a line of red bluffs on your left hand. The bluffs grow higher and steeper as you go south, and the river edges closer to their foot, till opposite the junction of the Magoula river there is barely room for the cart-track between hillside and Eurotas-bed: but here the line of the bluffs is suddenly broken by a dry ravine converging on the course of the Eurotas at an acute angle from the N.E. The flanks of this ravine are at first as steep as the western face of the bluffs: but after about ten minutes' walk up it, several bays open on the left, affording an ascent to the bluff's summit by an easier gradient. When you reach the top you find yourself on a narrow ridge crowned by a chapel of the prophet Elias, and clearly marked off from the other summits to N. and S. Just N. of the chapel is the shrine of Menelaos, where the citizens of 'historical' Sparta used to offer lead figurines. But under the 'historical' stratum are the vestiges of a 'Mycenaean' city.

The votaries of the Menelaion called the place Therapne; but when the city flourished, and Menelaos ruled there, its name was Lakedaimon. The position dominates the whole plain of Sparta across the river, the 'sown land' from whose crops the palace filled its stores. It also commands the route into the plain from the N.E.¹ It is the best possible centre for a lord and his retainers to settle in if they wished to control the south-east of Peloponnesos. As for the epithets *καλή* and *εγχεύουσα*, they are the natural description of the eastern ravine, up which all travellers must have approached Lakedaimon; for the Eurotas-face of the bluffs is far too abrupt for the construction of a chariot-way.

Population gathers round centres of government, and a suburb gradually formed itself on the 'sown-land' across the river.² But, in the *Iliad*, Sparta still occupies a very secondary position, occurring in the Catalogue (B 582) as one of the subordinate πόλεις of the Lacedaemonian realm, and coupled

¹ Cp. the situation of Phaistos in Crete, road thence to the rich coast-plain west of it, which dominates the Messara, and controls the

² Cp. the Lower City at Mykenai.



by Hera (Δ 52) with Argos and Mykenai, as one of the three cities she loved best. Lakedaimon, on the other hand, in the Catalogue is the first city of Menelaos' lordship, while in I' Helen refers to it four times² as the home of her race.

In the *Odyssey*, Sparta is already Lakedaimon's rival. When Telemachos arrives at Lakedaimon, he finds Menelaos marrying his son to a maid from Sparta (δ, 10); in another passage Sparta and Lakedaimon are treated as synonyms (ν, 411-415); and in half a dozen places³ Sparta, as the home of Menelaos, is put on a level with Pylos, the home of Nestor; while in other lines⁴ Lakedaimon is given the same context. Yet even in the *Odyssey* there are an equal number of passages where Lakedaimon alone is Menelaos' city⁵; and in one famous place (φ, 13) the name is extended to the whole territory subject to the king of the castle⁶:

δῶρα τὰ π' ἔειπες Λακεδαίμονι δῶκε τυχήσας
 Ἴφιτος Εὐρυπύχης, ἐπισέκελος ἀθανάτοισι.
 τὼ δ' ἐν Μισσηγῇ ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλοισιν
 οἶκον ἐν Ὀρτιλόχῳ δαίφρονος.

How Menelaos exercised his rule within this territory, is shown by δ, 174-177.⁷ The Homeric realm of Lakedaimon is a 'sphere of influence' recognised by the lords of the neighbouring Achaean centres, Pylos, Mykenai, etc., not a kingdom with an organised, centralised government. Very different was the government of the new political nucleus of the country, the city-state Sparta, which, during the dark age following the invasions, formed itself on the site of the old suburb on the right bank of Eurotas.⁸ The districts of the plain she incorporated directly in her territory, the inhabitants being either raised to citizenship or reduced to serfdom. Communities too inaccessible or too well developed to be swallowed whole and digested, she built on to herself as *perioikoi*, rudimentary city-states with local self-government of their own, bound to the sovereign city Sparta by permanent conventions, which subjected their citizens individually to the authority of the Spartan magistrates,⁹ and required each πόλις as a whole to add its contingent to the Spartan army.

The incorporation of the surrounding πόλεις inspired the men of Sparta to take to themselves the Lacedaemonian name, with its tradition of 'hero' kings and wide frontiers.¹⁰ It became the official title of the Spartan state.

² 239, 244, 387, 443.

³ α, 93, 285; β, 314, 327, 359; λ, 400.

⁴ ε, 702; ε, 20.

⁵ γ, 320; δ, 1, 312. ε, 440; ε, 1; ε, 121.

⁶ Like the 'Duchy of Athens' and 'Kingdom of Saloniki' in the thirteenth century A.D. Messenia was not even part of the immediate territory of the lord of Lakedaimon, but a group of seven 'fiefs' (II. I. 149), of which Ortholochios Phari was one.

⁷ Incidentally an example of ('Αχαιοί).

⁸ Ἀργεῖ = Peloponnesos.

⁹ Homeric Sparta is known from literature only. The archaeology of Sparta begins with 'Oionometris' shields.

¹⁰ For the *perioikoi*, *op. loc. cit.* *Pausan.* 177-181: e.g. *ἔπειτα τοῖς ἑστέροις ἐκαστοῖς κατὰ κράτος ἐπέστειλε θεὸς βασιλεύσαντι.*

¹¹ Cf. the new name 'Great Britain,' after the union of England and Scotland; and 'Britons never shall be slaves.'

The buildings of the city remain 'Sparta' (Thuc. i. 128: *τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν γενέσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ*), and the true name is used in appeals to patriotic emotion (i. 80, *ψηφίζεσθε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον*); but official despatches (Th. 4, 108, 6: Xcn. *Hell.* i. 4, 23), ambassadors (Th. 72, 1, Her. ix. 6), and conferences of the Peloponnesian League (Th. i. 67) all come *ἐς Λακεδαίμονα*; ¹² the Spartan state in its foreign relations (Th. v. 18), and the Spartan apella which votes for war (Th. i. 87) are *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*; above all, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* is the title of the army in the field (e.g. Her. ix. 28).

Now of this hoplite army the perioikic contingents formed an integral part, and so the perioikoi on service are included under the Lakedaemonian name (e.g. Her. ix. 11: *τῶν περιόικων Λακεδαιμόνιων*). The artificial title gave a broader basis for sentiments of political unity, and the perioikic soldier was doubtless as proud of being *Λακεδαιμόνιος* as the French Canadian is of being a 'British subject,' though he had no more hope or desire of becoming a *Σπαρτιάτης* than the Quebec man has of becoming an Englishman. Even the name of citizen was not denied him. In Xenophon (*Hell.* vii. 4, 20) Archidamos *στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν*, who are seen afterwards (4, 27) to include both Spartiatai and perioikoi: similarly the formula *τοὺς μὲν συμμέχους ἀφῆκε (ὃν διῆκε), τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν (στράτευμα, ὃν τοὺς δὲ πολίτας) οἰκαδε (ὃν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν)*, would seem to reckon the perioikoi to the citizen body, while the parallel formula: *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἰκαδε, τοὺς δὲ περιόικους ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὰς ἐαυτῶν πόλεις*, raises a doubt whether in the former phrases the perioikoi were not included in the *σύμμαχοι*.

The result is that the *περιοίκοι* are seldom mentioned separately by name, and tend to drop out of sight. In Th. v. 64: *ἐνταῦθα δὲ βοήθειά τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν πανδημεί*; and in Her. ix. 85: *ἐν μὲν δὲ ἐν τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρέες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιάται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ Εἰλωτές*, the perioikoi are obviously not present to the writers' minds.

But if this confusion of perioikoi and Spartiatai under the broader name of Lakedaemonioi was gratifying to the political sentiment of the perioikoi, it was no less serviceable to the policy of the Spartan government. *τὸ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων πλῆθος διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτὸν ἡγοεῖτο*, says Thucydides, in preface to his estimate of the number of troops Sparta put into the field in the campaign of 418-7 B.C. It was easy to count the hoplites captured on Sphakteria and sent as prisoners to Athens, and to find that there were 292. But how many of these were Spartiatai? 'About 120' it was conjectured by a rule-of-three calculation. Whether the proportion assumed was correct, I will examine later. The noticeable thing is that exact information could not be obtained from the men themselves. After Leuktra, again,¹³ they tried to hide the number of their dead, an attempt which Epameinondas outwitted by only allowing the *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* to bury

¹² Cp. 'Westminster,' 'the Court of St. James.'

¹³ Paus. ix. 13, 14.

their own after all the *σύμμαχοι* had buried theirs; *ὅττω δὲ*, Pausanias concludes, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε ἐθαπτον τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἤδη Σπάρτιάτας ἐξεληλεγκτο εἶναι τοὺς κειμένους*. It is amusing that Pausanias destroys the point of his story by himself confusing Spartiatai with Lakedaimoniōi. Of course what the Spartans wished to conceal, and Epameinondas succeeded in revealing, was the proportion among the total Lakedaimonian dead of Spartiatai and perioikoi.

The abbreviated or slang form *Λάκων* had no official currency at *Λακεδαίμων*, and was probably used only by foreigners, never by the *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* themselves.¹⁴ It denotes any inhabitant of the country, irrespective of political status,¹⁵ just as *Λακωνικά* *ῥῆς* mean ships of the country, 'Λακωνικά', shoes of local fashion, *λακωνίζειν*, *λακωνιστρί*, the local dialect.¹⁶ Above all, *Λακωνική γῆ* means the whole territory within the boundaries of the state,¹⁷ whether the owners of the soil were perioikoi or Spartiatai. In the fifth century Pyllos is in *γῆ Λακωνική* (Th. iv. 12, 3), just as Messene was in Menelaos' lordship of Lakedaimon.

II.

The Two Royal Houses of Sparta.

The people who came out of the N.W. of Greece, and destroyed the Achaean power, did not come in hordes, spreading slowly and systematically over the whole land, like the Angle and Saxon conquerors of Britain; they coasted along the shore of Peloponnesos in ships, as the Danes and Northmen coasted round the British Isles and France, taking kingdoms in the rear, landing at vulnerable points, sacking kings' palaces, and settling in small, isolated groups, in districts that took their fancy, like the Lombards in Italy, and the Albanians in modern Greece (cp. Th. iv. 42, 2).

¹⁴ Cp. 'Britisher'.

¹⁵ For instance, in the two places where it is used in Thucydides (iii. 8, 2; viii. 85, 2), neither the envoy to Mytilene nor the envoy to Rhodes are likely to have been Spartiatai. Instead of troubling to give their actual status (e.g. *ἀσπας*, *εὐποδοί*), the historian employs the non-political, racial name.

¹⁶ In the fifth century B.C. the same dialect was spoken by everyone within the frontiers of the state, whether Spartiatai, *Isotel*, or perioikoi (Th. iv. 3, 3; 41, 2). The question as to what elements in the Lakedaimonian state were 'Dorian' is idle. In the fifth century *Δακωνες* means anyone who speaks the S.E. dialect of the Greek language, a dialect named after the district on the Aiolian coast, where it differentiated itself earliest and most clearly (cp. 'Ionian', 'Aeolic'). This dialect has no connexion with the lands of invaders from Dreyopis (the oaklands of N.W. Greece), who

may have spoken Illyrian for all we know and certainly did not call themselves *Δακωνες*, but performed the merely negative function of destroying the Achaean civilisation and political system, breaking communications, and so isolating the areas within which the great dialects of historical Greece articulated themselves during the succeeding centuries of darkness: while they themselves were absorbed linguistically, racially, and (with the growth of the city-state) to a large extent politically also, in the native population of the country. The identification in the eighth century of the linguistic *Δακωνες* of Peloponnesos, with the *Μακεδονες* (Her. i. 64) who occupied the Docks at the Kephissos-sources, and the fabrication of the 'return of the Herakleidae,' belong to the history of the Delphic Amphictyony.

¹⁷ This is by far the commonest of the *Δακωνες* forms in Greek literature, e.g. Thucydides,

They landed in great force on the coastal plain of Kalamáta Bay, the Homeric Messene, and while some penetrated thence into the kingdom of Pylos, which lay above the Messenian cities (*Il.* i. 153),¹⁸ two clans, the Agiadai and Eurypontidai,¹⁹ crossed the Langádia Pass, descended on the plain of Sparta from the N.E. broke the power of the Atreidai of Lakadaimon, and settled on the site of the suburb in the 'sown-land.'

But it is easier to destroy than to rebuild. The invaders sacked the city of Menelaos, but they did not succeed to his realm; for with the fall of Lakadaimon, the realm ceased to exist. The inhabitants were left with no central power to coerce or protect them. Each village must fend for itself, and depend for security on its own ring wall: self-help begets self-government, and a struggle for existence ensued between these numerous political nuclei which sprang up over the face of the land, and among which the two communities of newcomers, at the head of the plain, had originally no predominant position. Their final predominance they won by several centuries of struggle, in which they proved themselves the fittest to survive.

Pressure produces combination, and combination expansive power. Synoikism is the birth-crisis of the city-state; synoikism at an early stage and on an extensive basis, an augury of the ultimate victory of the new organism over its competitors.

The first authentic record of the Agiad and Eurypontid clans is the notice in Pausanias of the conquest of Aigys (the district round the

¹⁸ Nestor's kingdom must have included the N. Messenian plain.

¹⁹ Why were the Agiadai and Eurypontidai welded on to the Herakleid line through the counterfeit links, Eurythones and Prokles, forged for the purpose? By the eighth century all who spoke the S.E. dialect were known collectively to the other Greeks as Δαίσις, from the district Δαίσις in Asia Minor, the 'distributing centre' of the dialect. From community of name was inferred community of origin for the populations, and, a fortiori, a common genealogy for the royal houses. Now in Homer's Catalogue the greatest lord in that Asiatic district, which gave the Δαίσις their name, was Thoolemos, son of Herakles. Therefore Agiadai and Eurypontidai at Sparta, Aipyridai at Messene (by a complicated tale of murder, exile and restoration, *Paus.* iv. 3, 3-5), Temenidai at Argos, Bacchidai at Corinth, were all grafted on to the Herakleid stem.

But Thoolemos went straight from Argos to Rhodes: why were the Peloponnesian Herakleids diverted to central Greece, and thence to their Peloponnesian heritage? In the eighth century the Delphoi-Pylai Amphiktyony, a politico-religious federation of the districts of central Greece, had grown to such power and

authority and offered such advantages to its members, that there was a general desire among neighbouring states to gain admission into it. The adhesion of such powerful States, as Argos, Sparta, and Messene had then become, would be as advantageous to the Amphiktyony as to the applicants themselves. But how admit them? for religious federations are closed bodies. The religious experts had recourse to that fruitful principle, the identification of similar names. The great Peloponnesian states were Δαίσις; but so were an Amphiktyonic tribe, the Makedon, for the territory at the sources of Keplene, into which they had been driven from the Dotian plain, when the Thessaloi broke up the Achaean states of Hexaktyon. Ἀργεῖοι was called Δαίσις. The ruling elements among the Peloponnesian Δαίσις were known to be immigrants from across the Corinthian gulf: sequitur, that Amphiktyonic Δαίσις is the 'εὐρυπόρτα' of the Peloponnesian Δαίσις. The parallel was that one of the Amphiktyonic votes of the Makedonoi was henceforth exercised by the three Peloponnesian states alternately; and that the legend of the expulsion and return of the Herakleids was invented. But the adoption of Hyllus by the childless Aigimios (the native hero of the Makedon), is a very clumsy suture.

watershed of Eurotas and Alpheios) by the combined action of their chiefs (iii. 2. 5), circa 790-760 B.C.: with this event begins the existence of the city-state of Sparta.²¹ The two royal houses continued to exist side by side, but henceforth there was only one community, and the new-born *πόλις* soon put forth its strength. The next generation (760-730 B.C.) saw the subjection of Amyklai, Pharis and Geranthirai, the *πόλεις* of the middle Eurotas-basin. The struggle with Amyklai was long and exhausting: the city lay only two-and-a-half miles S. of Sparta, and was her equal in resources, having synoikised in itself the communities of the lower half of the plain, as Sparta had those of the upper. Sparta only secured the victory by continuing the process of synoikism, and including in herself a third clan, the Aigeidai.

III.

Theras and the Aigeidai.

When we read Homer we become conscious, through casual allusions of the poet, of a vast background of legend or history. Whether this background represents fact or fiction, it was at any rate so circumstantial and so harmonious, that the poet could wander in it with a sure step. The allusions, though fragmentary, often supplement one another: they never conflict.

In the dark age which followed the 'Dryanian' invasions, and the fall of the 'Achaean' civilisation, the heroic tradition was forgotten, and no longer *per ora virum volitabat*, and the written records in which it was enshrined survived here and there in obscurity, for few could now interpret their script. One of the last adepts in this lore was the poet Homer (ninth century B.C.), who built the first and greatest work of Greek art out of the plunder of the Achaean treasure house. But the very success of his masterpiece hastened the oblivion of his raw material,²² and the banquet, from which Homer had gathered up a few fragments, was spread to no poet or genealogist after him.

With the growth of literature comes literary study, and in the seventh century B.C. a school of humanists arose, the *λογογράφοι*. Of the heroic age of the Mycenaean and Achaean lords, they knew precisely as much, and as little, as we know, namely such information as Homer chose to include in his poem.²³ But the Greek mind has a wonderful faculty for weaving fiction, conjuring living art and poetry out of the dry bones of pedantry. Out of the fossils embedded in Homer they reconstructed a whole legendary world,

²¹ For the early history of the two royal clans we depend entirely on Pausanias. We do not know what were his sources, nor have we any second authority to check him. The only chronology we can get is by reckoning generations (thirty years to a king) backwards from the first kings whose actual dates we know. Before the alliance of Charilaos and Archelaos against Egypt, both the names of

kings and their feats of arms are fictitious.

²² Cf. the deleterious effect of Byzantine epitomes and chrestomathies on the preservation of Classical texts.

²³ The proportions and standpoint of the Homeric narrative being, of course, poetical and not historical: while even in the episodes which he treats in detail, the historical fact is only a basis for the poetical imagination.

so self-consistent, harmonious, and beautiful, that only the closest inspection convinces one that it is a forgery. But the better the art, the harder it is to disengage the real facts transmuted by it, hardest of all, in dealing with the latest and best of the *logographoi*, Herodotus.

The chief methods of the school were two: to anthropomorphise tribal and local names, and work them up into genealogies; and, secondly to connect these genealogies among one another by the identification of similar sounding names.

The myth of Theras and the Minyai (Her. iv. 145-9) has been evolved by a combination of these methods: the identification of Thera in Taygetos, through eponym Theras, with Thera the island; and an attempt to fit all the Minyai who left traces in different parts of Greece, into a single genealogy.

We find the phase of Cretan civilisation called 'Late Minoan,' suddenly appearing, in various strongly fortified centres, upon the Greek mainland. Tiryns, Mykenai, and Lakedaimon are the Castel Tornese, Karytena, and Geraki of Minoan Greece, strongholds of Cretan lords and their henchmen, who imposed themselves and their civilisation on the natives of Greek stock. Lordships carved out by the sword easily pass to better swordsmen,²² and the Homeric poems show us the greater realms of the mainland in the possession of Achaean newcomers.²³ But certain scattered baronies, Iolkos, with its offshoot Lemnos, Orchomenos, and Pylos, retained their Cretan rulers and Cretan name;²⁴ for Minyai means 'Cretans' and is the same word as Μινώες, the name applied by the Greek conquerors of Crete to their native serfs. These groups of Minyai have no closer connexion among each other than a common origin in Crete.

To them we must add a fourth community, the inhabitants of the Lakonian district called, in historical times, Therna (Paus. iii. 20, 5.) Taygetos rises from the plain of Sparta in two storeys: first a wall of cliffs, split by deep, precipitous ravines; behind these a shelf, with the village of Anavryti on it; set back from the shelf, and rising high above it, the chain of peaks, called by the modern people Περτεδάκιλον. This upland of Anavryti, overhanging the plain from Xerokamboi to Misthri, is extraordinarily isolated and inaccessible, and here a Minyan clan maintained itself undisturbed, when Menelaos superseded Tyndareus at Lakedaimon on the opposite bluffs, and when detachments of 'Dryopian' invaders came over the Langádha pass from Messene (where their host had beached its ships), and sacked Lakedaimon. It was several centuries later (circa 750 B.C.) that the young city-state Sparta invoked their aid in the struggle with Amyklai, her rival

²² As the Achæy of Athens passed from its French founders into the hands of Catalans and Florentines.

²³ 'Who were the Achæans?' is an unimportant question, for their civilisation was Minoan, while the race and language of the indigenous portion of their subjects (that is, of the vast majority) was native Greek.

²⁴ The Pelasgians who inhabited Lemnos till Minotaur's time, so far from having driven out the Minyai, are identical with them. The lordship of the Minyan Iolkos was carved out of Πελασγική Ἀγγος, and the subjects of Pelias were mostly Pelasgoi, a sub-group of the Greek stock.

for the dominion of the plain. Their arms turned the scale, and their reward was incorporation into the body-politic of Sparta, and settlement in the rich lowland, in exchange for their barren mountain.

The Minyan chieftain, who negotiated the synoikism, and led the warriors of the three clans in the final attack on Amyklai, was called Timonachos.²⁵ His bronze breastplate was thereafter displayed yearly at the Apollo-festival of the Hyakinthia, the chief cult of the conquered city; and his family, the Aigeidae, maintained their kingly rank, by the side of Agiadae and Eurypontidae. In a pitched battle of the first Messenian war, we find their representative Euryleon commanding the centre of the line, while the kings of the other two houses lead the wings (Paus. iv. 7, 8). But the jealousy of these older rivals brought about their fall, and though they remained a powerful clan in Sparta (Her. iv. 149), and their eponymous ancestor Aigeus possessed a heroön within the city in Pausanias' day (iii. 18, 8), we hear no more of their kingly power.

It remains to see how the *λογογράφος* worked up these facts into the myth embodied in Herodotus (iv. 145-9). He found his Lakonian Minyai *ἔξωθεν ἐν τῷ Τηγετέῳ*: he brings them thither from Lemnos, to connect them with the Minyai of Iolkos. He found that the Paroreatai were Minyai;²⁶ he accordingly inferred that 'the majority of' the Minyai, after being driven out of Sparta, settled in Paroreatis. Again, Aigeus, the hero of the Minyan ruling house, had gotten himself a grandchild, Theras, by the native district of the clan, Therai,²⁷ through the link of a father Oidolykos, materialised out of local colour. But there was another Theras in Greece, the eponym of the island Thera. Now both Theraiοι and Lakonians were *Δωριεῖς* for they spoke alike the S.E. dialect: therefore they must be akin, and as the islands and Asiatic coast were colonised from the European mainland, the Theraiοι must have come from Lakonia. But if so, under whose leadership but that of Theras, who crops up in both places?

But a complication arose. Theras of Lakonia was a Minyan, Theras of Thera a Kadmeian.²⁸ Therefore he must be the one by birth and the other by adoption. So he is brought to Sparta from Kadmeian Thobes, as early as the 'Dorian invasion' will allow, that is, in the first generation of 'the Conquest', and takes the Lakonian Minyai with him on his expedition to Thera, but only a minority of them, for there was no trace of Minyai in the island.²⁹

²⁵ Ross, *Aristot. Fragm.* 232.

²⁶ They give their title to the name from Nestor's kingdom, of which they were the sole remnant that survived the invasions.

²⁷ No Greek found it difficult *θεραὶ τῆς αἰγῆς*.

²⁸ Kadmos came to Thobes from Thera (Her. iii. 147); that is, Thobes received its first culture and political life from the 'Island civilisation' of the Argon.

²⁹ If Kadmos came from Thera, Theras ought to be the ancestor of Kadmos, not Kadmos of

Theras. But Theras has to become the ninth descendant of Kadmos to bring him down to the generation of the Dorian conquest; and thus the eponym of the island becomes a returned emigrant, and a new name, Kalliste, must be given it, to clothe its nakedness withal, before Theras arrives, and calls it after himself.

The Aigeidae, Theras' descendants, who conquered Amyklai, are therefore Thebans, and Pindar (*Isthm.* 9 (7), 18) already knows them

One more element in Herodotus' story remains to be noticed. The Spartiatai, he says, δεξάμενοι τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδωσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδόσαντο οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμον ἐγγίμαν (with Spartan women), τὰς δὲ [ἐκ Λήμαν] ἤγοντο ἐξέδωσαν ἄλλοις. χρόνον δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξέβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιλῆης μεταίτεοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῖντες οὐχ ὅσια. This is an accurate description of the synoikism of the Minyai with Sparta, in the eighth century B.C. and of the pretensions of the Aigeid house. But he goes on to tell how the Spartiatai decided to slay them all, and how their wives, εὐδσαι ἀσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, saved their lives by a trick, which was followed by a compromise, resulting in the expulsion of the Minyai from Lakonia. Now this is a description of the conspiracy of the Partheniai, which shook the Spartan state after the close of the first Messenian war. To understand this conspiracy, we must examine more closely the constitution of synoikised Sparta.

IV.

From Clan to Κλῆρος.

Synoikism is the first great crisis in the evolution of the City-state: the second is the transition from kin-franchise to property-franchise.

In the blood-community, citizenship (if such a word can be applied to such primitive politics) depends exclusively on birth, and on the right to partake in certain rites and cults, which birth carries with it. Members of certain family groups and sub-groups (*φρατρίαι* and *γένη*) are the body politic, however few in numbers, poor, and uncultured they may become, while all inhabitants outside those groups, however far they may excel the clansmen in wealth, wits, and numbers, have no footing in the state, and no prospect of ever obtaining any.

When several kin-communities coalesce, or 'synoikise,' the *φρατρίαι* of each original community still retain their separate grouping, as *φυλαί*²¹ of the new state, artificial²² kin-groups generally endowed with artificial names.²³

Of the constitution of Sparta at this stage, after the synoikism of the clans ruled by Agiadaí, Eurypontidaí, and Aigeidaí, we can reconstruct a fairly definite picture, out of later religious and political survivals.²⁴

as such. It remained for Aristotle (Schol. ad loc.) to locate the family itself in Thebes and bring them bodily thence to Sparta, during the Amyclaeon war, by the advice of the Oracle—bodily, because there was no trace of such a family actually living in Thebes.

Of course the notion that Sparta could send out an overseas colony several centuries before she had even conquered Amyklai, much less reached the coast of the Marathonian gulf, is an absurdity.

²¹ Misleadingly represented in English by 'tribes.'

²² For the *φρατρίαι* of the original communities, unlike the *γένη* of such *φρατρία*, were probably not descended from a common ancestor.

²³ E.g. the four pre-Kleisthenic tribes of Attika.

²⁴ Cp. the clan constitution of Athens (Aesch. *fragments*, 5, 6).

Each *φυλή* was confined to ten phratrías (the royal phratría and nine others), and each phratría to ten *γένη*. The heads of the thirty *φρατρίες* (including the three kings) formed the *γερονσία*, or council of elders. The twenty-seven commoner *φρατρίες* celebrated the feast of *Κάρνεια*, in which each *φρατρία* was represented by three men, and the eighty-one celebrants were grouped in nine *σκαίδες* or 'tabernacles' of nine men each, each *σκαίς* containing the representatives of three phratrías, one from each phyle (Demetrius of Skepsis in Athen. iv, 141). Finally, each *γένος* equipped a horseman in war, and the corps of *ἵππεις* always retained its original numbers, after its constitution and duties were transformed.

Beyond the pale of the clans were the unprivileged clients of *γένος*, *φρατρία* and *φυλή*, and two whole communities, annexed but not synoikised, the Amyklaeais, and the Lakedaemonioi.²⁸

Thus, about 700 B.C., there were at Sparta, over and above the three privileged clan groups, five locally organised communities, embracing both the clansmen and a large unprivileged population besides. These five *κώμαι*²⁹ were: *Pitheae*, the seat of the Agiadae-clan and their clients (containing the burial place of the Agiad phratría: Paus. iii, 14, 2, N.W. of the agora: *Linnæai*, the seat of the Eurypontidae clan and their clients (tombs of the Eurypontid phratría, Paus. iii, 12, 8, on the street 'Aperatē,

²⁸ That the clan of Menelaos were incorporated in Sparta is proved by the subsequent adoption of their name as the official title of the Spartan state. They were probably compelled to leave their hill-tops and settle on the Spartan side of Eurotas, at Kynosoura, the north-and-south ridge which bounds modern Sparta on the E. side and shuts it off from the river. Old Lakedaemon, thenceforth known as Therapae, was left desert, save for the shrine of Menelaos.

That Amyklai was one of the Spartiate *κώμαι*, is proved by several considerations. Firstly, the local Apollo-festival of the Hyakinthis became a public cult of the Spartan state, and almost rivalled the *Κάρνεια* in importance. Apollo's throne was the greatest public monument of the Spartan state, and thank-offerings for Spartan successes were dedicated by the state in the god's sanctuary (Paus. iii, 18, 7, 8). Secondly, it remained, unlike Therapae, an inhabited place down to Pausanias' time (iii, 19, 6), and the chief conduct of the festival continued in the hands of the *Ἀμυκλαῖοι* (for *Ἀμυκλαῖοι δὲ καὶ ποτὶ ἀνέγκουσι εἰς τὰ Τανόβηθαι εἰς Παιῖντα, ὅτε τε σπαρασσάμενοι τευχόμενοι ὁδοῦ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἐποδησούμενοι* (Xen. *Hell.* iv, 5, 11). But it is most unlikely that any townships, except the Spartiate *κώμαι*, existed on the Spartiate territory: the holds, who cultivated certain portions of it, were scattered over the country in isolated home-

steads, so many to each *εἰσέτα*. It might be contended that Amyklai was a perioikic *κώμη*, and not on Spartiate territory at all: but in that case about two-thirds of the Spartan plain would be perioikic, not Spartan, land; and, what is more conclusive, Agedimae (Xen. *Mem.* iii, 1, 1) calls *ἐν πόλει σπάρτης* 'Ἀμυκλαίους κείρους'. I shall show later that only Spartiates were distributed indiscriminately through all the *μύραι*, while *hegélites* from any given perioikic *κώμη* would be found grouped in a single *ἀσπασία* or *νεκροπορία*. I assume, then, that *Ἀμυκλαῖοι* was a Spartiate *κώμη*.

As for the people of Pharis and Geranthrai, Pausanias (iii, 2, 6) says *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συγκαταστάται ἰσχυρότεροι*. This is no more than an inference from the fact that there was no Helot population resident in those two districts: it is more likely that the *Φαριῆς* and *Γερανθῆραι* became clients of the three clans, and either remained at first on their lands as small free tenants (like the *εὐρυπόροι* of Attika), or were transferred to Sparta itself, as the ancestors of the plebs were to Rome. This is at the bottom of Aristotle's statement (*Pol.* 1270 b) *Ἀργεῖοι δ' αἱ δὲ αὖτὲν τῶν πρὸ τῶν βασιλέων μετεβόταν τῆς πολιτείας, ὥς οὐ γινώσκοντες ἀλλομεθάρτιον πολιτεύεσθαι καλὸν κρίνοντες*.

²⁹ Pausanias (iii, 16, 9) gives the names of the four which shared in the cult of Artemis Orthia: *Linnæai*, Kynosoura, Messon, Pitane.

which seems to have branched N.E. from the agora) on the low lands bordering the Eurotas-bed: *Kynosoura*, the long ridge S. of Limnai, occupied by the community from Lakeldaimon; *Mesoa*, between these three, and S. of the agora, occupied by the Minyai from Therai and their clients. Lastly, *Amyklai*, two miles S. of the Tissa (Magonla) river, left in possession of its old inhabitants.³⁷

Thus the body-politic formed certainly not more than half the population. This state of things could not last. Already King Theopompos³⁸ recognised the political existence of the *κῶμαι* as such, by appointing an *ἐφόρος* to administer justice in each, during his absence in the continuous campaigns of the first Messenian war (Pl. *Lyk.* 7). In an exhausting struggle, a government must draw upon the whole resources of the state: but the unprivileged were granted no further political rights in return for their military services; and at the close of the war, discontent found expression in active conspiracy.

The movers of the plot were the *Παρθενίαι*, sons of unprivileged fathers by Spartan mothers, whose claim to citizenship the government rebuffed, on the ground that there could be no lawful wedlock between clanspeople and outsiders.³⁹ The *coup d'état* was to be made in the *τέμενος* of Apollo at Amyklai; during the Hyakinthia, and the movement must therefore have been under the auspices of the Aigeid house, the patrons of the festival. Probably they found their position threatened by a combination of the two older houses, and hoped, like Kleisthenes, to restore the balance by "taking the *ὄημος* into their party." But the plot was betrayed, and the Partheniai were compelled to leave the country. Phalanthos, the leader of their colony founded at Tarsus under state auspices, was perhaps the last king at Sparta of the Aigeid house: ⁴⁰ at any rate, their royal power is heard of no more. This is the origin of the 'expulsion of the Minyai' in the myth of Herodotos.

The very mildness of these measures proves how deeply the government was impressed with the gravity of the crisis. The direct result of the conspiracy of the Partheniai was the political constitution⁴¹ associated with the name of Lykourgos.⁴²

³⁷ There must also already have been perioikic communities, e.g. Sellasia and Pellana, at least, must have accepted this status before the conquest of Aigys. But the great increase in numbers of the perioikic communities followed the conquest of the Helos plain and the first Messenian war, when Tankonis, Vátika, Mani, and the tribes of the Homeric Messenoi, were reduced to this condition.

³⁸ Theopompos the Eurypontid covers two generations of Agiads, Alkamenos and Polydamas, 730-670.

³⁹ Cp. the struggle between plebs and patres at Rome on the question of cohabitation. The fathers were, according to Antiochos (Strabo, 278), *οἱ μὴ ἀντιπαρῆτες ἀσπασίαντες τῇ ἀποκρίσει*, that is, unprivileged clients, for at least

at the beginning of this was only *κλήματα* were warriors: *ἐκπύθηται δὲ λαὸς καὶ ἀντιπαρῆτες*. *Εἰλωτες* is a most unlikely piece of aetiology. Southern women did not marry negroes to recruit the population of the Confederate States during the American Civil War.

⁴⁰ Unless he was Apollon Delphinios.

⁴¹ Cp. the 'constitution of Servius Tullius' at Rome.

⁴² Lykourgos was a god, or at least the epithet of one. We are surely bound to follow the opinion of the Pythia, even though cautiously expressed (Hdt. I. 65). The fact that in Sparta he had a wife, not a spouse, clinches the matter: *Δαοδωπάδριος ἔστι καὶ Λυκούργος τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ γάμος ὡς οἱ θεοὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς τε ἰσοῖ* (Paus. III. 16, 6).

The primary part of this constitution was a reorganisation of the army on the basis of the five *κῶμαι*. Each *κῶμη* was divided into *ὠβαί* or quarters, and each quarter was required to maintain a "Fifty" (*πεντηκοστής*) of hoplites on its register. The *κῶμη*-battalion of four *πεντηκοστής* was called a *λόχος*,⁴² and four of these *λόχοι* were given 'fancy' names: ⁴³ *Ἐδῶλιος*, *Σίτης*, *Ἀρίμαν*, *Πλοῖς*; the fifth *λόχος* was simply called after the name of the *κῶμη*, *Μισσοῦτης*.⁴⁴

Thus Sparta became a *χιλιανδρος πόλις*, and this number was probably wide enough to include in the *λόχοι* every able-bodied man, irrespective of birth, who possessed sufficient property to afford a panoply.

At the same time, this *δῆμος* of hoplites was constituted into an *apella*, or political assembly; and the relations that were in future to subsist between the People, the *γερονσία* of the *phratrīai*, and the two heads of the two *phratrīai*, which still retained their royal rank, were laid down in an oracle sent from Delphoi by Apollo (Plut. *Lyk.* 6): "Found a temple of Zeus Hellanios and Athana Hellania,⁴⁵ institute *φυλαί*⁴⁶ and *ὠβαί*; fix your *γερονσία* at thirty, counting the princes; and then from season to season summon an *apella* between Babyka and Knakion; and so put the question and divide on it; and let the last word and the sovereign power be with the *δαίμων*.⁴⁷

This readjustment of relations by the *rhetra*, as the oracle was called at Sparta, is the secondary part of the 'Lykourgian' political constitution. Ephoroi, *lochoi*, and *apella* have almost ousted the clan-system from the political sphere, and it only survives in the *γερονσία*, which was always reserved exclusively, and with life-membership, for the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* (Arist. *Pol.* 1270 b).

⁴² Four *πεντηκοστής* = one *λόχος* (Thuc. v. 68, 3).

⁴³ Rose, Arist. fragm. 541. It was a common Greek practice to re-baptise a political group when it changed its status within a larger grouping (cp. Francoeur: 'La Polis grecque,' *passim*). *Ἐδῶλιος* ('Native') probably = the Menelaos-kome Kynosoura; Plois is obviously a nickname for the *Lionnatai*. *Ἀρίμαν* (*ἀρι-μῶ*) and *Σίτης* are the *λόχοι* of Pitane and Amyklai, but the names give no hint as to how we are to assign them. This system of naming explains, and also condemns, Thucydides' criticism of the authors (i.e. Herodotos) who said that the Lakedaemonioi had a *Βερεσδρες* *λόχος*, 'his old' *ὄρεστρος* *κῶμη*. In writing for a general Greek public, *Βερεσδρες* was the right title to use: the nickname would explain nothing.

⁴⁴ Why did the *Messoiatai* alone receive no title? Perhaps because the *Aigeidae*, their clan, and their *sewer*, were in disgrace for their share in the Partheniai conspiracy.

⁴⁵ *Ἑλληνες* was the race-name of the tribes which formed the Pyliai-Delphoi Amphiktyony:

e.g. the Spercheios valley (*H. B.* 682); Orontes (*B.* 530: the *Adaroi* as a sub-group of the Paphlagonians); the district behind Histiaia in N. Euboea, Hallopia (*C. I. A.* i. 29 and iv. p. 12), for *Ἑλλανες* = *Ἑλλανες*; and *Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς*, a group of Amphiktyonic colonies in Italy. With the spread of the influence and membership of the Amphiktyony, the Hellenic name spread too, till it became the national name for Greek race and language. This clause in the oracle is a step in the process.

The Hellenion at Sparta, whose history had been forgotten in Pausanias' time (*H.* 12, 6) was probably the shrine founded in obedience to this command.

⁴⁶ The title of the clause is purposely transferred to the *κῶμαι*.

⁴⁷ The *rhetra* is paraphrased by Tyrtaeos (fragm. 2 Teubner). This incidentally fixes a *terminus ante quem* for its date.

It must have been at this time that the state, like the *κῶμαι*, took a fancy name: *Λακεδαιμόνιον*.

Thus the political barrier between clansman and client had been broken down, but the economic difference between propertied and propertyless was thereby only emphasised more sharply. After a generation of peace (870-640) the second Messenian war broke out, and there ensued a struggle longer and more exhausting than the first. While Aristomenes was baffling the *λόχοι* beyond Taygetos, social *στάσις* was raging at home in Sparta. As soon as the last resistance of the rebels had been stamped out (c. 610), the government came to grips with the internal problem, and found its solution in their external success. The spoils of war were employed in raising to the level of the rich the vast majority of the poor.

Between the fall of Amyklai and the outbreak of the first Messenian War (730-700), Sparta had conquered the lower basin of the Eurotas, and the coast-plain of the Marathonisi Gulf. The inhabitants she neither incorporated as clients of the clans, nor left to live in their cities as *periōikoi*. She deprived them of all social and political organisation, divided their land into lots (*κλήροι*), and chained them to the land as serfs, so many to each lot, with the obligation of delivering a fixed proportion of the produce to the particular Spartan clansman to whom the *κλήρος* had been allotted.

When Aristomenes and his band retired from Peloponnesos, the Spartan government found at their disposal the soil and population of a large territory, namely, the great Stenyklaros Plain, N.E. of Ithome, and the mountainous country between Ithome and the W. coast.⁴⁹ This Western track was reserved as public grazing and hunting ground, and remained desert⁵⁰ till the restoration of the Messenian state in the fourth century B.C. (cp. Th. iv. 3, 2), except for the two new *periōikic πόλεις*, Methone, a settlement of refugees from Nauplia, in the S.W. corner of the country, bordering on Asine, and Aulon (cp. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3, 8), guarding the Neda-Gorge frontier against Paroreatis and Phigaleia.

The remaining land, that is the Stenyklaros plain, they now parcelled out into a maximum number of *κλήροι*, each of sufficient size to support a Spartan hoplite and his household out of the *ἀποφορά*⁵¹ of the Messenian peasants assigned to the *κλήρος* as helots.⁵²

⁴⁹ After the first Messenian war the *periōikic* community of New Asine (Karon) had been organised out of Achaean refugees from the Argolid (Paus. ii. 14, 3), and so it is probable that the *periōikic* communities between Asine and the Dentheliatis, Aithalia, Theoria, and Pharai, were constituted at the same time, and did not take part against Sparta in the second Messenian war.

The people of the Stenyklaros plain, who revolted about 640, had been helots since the end of the first war, paying as much as half the produce to their masters (Xen. *frags.* 2, 4, 5, 9). But the *κλήροι*, like those of the Helos-plain, were held either by the *καὶνὰ ἀγῶναι* (clansmen) alone, or at the most, by the

thousand hoplites of the *λόχοι*. The rebellion wiped out all the titles, and left the government a free hand for redistribution; but the memory of the original *κλήροι* survived in the connexion of king Polydoros' name with a *γῆς ἀνδραγαδῆς* (Plut. *Lysk.* 5), for within his reign (706-679) falls the first Messenian war.

⁵⁰ Though the western coast plain is one of the most fertile districts in Greece.

⁵¹ Seventy medimnoi of barley for the warrior and twelve for his wife (Plut. *Lysk.* 8); and wine and oil in proportion.

⁵² Probably seven helot families to each *κλήρος* (whence the proportion seven helots to one Spartiate in Herodotus, ix. 28, 2).

This is the famous *γῆς ἀναδασμός* of 'Lykourgos,' the third great crisis in the history of Sparta. The settlement of the *στράσις* between rich and poor was drastic: Sparta alone of Greek *πόλεις*, never passed through the tyranny²² (Thuc. i. 18). But success can be too complete: hitherto Sparta's development had been that of the normal growing city-state. At this point she committed herself to a system, and rapidly became its slave, till her growth was stifled by its rigid bonds. The *γῆς ἀναδασμός* involved the whole Lykourgian²³ *ἀγωγή*.

V.

The 'Lykourgian' Agoge.

Greece offers her inhabitants the choice of malthusianism, emigration or starvation. You pass at one step from deep soil to naked limestone, and when you have divided the plain into the maximum number of minimum allotments, there is not room for one farm more.

In the *γῆς ἀναδασμός* the great majority of the Spartiatai received their *κλῆρος*.²⁴ But the *κλῆρος* was not the private property of the holder: it was an inalienable²⁵ fief, usually confirmed from father to son, but reverting to the state if the holder failed to raise from it his quota of meal, wine, and oil for his syssition,²⁶ or died without leaving adult male issue. For the

²² The *γῆς ἀναδασμός* at Sparta, circa 810, corresponds to the tyrannicides of the Isthmian states (850-550). It was the political watch-word of the Revolutionary party at Athens twenty years later, and when Solon rejected it as impossible, the tyranny followed within a generation. Solon was right: there were no conquered lands at Athens and no helots, and to endow the poor he must have directly imited the rich.

²³ The famous name of Lykourgos has attracted to itself the whole series of developments that make up Spartan history: *σπάρτα*, *εφεστια*, *κλῆρος*, *γῆς ἀναδασμός*. The Greeks always imagined Athens springing adult out of the head of Zeus: the idea of growth they had not grasped. Accordingly we find the *ραμαδέρης* sacrificed to the most varied epochs (which was easy, since he never lived in any generation of men). The ninth century B.C. was the favourite estimate, for this put him well at the lack of Spartan history, and it is easier to antedate than to postdate political innovations. But each author connects him with the development that loomed largest in his own mind: and Aristotle at least (*Pol.* 1270, a, 1-5) dates him after the close of the Messenian wars. The *γῆς ἀναδασμός* and its corollaries were a social rather than a

political reform. But perhaps the election of the *εφεστια* by the *Μῆνες*, instead of their appointment by the kings, dates from this time. Probably each was at first elected by his own *κοινότητες* (cp. the development of the *στρατηγία* at Athens): later the whole board by the whole *Apella*. For the growth of their power in the next two centuries cp. Mr. Guy Dickins, *J.H.S.* vol. xxii.

²⁴ Of course the *καλοὶ κτήναι* (*plaissons*), and the rest of the Thousand, possessed private estates, and many of them *ἐκωτα*-valley *εἰδῆς*, as well; but they had to take up their Messenian *εἰδῆς* like the rest. The *γῆς ἀναδασμός* was not a mere relief-measure for the destitute, but, as the title of the holders, *εἰδῆς*, shows, an act of uniformity, which was to extinguish *εἰδῆς* for ever. We accordingly find the greatest difference of wealth within a *κοινότητα*, above the minimum limit of income secured by the *εἰδῆς* (*Xen. Lak. Pol.* 5, 3).

²⁵ The prohibition against buying or selling *κλῆρος* created an equally effective prejudice against the sale of private property. *καλοὶ δὲ γῆς ἀναδασμοῦσις αἰσχρὸν νομιμασται, εἰς δὲ ἐργασίας ποιεῖται εἰδῆς* *Demost.* (Hankelides 2, 76; Müller, *F.H.G.* 2, 211). Plural holding and subdivision of *κλῆρος* were likewise illegal.

²⁶ *Ar. Pol.* 1271 a, 28-27; 1272 a, 13.

state did not subsidise the holder for nothing. It required that every κληρὸς should maintain a hoplite, devoted to training in peace-time, and available for instant mobilisation in case of war. If a holder could not make his κληρὸς support him, he would be neither free nor fit to discharge his duties to the state: therefore he must go, and the state would find someone who could. If there was no adult son to step into a deceased holder's place, the κληρὸς could not be left vacant till the son grew up: a competent successor must be put in at once, and the child must take his chance of finding a vacancy when he came of age.

Thus the holder had every incentive towards begetting one heir, and the state gave him assistance and encouragement to beget several: the father of three sons was exempt from mobilisation, the father of four from all obligations towards the state (*Ar. Pol.* 1270 b, 1-5), while, for specially dangerous service, men with at least one son were selected, whose family would not be extinguished by their death (*eg.* *Her.* viii. 205). For πολυτὰιδία was even more advantageous to the state than to the individual holder. Aristotle points out that, with a fixed number of κληροί, large families entail a surplus of pauper male population (*Pol.*, *loc. cit.*). But this was just what the state required: to meet the incalculable losses of war, Sparta needed a standing reserve of unemployed. At Sparta the superfluous souls, who in other Greek states would have been exposed at infancy or have left the country at manhood, were educated and retained at home to starve. The institution of the δμοιοί necessitated the class of ὑπομεινέες.²⁷

If, however, exposure of infants was not practised by Spartan fathers for malthusian reasons, it was stringently enforced by the government in the interests of physical selection.

The Spartan state looked far ahead (*Plut. Lyk.* 14, *init.*), and had a strong belief in eugenics, which it fostered both permissively and by statute (*Plut. Lyk.* 15; *Xen. Lak. Pol.* 1). Women were required to undergo as elaborate a physical training as the men. When a child was born, it rested not with the father, but with the elders of his phyle (=kome), whether it should live or die (*Plut. Lyk.* 16). Finally, even such children as had survived this ordeal, only became eligible to the holding of a κληρὸς and enrolment among the δμοιοί, if they had received the public education provided by the state, and passed successfully through its several stages.²⁸

²⁷ The title occurs only once; *Xen. Hell.* iii. 2, 5. Even at the original assignment of the κληροί, there must have been a considerable fraction of Spartans who did not receive them, including the χερσέχται (*Xen. Lak. Pol.* II, 2), the ἀργεῖοι, and the ἀδελφοί (*Her.* vi. 89), but perhaps not the ἑσπέραι, of whom at least one *παις*, the Τελδοβιδάδαι, were grand enough gentlemen to φέρειν εἰς τὸν πόλιν. On the other hand, these four crafts were not available for the military reserve, being expressly confined to their hereditary occupation (*Her.*, *loc. cit.*).

²⁸ *Xen. Lak. Pol.* 2, 7; *Plut. Inst. Lakon.* 21. Thus every Spartan boy, who was not disqualified for a κληρὸς by belonging to one of the hereditary artisan castes, would undergo the ἀγωγή, in the hope of being co-opted in the end into a syssition: so that the second line of ἰσμενέες, as well as the first line of ὄμοιοι, would be trained men; and Agesilaos' legend that every Lakelaimonide was a professional soldier (for the anecdote *cp.* *Plut. Ages.* 26) would apply to both alike. As to whether it was meant to apply to the πενιχτοί as well, or

The *ἀγωγή* began with the completion of the seventh year⁵⁰ when the boy was taken from the care of his mother, and passed into the control of the *παιδονόμος*,⁵¹ or director of public education. Each boy was already a member of the *οἶο* and *φυλὴ* to which his father belonged, and whose elders had acknowledged him after his birth. He was now drafted into the *βοῖα* (= *ἀγέλη*) and *ταγὴ* of Infants, belonging respectively to his particular *οἶο* and *φυλὴ*. Each of these groups and sub-groups was in charge of a 'prefect' (*ἡγάρχος*, *βοναγός*) chosen from among the *εἰρενέες* (men between twenty and thirty years of age). At the completion of his twelfth year, the boy became a Junior, and was removed into the corresponding *βοῖα* and *ταγὴ* of this class: he was now subjected to severe physical hardships, and had to 'fag' for his prefect (Plut. *Lyk.* 16, 17). During his fifteenth and sixteenth years he was in the class of *πιδείναι* (Photios s.v. *συνέφηβος*), and the discipline became more severe, as he grew from *παῖς* to *μειράκιον* (Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 3, 1), probably reaching its culmination in the eighteenth year.⁵² At the completion of that year, he became a *μελλεῖον*: the menial part of the discipline was dropped, and he was encouraged to be clean and smart (Pl. *Lyk.* 22). From this class the members of the *κρυπτεία* (Pl. *Lyk.* 28) were probably chosen, just as the *περιπόλοι* of Attika were supplied by the *ἰφίμβοι*. Finally, at the completion of his twentieth year, he became an *εἴρων*, and was eligible for co-optation into a *syssition*.

Of these *φιδίτια* (as they were called at Sparta itself) there was a fixed number to each *οἶο*, and, again, the number of members in each *φιδίτιον* was fixed. Thus the total number of *συσκεῖναι* (as the members were called), was constant, and corresponded exactly with the total number of Messenian *εἰρήναι*.⁵³ The new *εἴρων* was now put up for membership in one of the *φιδίτια* of his *οἶο*, and the *συσκεῖναι* voted on him: a single 'black ball' sufficed for his rejection (Pl. *Lyk.* 12); and if he could gain entrance into no *φιδίτιον*, he became a *ὑπομείων*.⁵⁴ If he were co-opted, he remained a member of the *φιδίτιον* for forty years, unless he failed to provide his quota, or was guilty of cowardice in war⁵⁵ (Her. vii. 231, Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 9, 4-5). At

at least a proportion of them, or whether they are included here under the *σπάρταροι*, the ambiguity of the name *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* leaves us in doubt.

For becoming an efficient Lacedaemonian hoplite, the *ἀγωγή* was of course more important than citizen-birth: and accordingly the *μίσθαιοι*, sons of helots or slaves who had endured the *ἀγωγή* (Plutarchos, *op. Athén.* vi. 271, E.), were no less eligible than the sons of Spartians to enrolment among the *ἱπποῖ*, though of course they had not, any more than the latter, the certainty of being co-opted into a *syssition*, as Plutarch (*Juv. Lak.* 22) and Aelian (*Vat. Hist.* 12, 44) suppose they had.

⁵⁰ Plut. *Lyk.* 16. Of course the years were counted from the beginning of the official year

within which the boy was born, not from his birthday.

⁵¹ This office was a step to the highest political career: Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2, 2.

⁵² The name of the seventeenth and eighteenth year-class is not known.

⁵³ Though of course the name *εἰρήναι* did not always go with the name *φιδίτιον*.

⁵⁴ What was the average score of candidates over places, is unknown. But it is clear that, whereas before the *γῆς ἀνάθεσις*, citizens and unprivileged formed the great majority of the Spartians, after the *γῆς ἀνάθεσις* the *εἰρενέες* were in a great minority as compared with the *ἱπποῖ*, until the unfortunate death of Epitadeus.

⁵⁵ Or unless he were appointed to the king's *φιδίτιον*, or *regi laqueus* (Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 18, 7).

the close of his sixtieth year, he was released from liability to mobilisation (Xen. *Hell.* 5, 4, 13), and at the same time, presumably, from the compulsion to eat his dinners at the *φιδίτιον*,⁶⁵ to which he was subjected during his years of active service. Then at last, when it could make no more use of him, did the Spartan state release the Spartiates from its grip, and set him free to live his own life, when he had no more vigour left in him for living.⁶⁶

VI.

Mobilisation-classes and the ἐνομορία.

We are now acquainted with the social grouping of the 'Lykourgian' *ἄνθρωποι* in *φιδίτια*, *ᾠβαί*, *κόσμαι*, and can proceed to examine in their business-organisation in war, and the number of hoplites they could put into the field.

Our earliest figures are those in Herodotos' estimate of the Greek forces engaged at Plataiai: in the whole passage he deals in round numbers, and merely reckons 1,000 hoplitai to each Spartiate *kome*. What we learn from him is, that at this period Spartiatatai and Perioikoi served in equal numbers

⁶⁵ He presumably remained an honorary member, and could dine when he liked, at the active members' expense. Such an arrangement might have enabled the state to resume possession of his *κλῆρος* at once; but the most economical governments pay pensions, and it is much more likely that he retained it till his death. In that case the proportion of *κλῆρος* to active *ἄνθρωποι* was probably 5:1; but as the proportion of males between the ages of 60 and 70 is never really so much as a quarter of those between the ages of 29 and 60, the state must have been left with a welcome surplus of allotments.

⁶⁶ The resemblance between the 'Lykourgian' age- and the English public school system, must strike anyone who has been educated by the latter. E.g. the relation of *ᾠβαί* to the age-classes is made clear by the 'parallels' and 'divs' of Winchester College, and the gradations of rank among the boys do not seem strange to one who has been successively Junior, Sixth Form Inferior, 1st-1000, and prefect. This grading did not even cease with manhood. The *σπέραι* (men from 29 to 30 years of age) had to show certain outward marks of respect to their elders and betters, and were not even found worthy of being buried in the same grave with them at Plataiai, though the *λοκυσταί* of the Pittanatai, Anompharetos, was among their dead (Her. is. 85).

The Spartan system, again, like the English, worked on men through their ambition. The

succession of classes was sufficient stimulus to the *εὐαί*: to prevent the *σπέραι* from merely resting on his oars, once he had secured his place in a *φιδίτιον*, he was given the prospect of 'getting his colours.' The cavalry corps of the 300 *γύει* was recast into a legion of honour, which in battle formed the king's bodyguard. Three captains, called the *ἱπποκύβηται*, were commissioned by the ephor to enrol such a company of a hundred men, and the competition for enlistment was intense (Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 4; cf. the anecdote in Pint. *Lys.* 22), though membership was only for a limited number of years (how many, we do not know: it must in all cases have ceased with the close of the thirtieth).

It is characteristic of the system that these new-model *ἱππῆς* had no *προβία*, but fought as *ἐκκλῆται* *λοκυσταί* in the battle line (Her. vii. 205; viii. 124; *ἀσπέραι* only, in vi. 86. Thuc. v. 72; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4, 12-14; Strabo 481-482). The Spartan *ἀσπέραι*, like the English, was calculated to turn out a single type of a very high standard, the perfect hoplite; and this type, again, like the English, slaked under a strict uniformity in externals, the deepest divergence of wealth and social tradition. Compare the Spartan's *περικεφαλαί* and bronze *ἀσπίς* with the modern evening dress. The effect of this suppression of individual character showed itself at Sparta, clearly enough. Within a generation of the *γῆς ἀνάστασις*, Spartan art was dead (see the museum at modern Sparta).

and in separate contingents. But for really circumstantial information, we must descend to the histories of Thucydides and Xenophon.

Every Spartiate was on the active-service list for forty years after becoming an *εἰργὴν* (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 13; vi. 4. 17); and a campaign was opened by a mobilisation-order, announcing how many year-classes were to join the colours: *πρώτον μὲν ταύτων οἱ ἑφοροὶ προκηρύττουσι τὰ ἔτη εἰς ἃ δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι* (Xen. *Lak. Pol.* xi. 2). But these year-classes were not merely mobilisation machinery: they were the tactical basis of the line of battle. If a sally from the ranks were required, to repulse attacking cavalry or light infantry, the commanding officer ordered so many *ἔτη ἀφ' ἧβης* to charge.⁶⁷

Now the smallest tactical unit was the *ἐνωμοτία*.⁶⁸ The troops formed column of *ἐνωμοταίαι* on the march, and line of *ἐνωμοταίαι* when they deployed.⁶⁹ It is therefore clear that every year-class must have been represented in every *ἐνωμοτία*: e.g. *τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης* must have been distributed evenly along the whole front, that is, throughout all the *ἐνωμοτία*; or they could not have sallied out from the line; and we have evidence which makes it clear, further, that each year-class was represented in each *ἐνωμοτία* by a single man only. At Leuktra *τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐστρατεύοντο* (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 17) and the *ἐνωμοτία* numbered 3 (front) \times 12 (depth) = 36 (vi. 4. 12). In the campaign of 418 B.C., the Lakedaimonioi marched out *πανόδημοί* (Th. v. 64), that is, the forty year-classes *ἀφ' ἧβης* and the two year-classes of *μελλείρετες*. But at Orestheion they sent back *τὸ ἕκτον μέρος σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πρεσβύτερον τε καὶ τὸ νεώτερον ἦν*, that is, the five senior classes and the *μελλείρετες*. The first thirty-five classes, therefore, were left to take part in the battle at Mantinea: but of these, again, the *πρεσβύτεροι* were not stationed in the line, but *ἐπιτεταγμένοι* in the rear (Th. v. 73); and accordingly the *ἐνωμοτία* only numbered 4 (front) \times 8 (depth) = 32 (Th. v. 68. 8).⁷⁰

The *ἐνωμοτία*, then, was, as its name implies, a permanent unit, and mustered forty men at its full strength; and we can now calculate the exact number of the *δυστοίαι*. There were four *ἐνωμοταίαι* to a *πεντηκοστής*, and four *πεντηκοστίες* to a *λόχος* (Th. v. 68. 3), so that the five 'Lykourgian' *λόχοι* together totalled $40 \times 16 \times 5 = 3,200$ men.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης* Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 32; vi. 4. 23 and iv. 5. 14, iv. 5. 16 *τὰ πρεσβύτερα*, owing to the exceptional details the division was in. *τὰ δέκα* (= 10 classes) was the usual number.

⁶⁸ Hes. i. 82; Th. v. 68; Xen. *Lak. Pol.* xi. 4, seq.

⁶⁹ Xen. *loc. cit.*; the leading *ἐνωμοτία* of a division in column of march was called the *ἄγμα*.

⁷⁰ This seems to have been an unusual formation. Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* ii. 4) says *αὐτῶνται τότε μὲν ἐν ἐνωμοτίαι, τότε δὲ αἱ τρεῖς, τότε δὲ αἱ τέτταρες*; i.e. either in line of *ἐνωμοτία* with a front of one, or with a front of three

(and a depth of twelve), or with a front of six (and depth of six). This incidentally shows that *τὰ πρεσβύτερα* refers to the usual strength. *τὰ πρεσβύτερα* were only called out on a great emergency, like the present; e.g. after Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 17).

⁷¹ And there were therefore $3200 \div 4 = 800$ *αἰῶνες*, including those of the retired list. It seems that the proportion between group and sub-group remained just as constant as their names, between 800 and 100 B.C. Similarly the Roman legion preserved its original 30 centuries through the reforms of Camillus and Marius.

That each of these eighty *ἐνομοτίαι* should gain and lose just one man each year, seems too delicate an adjustment for practical working. But we notice that the year groups always go in batches of fives (τὰ δέκα, τὰ δεκαπέντε, τὰ τριακοσταπέντε), so that each *ἐνομοτία* had merely to enrol five new members within each five-year period, a much easier thing.

VII

The Mora.

The question that next suggests itself is: What was the relation of this permanent military unit, the *ἐνομοτία*, to the permanent social unit, the *φιδίτιον*? Our only⁷² evidence for the number of a *φιδίτιον* is a passage in Plutarch's *Lykourgos* (12): *συνήρχοντο δὲ ἀνὰ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ βραχεῖ ταύτων ἐλάττωσε ἢ πλείους*. This number Fifteen is so incommensurate with the Forty of the *ἐνομοτία*, that we at once suspect it of belonging to a subsequent modification of the 'Lykourgian' system.

The best evidence of such a modification is the appearance of the name *μόρα*. It first meets us in 403 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 31), and is thenceforth mentioned by Xenophon far more frequently than any other tactical group in the Lacedaemonian army.

About the *μόρα* we know several things for certain, to start with. Firstly, it was a composite corps of infantry and cavalry⁷³ (Xen. *Lak. Pol.* ii. 4). Secondly, it was a composite corps of Spartiatai and Perioikoi.⁷⁴ Thirdly, there were six of these corps.⁷⁵

The first problem to solve is the relation between the new *μόρα* and the old Lykourgian corps, the *λόχος*. Xenophon mentions the *λόχος* in two places only: *καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κρόμμον. καταλιπὼν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν δωδεκα λόχων τρεῖς* (*Hell.* vii. 4. 20), and: *τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς* (vii. 5. 10). The force left at Kromnos included both Spartiatai and Perioikoi (vii. 4. 27). Therefore in 364 and 362 B.C. the army was organised in twelve *λόχοι*, and within these *λόχοι* all Lacedaemonian hoplites were included.⁷⁶

⁷² The *συστάται* of Agis' scheme *κατὰ τερποκοντίων καὶ διακοντίων* (Plut. 3) were of course a brand new system, and see no evidence for the earlier period.

⁷³ The contingent of each arm was itself called a *μόρα ἵππων* or a *μόρα πεζικῶν* (Xen. *Hell.* ix. 5. 11). After the transformation of the 500 *ἵπποι*, the state did not possess mounted troops again, till the occupation of Kythira by the Athenians in 424 B.C. compelled them to organise a corps of 400 for patrol duty.

⁷⁴ *διόμνεται εἰς τὰς μόρας Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάντες* (Aristot. *Lak. Pol.* apud Harpocrationem s.v. *μόρα*); cf. also Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1. 1 with 4. 15; for the cavalry, v. 4. 39.

⁷⁵ Harp. loc. cit.: *ὅμοι δὲ ὡς εἶσι μόραι 12 ὁμομαμένους*; Xen. *Lak. Pol.* ii. 4; also *Hell.* vi. 4. 11: *τῶν ἑξαδικοντα μῶρων*, four having fought at Leuktra. Thucydides talks of *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αἱ πέντε μόραι* (v. 32), because one *μόρα* had already been sent to Therapia, in the winter 378-7 after the death of Phoebidas (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 46). That he puts both Agisilaos' campaigns after that, in 377, is a blunder; but the mistake is in chronology, not in the number of the *μόραι*.

⁷⁶ It has been argued that the twelve *λόχοι* have nothing to do with *μόραι*, but represent a reorganisation after the loss of the Messenian *αἰῶροι*. But the Spartan government after 389

The existence of the twelve *λόχοι* may be traced as early as 425 B.C. On their return from the spring invasion of Attika in that year, the Spartiatæ, and such of the *Perioikoi* as dwelled nearest, hastened at once to Pylus (Th. iv. 8, 1); the rest of the *perioikoi* followed later (8, 2). When the whole Lacedæmonian hoplite force was thus finally collected on the spot, they decided to garrison Sphakteria, *καὶ διεβίβαζον ἐς τὴν νῆσον τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἀποκλῆρασαυτες ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν λόχων* (iv. 8, 9). The post was relieved from time to time, and the last batch, who were caught there by the Athenian fleet, numbered 420 hoplites (besides attendant helots); there is no reason to think that the original detachment was of a different strength.

Now it is most unlikely that the individual soldiers of each *λόχος* draw lots for the duty. Besides being a tedious business, it would have produced an incoherent squad of men who had never fought side by side before. The lots were almost certainly drawn between the smallest tactical units in the *λόχος*, the *ἐνωμοτίαι*. Now assuming that there were twelve *λόχοι*, a detachment put together out of single *ἐνωμοτίαι* from each *λόχος*, would consist of $12 \times 35 = 420$ hoplites precisely.⁷⁷

Under the *μόρα* system, then, there were twelve *λόχοι*, and a brigade of two *λόχοι* was the *μόρα*.⁷⁸ Accordingly, the strength of the *μόρα* at the *πυρρῶν* mobilisation of forty *ἐτη ἀφ' ἡβῆς* was $640 \times 2 = 1,280$ men; at the normal mobilisation of 35, $560 \times 2 = 1,120$.⁷⁹

This estimate for the *μόρα* tallies exactly with the remaining evidence in Xenophon. At the Nemea (394 B.C.) *συνελέγησαν ὁπλίται Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους* (Hell. iv. 2, 16); and only five *μόραι* were present, for one was garrisoning Orchomenos at the time of the battle (iv. 3, 15; Pausanias must have left it behind after his campaign in the preceding year). Taking the mobilisation at thirty-five, we get $5 \times (2 \times 16 \times 35) = 5600$ for the total of

like *Argos* after 546 and 495) persistently refused to recognise the change in the status quo, e.g. in 365 B.C. (Hell. vi. 4, 19), and for this reason stood out of the general peace which followed Second Mantinea in 362 (Diod. xv. 59). Therefore, although the majority of the *ἑταῖροι* must at once, after the loss of Messene, have become unable to pay their quota to the *πόλεως*, it is most unlikely that this was treated as adequate ground for loss of status (the new Messenians being regarded as a band of brigands in temporary occupation). The number of the *ἑταῖροι*, and, therewith, the existing military organisation, remained unchanged. These two passages, then, can be taken as good evidence for the system before, as well as after, 369.

Xenophon counts by *λόχοι*, not by *μόραι*, in those two places simply because the grouping on the two occasions (3 : 9 *λόχοι*) did not correspond with the permanent brigading of the *λόχοι* in the *μόραι* (2 *λόχοι* = 1 *μόρα*).

⁷⁷ τὰ τετρακοσμία were the ordinary

mobilisation-units.

⁷⁸ The table in Xen. *Lak. Pol.* II. 4 has been tampered with considerably. It now gives:—

2 *ἐνωμοτίαι* = 1 *τετρακοσμία*.

2 *τετρακοσμίαι* = 1 *λόχος*.

4 *λόχοι* = 1 *μόρα*.

'Four' (4) must be a corruption of 'Two' (2), and the proportion between *ἐνωμοτίαι* and *τετρακοσμίαι* must thereafter have been assimilated to the altered proportion between *τετρακοσμίαι* and *λόχοι*.

The passage must originally have run: *ἐτάθη δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τούτων ἡμῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχος ἑνα, λοχαγὸς δύο, τετρακοσμίαί τετὰ ἑκατομάρχαι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα*. All that we learn from it in its present state is that the commander of a *μόρα* was a *πολέμαρχος*.

⁷⁹ The difference in strength at different mobilisations accounts for the great variety in the estimates of ancient historians (Plut. *Phœp.* 37).

the five λόχοι: adding 560 for the Σκιρτῆς λόχος, we get 6160 for the grand total of Lacedaemonian hoplites.⁸⁰

It is more probable, however, that Xenophon neglected the Σκιρταί, and reckoned the strength of the μύρα, on a mobilisation of thirty-five at the round number of 1200. For he reckons the hoplite μύρα cut up by Iphikrates in 390 at 'about 600' (*Hell* iv. 8, 12). This was probably the same μύρα that was stationed at Sikyon under Praxitas⁸¹ in 392 (iv. 417) and which captured Lechaion that year; in any case it was the μύρα which was operating at Lechaion in 391 (iv. 4, 17), and had been in garrison there throughout the winter. Now the Spartan δμοιοι were permanently 'with the colours,' and it made no difference to a φιδίτιον whether it was quartered in Sparta or at the Isthmos⁸²; but the perioikoi, like the majority of the Πελοποννήσιοι, were αὐτουργοί, and could not spare more than the campaigning season from their labour in the field. It is therefore probable that the perioikic λόχος of the μύρα had returned to their homes in the autumn of 391, and not rejoined the colours again, so that in May 390 only the Spartan λόχος of the μύρα was present at Lechaion, that is (reckoning the whole μύρα in round numbers at 1200), 'about 600 hoplites.'

This raises a second question: Was one λόχος of the μύρα Spartan, and the other perioikic, in actual fact? With the five Lykourgian λόχοι

⁸⁰ It has been suggested that a large contingent of the 6000 hoplites were νεοδαμῆναι. We have little evidence of the total number of the νεοδαμῆναι from time to time created: the original batch (?) 425 B.C.) was 2000 (*Th.* iv. 80, 4), but the government managed soon to thin their ranks. In spring 418, 600 νεοδαμῆναι and newly enrolled helots were sent out to Sikily (*Th.* vii. 19, 3), and next year we hear of an expeditionary force of 300 (viii. 5). Even if the permanent numbers of Agesilaos' garrison at Dekelasia were composed of them as well, there is no reason to think that their first strength, 2000, was increased during the course of the Peloponnesian war.

In summer 409, 1000 were despatched with Timon to Asia (*Xen. Hell.* iii. 1, 4), and 2000 more in 386 with Agesilaos (*ib.* 4, 2). At the time of the Nomia battle, there were all either in garrison in Asia (*ib.* 2, 3), or marching round the Aegean with Agesilaos (*ib.* 3, 15); and as the number of these νεοδαμῆναι alone was already 1000 higher than the total number during the Peloponnesian war, it is probable that 2000 was the total number of νεοδαμῆναι in 394; and that not a man of them was at Sparta when the μύρα mobilised in that year.

Next do we hear of such a large number as 3000 again. The 2000 troops of Epaminondas in 331 included, besides νεοδαμῆναι, perioikoi and Skiritai (*v.* 2, 21), and when in winter 370-369, 6000 helots and more (*vi.* 5, 29) re-

sponded to the call to arms which would have made them νεοδαμῆναι, the government considered the number overwhelming.

The νεοδαμῆναι were a standing force of hoplites, raised from the helots for overseas service, in order to set free the whole of the regular Lacedaemonian army for service on the Greek mainland. They were given none of the political rights of the Spartan ἔφηροι, the ἱσμοι, nor organised on the same social system of κλῆροι and ἀδελφῆαι: in fact, on a peace footing there was no place for them at Sparta at all. Accordingly, when the Brasiliens returned home from the Thracian coast, after the peace of Nikias, they and the remaining νεοδαμῆναι were stationed provisionally at Leirkeon, a free city between Ithi and Amorgos.

It is not known how these ἐκείνη ἀσκήσια were financed: probably they were paid out of the war-fund of the Peloponnesian League, and then out of the πόδες of the ἄρχη, as soon as it was transferred from Athens to Sparta.

⁸¹ At the end of the campaign, Praxitas διαφύει τὴν ἐργασίαν (= the allies who had assembled after the fall of Lechaion) and returned himself to Sparta (*iv.* 4, 13), but there is no hint that the μύρα returned with him. Whether Praxitas was the unfortunate polemarchos of 390 we do not know, for Xenophon purposely suppresses that officer's name.

⁸² Except that the Spartans lived more sedately on service than in peace time (*ib.* i. 94, 22).

served an equal contingent of perioikoi. But did the proportions remain the same, after both Spartiatai and perioikoi were brigaded in the same *μόρα*?

Out of the 420 Lacedaemonian hoplites caught on Sphakteria 292 survivors capitulated, and were conveyed to Athens. The surrender made a great impression on the public mind at Athens: they could only account for it by supposing that the great majority of the Spartiatai, and probably all the *καλοὶ καγαθοὶ* (noble clansmen) were among the 128 slain, and that the remnant could not prevent the perioikoi from laying down their arms. They accordingly tried to discover, by individual inquiry from the prisoners, what was the proportion among them of perioikoi and Spartiatai, but could elicit no information from them as to each man's status, until one, stung by an ingeniously offensive form of question, blurted out that 'It would be a fine arrow that could pick the best men.' From this the questioners inferred that the losses had fallen upon Spartiatai and perioikoi with impartial severity. But here was the basis for a rough calculation of the number of Spartiatai they now had in their hands. The proportion between Spartiatai and perioikoi among their prisoners must be the same as the proportion between the two in the detachment while it was still intact. But the detachment was composed of equal drafts from all the *λόχοι* of the Lacedaemonian hoplite army; and so the proportion of Spartiatai and perioikoi in the detachment, must be the same as that established in the regular tactical organisation of the whole army, which was a matter of common knowledge.

The busybodies, reckoning the 292 prisoners at the round number of 300, calculated, accordingly, that 'about 120' of them were Spartiatai. Their curiosity has given us the clue to the proportion between Spartiatai and perioikoi in the *μόρα* $120:300=4:10$. Therefore not half, but four-tenths only, of the hoplites in a *μόρα* were Spartiatai.

While, then, one *λόχος* of the *μόρα* consisted entirely of perioikoi, one-fifth of the 'Spartiate' *λόχος*, as well, was recruited from the perioikoi, and only four-fifths from the Spartiatai themselves: that is, in every full 'Spartiate' *ἐνομορία* of forty men, there were thirty-two *Σπαρτιάται*, and eight *περίοικοι*.

The complement of Spartiatai in the 'Spartiate' *ἐνομορία*, under the *μόρα*-system, was called a *τρικλᾶς*⁸²; and we can now see that Plutarch's *συσσίτιον*, 'averaging fifteen members' (*Lyk.* 12) is part of the same organisation. The *τρικλᾶς* messed in two *φιδέτια*, and in two years out of every five, the alternate years, presumably, each *φιδέτιον* had to co-opt a new member from among the boys just qualifying as *εἰσπρεπές* in that particular year. Thus in a Spartiate *ἐνομορία*, within any of the eight five-men groups, corresponding to the eight groupings of five year-classes, four men would be Spartiatai belonging to four of the year-classes proper to their group. The fifth man, belonging to the fifth year-class, would be a perioikos.

Not only was perioikio *λόχος* brigaded with 'Spartiate' *λόχος* in the

⁸² Herodotus (i. 65) mentions the institution of *ἐνομορίας* and *τρικλᾶς* and *συσσίτια* (messing) — these indiscriminately to 'Lykourgos' along with ephors and gerontes).

μόρα, but each perioikic *ἐνομορία* had its 'Spartiate' sister-*ἐνομορία*, and the perioikic *πύλας* which was responsible for the recruiting of any perioikic *ἐνομορία*, was further charged with supplementing the Spartiate *πύλας* of the sister-*ἐνομορία* up to full *ἐνομορία* strength. In one year out of five, it would have to enrol two new *εἰσπρεῖς* instead of one, namely a recruit for each *ἐνομορία*.⁸¹

The reason for the change from five *λόχοι* to six *μόραι* is now perfectly clear. The new system increased the hoplite force of the state by one-fifth, without increasing the military charge on the Spartiate population,⁸² by drawing more largely on the resources of the perioikoi; while the brigading of the twin *λόχοι* in a single *μόρα*, and the complete incorporation of the supplementary perioikoi in the Spartiate units, obviated the dangers of the altered proportion between the two castes.⁸³

The new system divorced the military organisation of the Spartan state from the five *κοῦμαι*, and thereby deprived the latter of their political importance as well.⁸⁴ Instead of 160 *φιδέτιαι*, grouped in five *κοῦμαι*, there are now 192 *φιδέτιαι* grouped in six *μόραι*, and any qualified *εἰρη* might be co-opted into any *φιδέτιον*; so that the members of any *κοῦμη*, e.g. Amyklai, would be found scattered through all the *μόραι* (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5, 11), and a man's father, brother, and son might belong to a different *μόρα* from his own (iv. 5, 10). This change completed the internal unification of the Spartiate community: *κοῦμη* and *ὠδία* went the way of *φρατρία* and *γέρος*, losing all practical utility, and retaining a merely religious and sentimental significance; and herewith the last traces of the eighth century synoikismos were obliterated. The artificial *μόρα* became the supreme political and military grouping of the state.⁸⁵

⁸¹ The fifth year supplementary recruit must have been sent up to Sparta and maintained there permanently, presumably at the expense of the Spartan government: if the perioikic polis had to support him there in idleness, it was a very serious charge on them. His permanent presence in Sparta was absolutely necessary: he must learn to work together with his fellow-*ἐνομοῖται* (proficiency in drill was the secret of the Lacedaemonian army's success), and the *ἐνομορία* must be ready to mobilise at a moment's notice. To insure this, no Spartiate holds to military service was allowed to leave the country without a special permit from the authorities (Isokr. *Bonotia* and *Harp.* iv. apud Ross, *Arist. fragm.* 543); and the whole advantage of the concentration of the Spartiate *λόχοι* in permanent camp at Sparta would have been lost, if one-fifth of their strength had been regularly absent from the colours.

These supplementary perioikoi were naturally not admitted to the *φιδέτιαι* of the Spartiate *ἐνομο*, but they doubtless practised the same *δίακτα*, and when the *ἐνομορία* deployed into

line of battle, Spartiates and Perioikoi fought shoulder to shoulder: *ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἀγαστάσι, αἱ ἐφείροι + παρὰ τοῖς κατ' ἄλγεα συμπαράταστασι, ὁποῖον ἀνὰ τοῖς, εἰς τοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ἑστῶτας* (Isokr. *Bonotia* 180).

⁸² That is, without necessitating an increase in the number of *αἰῶνες*. The complement of Spartiates in the 6 *μόραι* was actually less than the total strength of the 5 *λόχοι*: $32 \times 16 \times 6 = 3072$ as computed with $40 \times 16 \times 5 = 3200$; leaving 128 *αἰῶνες* vacant for magistrates, *ἐπίστροι*, *ἀμυνταί*, etc.

⁸³ 4:6 instead of 5:5.

⁸⁴ Though they still preserved their existence: *Ἀρχὴ τὰ Σπάρταν ἀνὰ τὸν δὲ Περσὶν ἀνταγωνισμὸν γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν* (Hec. iii. 55).

⁸⁵ So that Xenophon (*Hieroi.* 9, 3) says: *ἐνομοῖται μὲν γὰρ ἔνασι αἱ πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλιν, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ λόχους*, with an obvious reference to Sparta. Just as the γὰρ *ἀνταγωνισμὸς* corresponds to the work of Solon and Periklitos at Athens, so the change from *λόχοι* to *μόραι* is paralleled by the reorganisation of Attika under Kleisthenes.

Our final problem is to date the change. In 479 B.C. the 'Lykourgeian' system was still in force: in 425 B.C. the *μῶρα*-organisation was already in existence. Within those limits, the most probable date is some time between the outbreak of the Arkadian revolt and the capitulation of the rebels on Ithome, that is approximately between 474 and 454 B.C., a period during which the existence of the Spartan hegemony, and even of the Spartan state itself, was several times seriously threatened. The 1500 Lacedaemonian troops which Nikomedes shipped across the Corinthian gulf in the spring of 457 B.C., were probably the first army that took the field under the new system.⁸⁸

VIII.

First Mantinea.

Thucydides' account of the campaign in 418 B.C. (v. 64-74) shows beyond doubt that he had not comprehended the *μῶρα* organisation. In consequence, his attempt to estimate the strength of the Lacedaemonian line of battle at Mantinea (v. 69), is a complete failure. From his description of the mobilisation (v. 64, 2), we perceive that the ambiguity of the Lacedaemonian name has already confused his mind: he there equates Lakedaimonioi with Spartiatai, and the existence of the Perioikoi has escaped his memory: and when he comes to count up the forces in the field, he only remembers the 'Spartiate' *λόχοι*, and leaves the perioikic *λόχοι* out of his reckoning.

The data in Thucydides' possession were as follows: (1) there were present seven Lacedaemonian corps,⁸⁹ exclusive of the Skiritai⁹⁰; (2) one of

⁸⁸ I.e. one *μῶρα* = the Three Hundred. The *μῶρα* *ἱεῖρας* must have been organised some time between 424 (Th. iv. 55) and 392 (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4, 10), and their strength is reckoned by Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 16) as one tenth of the hoplite *μῶρα* (600:6000 as the respective numbers of the two arms in 5 *μῶραι*), that is, as 128 troops, or 112 at 35 *ἐκὼν ὄψ' ἄρμα*. The cavalry *μῶρα* was commanded by a *hipparchos*, subordinate to the *polemarchos* commanding the whole brigade *ὄπλων τε καὶ ἱππέων* (*Hell.* iv. 4, 10; 5, 12). Of its subdivisions, and of the proportion in it of Spartiatai and Perioikoi, we have no knowledge. The troops were inferior men, the leavings of the hoplite *μῶραι*, after the latter had filled up their full complement. If the Lacedaemonian infantry were the best in Greece, because at least the 'Spartiate' *λόχοι* were always in training under arms, the Lacedaemonian cavalry were the worst for the corresponding reason. The trooper was not the owner of his horse and equipment, for he was a poor man (an *εὐπόλεος* if a Spartiate), and his outfit was charged as a

expert on the job (the *ἐμπειροὶ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγῶν*); but he had not even the permanent use of them. Only when the mobilisation-order had been issued, did he apply for his mount and arms, whose quality and condition were left entirely to the conscience of the provider. Thus the cavalry, an arm which depends far more than infantry on constant practice, was in no sense a standing force, as it was, for instance, at Athens, and was only exercised during the actual campaign. After the experience of Leuktra, they stiffened the force with mercenary professionals (Xen. *Hipparch.* 9, 4), from which time it began, too late, to improve.

⁸⁹ That the seven corps included both the two divisions on the right wing (v. 71, 3 = *ἀντιπαρσίων ἀρίστον καὶ ἰσχυρόν ἔχοντα*), and also the brigade of Brasidaeis and *νοτάριστες*, is clear: *λόχοι μὲν γὰρ ἀμύχανοι ἑνὲς ἑνὸς Σπάρτης*.

⁹⁰ The Skiritae Lochos (Diod. xv. 32) was raised by the originally Arkadian communities of perioikoi on the Alpha-Eurotas watershed (Th. v. 33, 1) shows that the Skiritae marched

these corps was a brigade of Brasidaeioi²¹ and Neodamodeis; (3) the Lacedaemonian λόχος consisted of sixteen ἐνομοτίαι; (4) in this battle the ἐνομοτίαι were formed with an average depth of eight and front of four. These premisses are all true facts: it is in his next premiss, the assumption that the seven divisions in question were λόχοι, that he goes completely astray. Evidence for the correction of his mistake is supplied by himself, for he states that the officers commanding these divisions were polemarchoi (71, 3), while he witnesses above (60, 3) that the polemarchos commanded a larger group than the λόχος. From Xenophon we know that the polemarchos' command was the μόρα. Therefore, there were present at Mantinea the six regular μόραι, and a supplementary brigade of μόρα-strength. Thucydides' calculation of the total number of men in the Lacedaemonian front rank, $7 \times 16 \times 4 = 448$ is exactly half the true amount.²²

This conclusion is supported by two considerations. Firstly, the Brasidaeioi must have formed a lochos by themselves, for their original strength was 700 (iv. 80, 1), and there is no hint that their losses ἐπὶ Θράκης were abnormally heavy. Therefore, the brigade of Brasidaeioi and Neodamodeis must have been larger than a lochos. Secondly the battle was notable for the number of troops engaged (v. 74, 1), and of the two armies τὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μείζον ἐφάνη (68).

The great bulk of the Lacedaemonian army consisted of their own troops. Of such allies as joined them, the Ἑπαιεῖς and Mainalioi (67, 1) were balanced by the Arkadian ξόμμαχοι²³ of the Μαντινῆς on the other side, the Tegeatai by the Mantineis themselves. Therefore the Lacedaemonian troops must at any rate have 'seemed to outnumber' the remainder of the Allied forces, namely:

(1) One λόχος of Ἀργεῖαι λογάδες (67, 2)	= 1000
(2) the πέντε λόχοι of the Αργεῖοι (72, 4)	= 5000
(3) the περὶοκοί of Argos (Orontai) and Kleonaioi	= ?
(4) the Athenian contingent (61, 1)	= 1000

In reality the total of these four groups must somewhat have exceeded the 7168 hoplites of the seven Lacedaemonian μόραι. The Spartan staff was as clever at creating an exaggerated impression in the enemy's mind of their strength on the field of battle, as it was at minimising their number in the subsequent interviews with reporters. Of the two divergent estimates which resulted, we must believe that the larger came much nearer to the truth. It

with Eurymachos. It would include the *adon* organisation, and had the privilege of fighting on the left wing in line of battle (Th. v. 67, 1), and of leading the van in columns of runs (Xen. Lak. Pol. 18, 6). We have no definite information as to their equipment, but their employment as *adons* and light troops proves that they cannot have worn the complete panoply.

²¹ The Brasidaeioi were originally *proedamodeis* themselves, but had been granted a special

status in return for their distinguished services ἐπὶ Θράκης.

²² Of course his own admission that not all, but only the majority, of the *ἀρχαῖοι* employed the eight-deep formation, makes it impossible to calculate the length of the front at all.

²³ Kynourioi, Eutresioi and Parrhasioi, former *periokoí* of Tegea, whom Mantinea had 'reft' from her, probably in 422 B.C. (cp. Th. iv. 121; v. 33, 1).

was easy thoroughly to falsify Thucydides' calculations, and to persuade him that 3584 was the maximum number of hoplites Sparta could put into the line, but that this tiny army was capable of defeating any number of hoplites the rest of Greece might gather against them. It was much harder to cheat, to any great extent, the eyesight of 10,000 men, staring at their ranks with straining eyes, across the two hundred yards interval of the *metaxaion*.

IX.

Leuktra.

The Lacedaemonian contingent of Kleombrotos' army at Leuktra consisted of four *μῶραι* (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1, 1) at the normal strength of thirty-five *ἑτη ἀφ' ἑβης*; that is, a total of 4,480 hoplites (vi. 4, 17). Of this force 'about 700' (4, 15) were Spartiatas.⁹⁶ Their total loss in the battle was 1,000 men⁹⁷: of these *πρὸς τερμασίου* were Spartiatas (4, 15).

The question at once arises: Why were the Spartan losses so disproportionately heavy, more than half their numbers, while the Lakedaemonioi as a whole lost less than a quarter? The answer is, that the Spartiatas were not distributed evenly along the whole line: 300 of them, the *ἱππεῖς*, were concentrated round the king, on the right flank. Now these 300 bore the brunt of the fighting: it was at this point that the Theban 300, the *ἑπὸς λόχος*, massed in column of assault, came into collision with the Lacedaemonian line (Plut. *Polop.* 23); Kleombrotos fell almost immediately, and it was not till he had been carried to the rear, and the troops covering him had suffered the severest losses, that the line began to fall back (*Hell.* vi. 4, 13-14). It is very probable, then, that the 300 *ἱππεῖς* were practically annihilated. If we subtract 300, then, from the total Spartan loss, we get 700 as the loss of the Spartiatas serving in the *μῶραι*; and if we subtract the same 300 from the total Spartan strength of 700, we are left with 400 as the original number of the Spartiatas serving in the *μῶραι*.

Now the proportion of these 400 to the total 4,480 of the four *μῶραι* is roughly the same as that between their losses and the total Lacedaemonian losses, namely, 1 : 10 in each case. We conclude that the proportion of Spartiatas mobilised in these four *μῶραι* was a known fact, and that it was then applied to the known number of the total Lacedaemonian losses, to extract from it the number of Spartiatas slain, on the perfectly justifiable assumption that the losses in the *μῶραι* fell impartially upon either caste.⁹⁸ To obtain

⁹⁶ Cf. Aristot. *Pol.* 1279 a, 33 (referring to the time of Leuktra): ἀπὸ τῶν ἑβῶν ἑκατὸν ἑβῶν.

⁹⁷ ἑκατὸν χίλιον, Xen. loc. cit.; ἑκατὸν ἑκατὸν χίλιον, Plut. loc. cit. 13, 12.

⁹⁸ The calculator forgot, however, that the

1000 Lacedaemonian dead included the 300 *ἱππεῖς*, and that the losses of the Lakedaemonioi in the *μῶραι* were accordingly only 700, and so he estimated the losses of the Spartiatas in the *μῶραι* at 100 instead of 70.

the proportion between the full number of Spartiatai present and the full number slain, the 300 *ἱππεῖς* were added to each figure.

The four *μύραι*, then, contained only one Spartiate for every ten hoplites; that is, in the 'Spartiate' *ἐνοπλία* only one man now in every five-group was a Spartiate, instead of the original four.

The reason for this was, not that the number of *δμοιοί* had vastly diminished, for that was impossible, as long as the *κλήροι* existed (cp. Plut. *Agis* 5), but that the Spartiate *δμοιος* was now needed for more responsible duties than serving as a private hoplite in the ranks. A century before, Sparta had been merely the *ἡγεμών* of autonomous *ξέμμαχοι*: in 371 she was mistress of an *ἀρχή*, for the mere garrisoning and administration of which her citizen population barely sufficed.⁹⁸ In 425 she had first raised purely professional troops, the neodamodeis, for service abroad; and in 390 only thirty Spartiatai sailed with Agesilaos to Ephesos (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4, 2). But in Greece itself she had managed to put the full complement of Spartiatai into the *μύρα*-line at Nemea, as late as 394. When, in the early spring of 371 (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1, 1) they sent King Kleombrotos across the Gulf, with two-thirds of the *μύρα*-army, to cover Phokis against Theban invasion, the merest stiffening of Spartiatai marched in the ranks. The result was the disaster of Leuktra; for the hoplites of Pelopidas and Epameinondas were a very different lot from the unorganised troops of Tissaphernes and Arrhabaios.⁹⁹

X.

Epitadeus and Kleomenes.

The rhetra¹⁰⁰ of Epitadeus¹⁰¹ was a final recognition that the *status quo* in Messenia had permanently changed, and that the 4000 *κλήροι* of the Stenyklaros plain were definitely lost to the Spartan state.

⁹⁸ Of course the *ἀρχή* had been greatly cut short by the peace of Antalkidas and the new Athenian sea league; but the important factor was her changed position in Peloponnesos, which she now controlled only by garrisons and haraustai.

⁹⁹ In the four *μύραι* at Leuktra, the 'Spartiate' *ἐνοπλία* probably consisted of seven Spartiatai, twenty-one neodamodeis, and seven perioikoi. To supply four-fifths instead of one-fifth of the Spartiate contingent would have been an impossible tax on the resources of the Perioikoi, and it is therefore likely that the neodamodeis were at this time incorporated in the mural, forming three-fifths of every Spartiate *λοχός*, and three-tenths of every *μύρα*. This would account for $6 \times \frac{1120 \times 3}{10} = 2016$ of them (or 2394 at forty *τρὶς ἑξ' ἑξῆς*); and would

explain why we find no mention of them as a separate standing corps, when the news of Leuktra reached Sparta, and the ephors mobilised every available man (*Hell.* vi. 4, 17). The government proposed to raise a new corps of *ἐνοπλοῖται* during Epameinondas' raid in 362 (*Hell.* vi. 5, 35).

¹⁰⁰ The date of the rhetra cannot be fixed accurately. It must have been passed later than the general peace following Second Mantinea, to which Sparta refused to be a party, because it involved recognising the Messenian state. On the other hand, it cannot have been passed much later, for when Aristotle wrote his *πολιτεία* (c. 320 B.C.) it had had time to work its full effect (1276 a, 13-39). If we place it about 357, we shall not be far wrong.

¹⁰¹ Perhaps grandson of Epitadas ὁ Μεσσηνίου, the commandant on Sphakteria in 425 B.C.

Every *homoios* had held his *klēros* in Messene: but the freehold properties in the plain of Sparta, and even the helot-*klēroi* in the lower Eurotas basin, were in the hands of few; so that when Epaminondas reconstituted the Messenian state, the great majority of the Spartan hoplites lost at one stroke, the whole of those revenues which enabled them to keep up their position in the social and military system of 'Lykourgos.' For about a dozen years they continued to devote their services to the state, without receiving their emoluments from it. But the Spartiates, the son of a system cut and dried, was less adapted than most men for making bricks without straw. He found he could not dispense with his economic basis.

The vital need of the state was a new fund of wealth to keep its system working, and as 'territorial compensation' for the loss of Messene was impracticable, the only solution was that the Spartiates who had lost his *klēros* at home, should earn a compensatory capital abroad, by selling his one marketable possession, his military technique. The aged Agésilas set a royal example by becoming condottiere of the Egyptian government, his son Archidamos held the same post for Taras, and many Lakones, princely and commoner, followed their lead.

But at Sparta there was always a taboo upon specie, and if possible the returned adventurer must invest his gains in land. To make this possible, however, restrictions on the free conveyance of freehold and *klēros* must first be removed. The sale, gift or bequest of the *klēros* was expressly forbidden by the constitution, and public opinion as vigorously debarred the freeholder from selling his private property. But the transfer of freehold land by gift or bequest had always been well looked upon. The new rhetra obliterated the legal distinction in this respect between *klēros* and freehold, and made it proper and lawful *τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κλήρον ᾧ τις ἐθέλοι καὶ ζῶντα δοῦναι καὶ καταλειπεῖν διατεθέμενον* (Plut. *Agis* 5). The enormous dowries of real estate in fashion among the *καλοὶ κάγαθοι* (Aristot. *hæc. cūt.*) were likewise encouraged, in the hope of bringing monied and marriageable mercenary nabobs back on to the land on the right side of Taygetos.

But the effects of the law lamentably disappointed the intention of its framer. The *ἀκλῆροι* had yet to make their fortunes; while the vast potential capital, locked up in the big estates of the Eurotas vale, and disqualified, hitherto, from circulation, was immediately set free¹⁰⁰; and

¹⁰⁰ The rich Spartiates under the 'Lykourgean system' was in the same economic stage as the Homeric *basileus*. He did not invest his surplus wealth, but spent it as it came, in extending his personal influence and social connexions. But after the rhetra of Epaminondas, the man who formerly employed the margin of his farm-produce in giving a beef-dinner to his *παῖδρες*, would certainly sell his stock and

invest the profits in a mortgage on his neighbour's three acres. So Sparta, at this belated period in her history, was suddenly plunged into that economic crisis in which Solon had found Attika, and from which Periklēs had rescued her, a crisis which Sparta herself had avoided with such labour and at such cost in the seventh century B.C.

capital is never more dangerous than when it is a novelty and in the hands of a few.¹⁰⁰

So instead of the landless acquiring a share in the properties of the landed, the greater holders proceeded apace to annex the holdings of the smaller, while the Spartiate population dwindled with corresponding rapidity. By the middle of the third century B.C. ἀπελείφθησαν ἑπτακοσίων οὐ πλείονες Σπαρτιάται, καὶ τούτων ἴσως ἑκατὸν ἦσαν οἱ γῆν κεκτημένοι καὶ κλῆρον (Plut. Agis 5).

The only possible salvation for Sparta was a second γῆς ἀνάτασμός, this time at the expense, not of foreigners, but of her own foremost citizens, and initiated, not by a war of conquest, but by a social revolution. This idea cost Agis the Euryphantid his life; and was realised by Kleomenes the Agiad with amazing thoroughness and success.

He abolished the machinery of the 'Lykourgian' system in order to accomplish its objects; and when he had cleared the ground by suppressing the ephoroi and banishing the leading conservatives, he presented his property to the State, and saw to it that the remaining property-owners followed his patriotic example.

The whole Spartiate territory was thus at his disposal, and he now divided it up into 4000 κλῆροι, the number of the long-lost κλῆροι of the Stenyklaros plain. Agis' scheme for the distribution of the perioikic territories into 15,000 κλῆροι was probably carried out at the same time.¹⁰¹

Now for the first time, the Spartan State utilised to the full the resources of the country and its population.¹⁰² Kleomenes put an army¹⁰³ of 20,000 Lakedaimonioi into the field, and bid for the hegemony of Peloponnesos.

But Sparta had found herself too late. If Kleomenes had been born in the seventh century B.C., an authentic and human Lykourgos, the city-state of his creation might have ruled the world. It was his fate to be the second

¹⁰⁰ These two conditions are generally found together.

¹⁰¹ Plut. Agis 3; Kleom. 11. From these figures the fictitious number of Lykourgos' and king Polydamos' allotments was afterwards evolved: Agis' scheme provided for 4000 Spartiate κλῆροι. In this redistribution of Spartiate and perioikic lands, the boundary between the two territories was carefully maintained as it stood. The χερσαίονες Σπάρτης extended up the Eurotas valley as far as the 'ravine of Pellana,' where the χερσαίονες (Paus. iii. 21, 2) marked off the boundary against that perioikic city. Thence the line was drawn W. to the crest of Taygetos and Malen (= Maleata); the valley draining down to Alpheios W. of Leonidhori, E. below Sellasia to Parnon.

The holds of the lower Eurotas basin

gained nothing by the revolution; and it was not till Antigonos reached Tegea that Kleomenes freed 6000 of them for five μναι apiece ready money, and enrolled 2000 as medium-weight infantry, Sparta's last corps of σφιδμαῖοι. A remnant, however, still remained in their old status in 195 B.C. (Liv. xxxiv. 27), and it was probably not till the time of anarchy which followed the death of Nabis, that they were all finally incorporated in the Spartan body-politic or the 'Eleuthero'-Lacedaemonian League.

¹⁰² Cf. Aristot. Pol. 1270a, 29.

¹⁰³ Organised on the Macedonian model, which like the Roman, was developed by differentiation out of the homogeneous hoplite phalanx.

founder of Sparta, when the day of the πόλις was over. His rival, Antigonos the Macedonian, wielded the resources of a political system built on incomparably broader foundations, and capable of a correspondingly infinite degree of development, the National State.

The two powers met in conflict at Scillasia, and this stubbornly contested disaster closes the history of the growth of Sparta.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

A HEAD OF APHRODITE, PROBABLY FROM THE EASTERN
PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON, AT HOLKHAM HALL.

[PLATES XVII-XIX.]

THE marble head of Aphrodite of heroic dimensions¹ from Holkham Hall in Norfolk was published by Michaelis in his 'Ancient Marbles of Great Britain' (p. 314, No. 37) and is one of the few works which he thought worthy of being illustrated by a special plate. In his own words: 'It is one

of the most striking specimens of the collection, and richly merits being better known; being a good copy of an original of the best period. The conception stands about half way between the Aphrodite of Melos and the Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles.' The illustration in Michaelis, which is here reproduced (Fig. 1), gives an entirely wrong conception of the style and character of the head. The head is tilted back too far, which alters the character as far as attitude is concerned, as well as the proportion of the face, which appears too much elongated, and especially in the drawing and modelling of the features and surfaces introduces elements of softness and sentiment which are most misleading. My contention is: That we have to deal, not with a copy, but with an original, and that the relationship to the well-known types of the fourth century B.C. and of later



FIG. 1.—THE HOLKHAM HEAD.
AFTER MICHAELIS.

dates, such as those specially mentioned by Michaelis, undoubtedly exists, but that it cannot possibly be that of a further development of Praxitelean

¹ H. 0'26; l. of face about 0'28; forehead 0'10 high; nose 0'09 long; space between nose and mouth about 0'025; space from mouth to chin about 0'06; neck from chin to hollow of throat 0'10.

or later types, but of an earlier type, out of which the Praxitelean and Scopasian types were developed, no doubt with distinct originality and with the perfection of artistic technique and feeling characteristic of these great sculptors of the fourth century.

This gem of Greek sculpture is part of the collection of ancient marbles at Holkham Hall in Norfolk belonging to the Earl of Leicester. Matthew Brettingham, an architect, carried out the chief design of Kent in the building and decoration of the house, and travelled through Italy, where he



FIG. 2.—THE HOLKHAM HEAD (from a Cast).

bought most of the marbles and other works of art for Lord Leicester after 1755. He gives a general account of these purchases in his book on Holkham published in 1761.² On p. 5 he refers to this head as 'a head of Juno in the Great Dining Room' in the following terms: 'Two large Antique Heads (probably statues) in Elliptical niches above the chimney pieces. That of Juno, for character, workmanship, and preservation is very capital; its companion, Lucius Verus, was found in cleaning the Port of Nettuno.' James Dallaway, in his *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*

² *Plans, Elevations, &c., of Holkham*, by Matthew Brettingham (London, 1761).

published in 1800,² calls it 'a colossal bust of Juno.' Dr. Waagen describes it³ as 'a colossal bust, called Juno, seems to me, from the character, to be a very noble and beautiful head of Apollo. It is, however, placed so high as not to allow a positive decision.' Professor Bernoulli, Professor Conze, and Professor Matz, on their visits to England and to Holkham Hall, also noted this head in their manuscript notes (not seen by me), which were consulted by Professor Michaelis, who in 1882 published his important book.⁴

In all essentials the preservation of the head is exceptionally good, even the nose (including the tip) being practically intact (Fig. 2). The restorations are the following: The whole of the crown of the head with a fillet, the back of the head, and the back half of the neck. Undoubtedly when the statue, to which the head belonged, fell from some considerable height, it did not fall on the face, but most probably on the top of the head, towards the back, so that the whole of the back of the head, including large portions of the neck on either side, split off, and only left as original about one inch of the hair above the forehead running round from ear to ear, as shown in our illustration (Plate XVII.) from the original, and one taken from the cast (Fig. 3), in which the restored portions have been inked out.⁵ Though the face itself and all the features are thus preserved in comparative perfection, the surface of the face has undoubtedly been tampered with by the restorer—a custom which unfortunately was most prevalent in the eighteenth century, and even down to our own days.⁶ The whole surface has been worked over and smoothed down, which would not only be apparent to the practised eye on even a cursory examination



FIG. 3.—CAST OF HOLKHAM HEAD WITH RESTORED HAIR PAINTED OUT.

of the head, but is definitely proved by the fact that there still remain some corrosions on the neck in front, below the chin on our right side, in front of the ear on our left side, on the top of the bridge of the nose, and on the tip of the nose on the right, and to a slighter degree in various other parts of the face. These indentations and corrosions were undoubtedly due

² p. 278, No. 17.

³ *Treasures of Art of Great Britain*, London, 1854, vol. iii. p. 417.

⁴ *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, described by Adolf Michaelis; translated from the German by G. A. M. Fennell; Cambridge, 1882.

⁵ The cast was made by M. Enrico Cartoni; 100, Church St. Chelsea, S.W.

⁶ Since then, in quite recent times, I regret to say, all the marbles at Holkham, including this head, have undergone a process of 'cleaning' which has entirely destroyed the antique patina. It would be well for owners of antique sculpture to consult archaeological authorities before submitting their treasures to any process of cleaning.

to weathering.* They were evidently too deep to be removed by the restorer, who smoothed down the surface of the face. But their presence implies that the whole of the face must have been affected by exposure to weather and could not have been in as perfect and smooth a condition as the head presents at present. In spite of this deplorable interference of the restorer, the artistic character and the main characteristics of style have not thereby been obliterated.

The restored additions to the head were carried out in Italian marble, while the original portion of the head itself is of Greek, moreover of Pentelic, marble. In asserting this I have not relied upon my own opinion alone; but I have had the great advantage of the support of so experienced a geologist and petrographer as Professor McKenny Hughes, who with great kindness accompanied me to Holkham on a special visit and, bringing there specimens of the various Greek marbles, we were enabled to make a careful comparison before the head itself. His own opinion is that the head is decidedly of Pentelic marble.

The head is with the highest probability, if not certainty, that of Aphrodite. This is evident from the whole type of face. But the presence of ear-rings, vouched for by the holes in the lobes of the ear, makes it almost certain. As the original top and back of the head are wanting, we cannot decide whether the head may not have had a fillet or a diadem or even (which is not at all improbable) a veil over the top and back of the head.

The two questions to be decided are:—

(1) To what period, and (2) to what class of statue this head belonged.

1. When we are no longer misled by the comparatively sentimental and soft character of the head as it appears in the illustration given by Michaelis, we must be chiefly struck by the broad and simple treatment of the head in its general composition and in the rendering of further detail. To begin with, the outline composition of the head as a whole in its relation to the neck and the rest of the body, while free from all rigidity or trace of archaism, is one of simplicity in no way suggestive of passion or pathos, such as



FIG. 4.—HEAD OF EIRENE.

is introduced into the heads of the Scopasian and Praxitelean periods. It is even much severer than that of the Eirene with the infant Plutos (Fig. 4) a work attributed to Kephisodotos

* I may anticipate here, and say, that they chiefly occur on one side, the left side, of the

head and to the right of the spectator.

the Elder, which marks the period succeeding the age of Phedias and preceding that of Praxiteles.

It is true the head is not placed immediately in the centre, looking straight forward at right angles to the front of the body, but is slightly turned towards the right shoulder of the statue and very slightly upraised. This slight turn adds life and movement to the attitude, robs it of stiffness and adds a slight touch of softness. But it in no way corresponds to the greater indication of sentiment which the position of the head of Eirene gives to the whole composition, nor anything approaching to the sideward and upturned movement characteristic of Scopasian heads, nor the more dreamy attitudes of Praxitelean statues. This comparative simplicity, if not severity, is still more impressed by the fact that the gaze of the statue is directly forward, not upwards or downwards, such as is characteristic of the fourth century heads of the great masters succeeding the age of Phedias. Though the ball of the eye slants inwards from the top and might thus suggest a downward look, the effect of the direction of the eye, the gaze, is straight forward and not downwards. I shall have to recur to this fact later from another point of view.

The features are all dealt with in a broad and simple manner, such as we find in works of the fifth century. The sweep of the forehead and brow is simple and uninterrupted, without being hard. The arches of the eyebrows are simple in line as they sweep from either temple to the bridge of the nose and continue along the whole of this bridge. When examined close at hand, this continuous and almost geometric sweep of line might appear unduly hard. But, as we shall see, there is a definite reason for this, and the hardness is not exaggerated when the head is seen at the proper distance. Moreover, the modelling of the eyebrow presents comparatively a greater variety of line when examined more carefully and will then not appear to be mechanical in character. Immediately below the arch of the brow the modelling of the fleshy part gives a play of light and shade to the brow as a whole, which robs it of any appearance of mechanical workmanship. So also the continuation of this line along the bridge of the nose is far from being absolutely hard and straight, but shows delicate variations in direction, a slight curve about the middle and a slight inward curve immediately below the middle, which again give life to this line and counteract the effect of mechanical drawing. On the left side (our right) of the edge of the ridge, especially down towards the tip, there is corrosion and slight damage which slightly alter the appearance of the nose as originally modelled. The bridge is broad, as well as the rounded tip; the mouth is small, slightly opened; the lower lip full and curved, though not as pronouncedly as is the case in many heads of Polycleitan character. The smallness of the mouth is well suited to the subject* but does not give the impression of exaggerated daintiness which some of the later heads of Aphrodite present. The upper lip is curved.

* Its proportion corresponds, as far as this can be ascertained, to that of the Thetis-Olympus from the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

but has not yet received the more stereotyped form of the 'cupid's arch' which belongs to later heads. I shall recur later to the peculiar treatment of this upper lip, which is slightly hollowed on either side of the centre for a definite reason and thus produces, when viewed from a distance, so striking an effect in the treatment of the mouth. The 'laughing' muscles on either side of the mouth are delicately indicated in the modelling, but not so strongly as to interfere with the simple effect of surface in the contour of the whole cheek and face. From the front view it would appear that this roundness of the cheeks—though not exaggerated fleshiness—is most regular, if not mechanical. But, when each cheek is viewed slightly from the side, it will be perceived that the outline does not present a mechanical curve, but that, from the highest point at the cheek-bone, the line runs down with a very delicate inward curve towards the chin in varied rise and fall which indicates, not only the bony structure of the cheek-bone and chin, but also the texture of the muscles of the cheek itself. The chin is well rounded and massive. But here again, in spite of the roundness of the curves, the bony structure beneath it is indicated in the treatment of the surface in a rise at either side and a gentle fall towards the centre, which suggests truth to nature and gives character to the whole face. The setting of the eyes and the treatment of the eye itself are most characteristic of the work of the fifth century and is, in so far, contrasted with that of the fourth century, especially in heads of Aphrodite. In relation to the bridge of the nose and the brow, the eye is deep-set; still it is placed well forward, so that it has none of that more delicate play of light and shade which gives softness and charm to the heads of Scopasian and Praxitelean art. The upper lid is firmly detached from the brow by a deeper groove and projects decidedly over the eyeball by an edge cut sharply down, almost undercut. The lower lid is not cut with quite the same sharpness, but has none of that softness and smoothness characteristic of fourth century heads.

The most important point for the purpose of chronological identification, however, is the treatment of the juncture of the two lids at the outer angle of the eye. For many years I have pointed out that it is in this treatment of one individual feature that the line of chronological demarcation of works preceding and succeeding the Parthenon marbles can be ascertained with a degree of certainty almost absolute. In all works preceding the Parthenon the two eyelids meet at the outer angle on exactly the same level. It was owing to a very careful study of the appearance of this feature in actual life, due to the play of light and shade upon the human face, to the shadows thrown by the projecting brow, perhaps also the eyelashes, as well as probably to the influence of the painters of the Polygnotan period, that the unnatural hardness in the appearance of the eye was counteracted by a slight projection of the upper eyelid over the under eyelid at the angle. This treatment, which is not to be found in the Metopes of the Parthenon, begins to show itself in a slight and tentative manner in some of the heads from the Frieze. After this innovation was once introduced, it was developed still further, until, in fourth century and later heads, the

upper eyelid is carried in marked projection over the under eyelid at the outer angles. In this Holkham head we have the more tentative introduction of this innovation, corresponding to the treatment of eyes in the heads from the Parthenon Frieze. There is a slight, a very slight, attempt at such projection of the upper lid; but it does not correspond to the treatment we meet with in fourth century heads, nor those of a later date, nor those of copies of earlier works, in which we generally find that, though in other respects severer, or even archaic, characteristics are reproduced, the copyist forgets himself at this point and generally gives the later treatment of the eye.

The hair, so far as it belongs to the original statue, is dealt with in simple masses round the forehead, with larger strands divided into firmly cut smaller masses and covers the upper part of the lobes of the ear, leaving the



FIG. 5.—HEAD FROM ACROPOLIS.



FIG. 6.—CNIDIAN APHRODITE.

remainder of the ear visible. It is worked with a certain care and minuteness without in any way being advanced in the marked indication of texture which we find in the heads of the fourth century: but this comparative degree of elaboration would be due to the personality of the goddess.

Though, of course, we are somewhat hampered in our judgment of the modelling as such, by the fact that the surface has been interfered with by the restorer, in as much as his work would tend towards greater softness and smoothness, a comparison with the types of Aphrodite of the Scopasian and Praxitelean periods shows that in this head we have to deal with a stage in which greater simplicity and breadth obtained, and one in which the indica-

tion of texture by actual modelling did not attain the standard arrived at by the great artists of the fourth and later centuries. In fact I am convinced (though this will require further exemplification on some future occasion) that, even with Scopos and Praxiteles, modelling as such, *i.e.*, the perfect indication of minute differences of texture in nature by actual modelling without the aid of colour or tinting, had not reached its highest point in Greek sculpture; but that this was really the case with the artists immediately succeeding the age of Praxiteles and even with those who belonged to what we call the period of decline.

As regards modelling, the Holkham head thus clearly manifests a severer and earlier style than is to be found in the Scoposian head of Aphrodite from the Acropolis at Athens (Fig. 5); and the various replicas of



FIG. 7.—HEAD FROM MARTRES TOLOSANES.



FIG. 8.—THE KAUFMANN HEAD.

the head of the Cnidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles, of which the head of the Vatican statue (Fig. 6) is the coarser and less perfect rendering, while the head from Martres Tolosanes (Fig. 7), and, especially, the so-called Kaufmann head (Fig. 8) appear to me the best extant replicas. *A fortiori*, the two heads in the Boston Museum, the one from Chios (Fig. 9) and the one lately in the possession of M. Pallis (Fig. 10), show much greater individualisation and a much higher development of texture-modelling than is to be found in the Holkham head. These Boston heads, by the way, seem to me manifestly to belong to a later date than the Cnidian type of Praxiteles, not improbably to the school of that artist as represented by Kephisodotos the Younger. In spite of the able discussion of the admirable qualities of these two heads by

Mr. Marshall,³⁰ supported by M. Rodin,³¹ I am prepared further to uphold this conviction.

In any case it will be manifest, to even the beginner in archaeological study, that in the attitude and composition of the Scopasian and Praxitelean heads and the sentiment which these convey, as well as in the modelling of the surface and of each feature, especially in the treatment of the eye (in which both Scopas and Praxiteles introduced such characteristic innovations), the Holkham type goes back to an earlier and severer age; and that this even applies to a comparison between the Holkham head and the Eirene of Kephi-sodotos, which marks the period intervening between the age of Pheidias and the age of Praxiteles. On the other hand, it will also readily be perceived that a certain relationship in type does exist between the head of the Cnidian



FIG. 9.—HEAD FROM CHIOS.



FIG. 10.—THE PALLAS HEAD.

Aphrodite and this Holkham Aphrodite, which, however, cannot lead to the inference that the Holkham head is a derivative of the Cnidian type, but must mean that in his establishment of the Aphrodite type, Praxiteles was influenced by his great Attic predecessor, Pheidias, one of whose most famous works was the Aphrodite Ourania at Elis.³² Our experience, as regards the decisive influence which Pheidias had in the establishment of the types of Zeus and of Athena for all times, would *a priori* lead us to

³⁰ *Antike Denkmäler*, 1903, Tafel 59.

³¹ Essay in *Le Musée* for Nov.-Dec., 1904.

³² Pausanias, *l. c.* 25.1; Plutarch, *Conjug. Praecept.* 32; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No.

755, 756. Another marble Aphrodite of supreme beauty later in Rome, is attributed to Pheidias by Piny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 13; *S. Q.* 767.

expect that his creation of such a work as the Aphrodite at Elis would have established a similar influence in the development of the type of that goddess. Moreover, it would be but natural that, in spite of his own marked individuality and the definite and original turn which Praxiteles gave to all his creations, so that in many respects they can be contrasted to the works of the Pheidias age, it would, I say, be but natural that his great Attic predecessor would have exercised some influence upon the leading artist of the fourth century when he was fashioning the same class of work. Such a tendency on the part of Praxiteles has been pointed out by M. Collignon¹² in a different work, namely, in the case of the Mantinea Reliefs, which certainly came from the studio of Praxiteles: "*Or, il est intéressant d'y constater, comme dans les sculptures de Mantinée, des réminiscences du Parthénon.*"

The next, and most difficult, question to decide is the actual nature of the work to which the head belonged: Whether it is a Greek original, or a later copy; and whether the statue stood by itself, or formed part of a pedimental composition?

Unfortunately no head of such dimensions and character, to be ascribed beyond all doubt to Pheidias and his studio, has come down to us. Of the heads of the Parthenon pediments the only one which can give us an idea of general outline structure is that of the so-called Thesens (or, as I prefer to call him, Olympus) (Fig. 11) from the Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon. This head, which in the group was meant to be seen in profile, is that of an athletic youth and does not naturally lend itself to minute comparison with the head of an Aphrodite. But we must especially deplore that the corrosion of the surface has gone so deep that it can yield no information as to the definite treatment of individual features. Yet, even through this corrosion, we may discern that the simple and marked treatment of the line of brow and nose was similar to that of the Holkham head. In spite of the corrosion it will be seen that the arch of the brow on his left side, where it is better preserved than on the right side, is markedly firm. The upper eyelid has been eaten away, there is also strong corrosion in the ball of the eye, but it will be observed that here too the slant was inwards from the top downwards.



FIG. 11.—HEAD OF 'THESENS' FROM THE PARTHENON.

¹² *See also Et. Praxiteles*, 1907, p. 73.

The mouth was in proportion not larger than in the Holkham head. It is also difficult to establish such a comparison as regards detail with those heads from the Parthenon Frieze which remain in a comparatively good state of preservation. They differ considerably among each other in detail. Nevertheless, if we take the profile view of the head of one of the maidens from the Eastern Frieze (Fig. 12), and compare them with the profile view of the Holkham head the same character in the angle of brow and nose will be noted. So too we must take for comparison the almost full face view of the horseman in the South Frieze (Fig. 13), and the head of Dionysos from the East Frieze (Fig. 14), remembering always the difference of dimension and the point at which the spectator viewed the composition; it then becomes manifest that the conception and the character of style point to the same school. In spite of the fact that the Dionysos from the Eastern Frieze is dealt with in a peculiar manner (presenting a



FIG. 12.—HEAD OF MAIDEN.



FIG. 13.—HEAD OF HORSEMAN.



FIG. 14.—HEAD OF 'DIONYSOS.'

head in two-thirds front view on so low a relief), the same characteristics in the treatment of the arch of the brow and the line of the nose are here most noticeable. The mouth, slightly opened, is also similar, and we must note that, whereas the lower lip presents a marked convex curve, the upper lip, if not concave, at all events does not present a smooth convex surface.

The head, however, to which the Holkham head bears the closest analogy (though we must always remember the definite treatment which the artist would give to a head of Aphrodite), is the so-called Weber-Laborde head (Fig. 15), which has received exhaustive treatment at the hand of Professor Sauer.¹⁴ I believe that most archaeologists are agreed in assigning this head to one of the Parthenon Pediments, at least with the highest degree of probability. Unfortunately the vicissitudes through which it passed at Venice, when it was immured in a wall, buried under a rubbish-heap, and battered about as it went from hand to hand; and, above all, the complete restoration of the nose, mouth, and chin, which necessitated the

¹⁴ *Der Weber-Laborde Kopf und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon.*

cutting away of some portions surrounding those features (Fig. 16), make it useless for comparison as regards some details. This is notably the case with regard to the modelling of the hair in the front view. It would be a mistake to assume that, in these pediments and architectural compositions, the hair is always treated on the same system. The study of the Olympia Pediments, of the Metopes and of the Frieze of the Parthenon, of the Metopes from the Argive Heraeum (to mention but a few notable instances) will itself show that the character of different individual figures leads to a completely different coiffure and consequently to a different treatment in the composition of the hair. Nevertheless, when we examine the actual arrangement and cutting of the strands of hair on the left side



FIG. 15.—LAOCÖUS HEAD AND HOLKHAM HEAD.

behind and above the ear of the Weber head (Fig. 16. I), where this hair has been better preserved, we shall see that it is similar to the system of modelling and cutting to be found in the Holkham head. The restorations of the Weber head have been made with comparative skill. As it stands now it affords the closest analogy to our head, always considering that they originally represented different types of divinities.

There exist, scattered throughout the various museums of Europe, a large number of copies and replicas of the same type to which the Holkham head belongs, which cannot be said on any ground to be copies

or derivatives of the Praxitelean type of Aphrodite, but must go back to some earlier type. This of itself shows that the original of which they were modifications (which would well be the Aphrodite Ourania of Pheidias) must have been one famous in antiquity. These various copies and modifications of the original type vary in quality from good Greek workmanship to the mere craft of the later Roman copyist. But none of them approach so nearly to the master-hand of a Greek artist as does this Holkham head. If it be a copy, it is *a priori* unlikely that it would have been made in the best period of Greek art; for the custom of making copies of famous Greek works grew up in later Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman periods.

I shall select four of the more striking specimens of such copies or adaptations, illustrating the several phases of remoteness from the original for special comparison. Firstly, we have the large head of Aphrodite (formerly called a Niobid) (Plate XVIII, 1) in the Louvre Museum of the same heroic



FIG. 16.—CAST OF LARDEHE HEAD BEFORE RESTORATION.

dimensions, the analogy between which and the Holkham head has already been noticed.¹² This head cannot be called a Roman copy, but is of good Greek workmanship, though later than the fifth century B.C. The restorations are but slight, including the tip of the nose, a portion of the right brow, the middle of the left cheek, and a piece of the lower lip. The views of the various archaeologists are most instructive for our purpose of examination. I cannot do better than give M. Reinach's remarks on it.¹³

¹² S. Reinach, *Recueil de Têtes Antiques*, p. 129.

¹³ Intacte à quelques morceaux près, cette tête colossale a été rapprochée, dès le début du

XIX^e siècle, de la Niobé de Florence; puis, dans la première édition de sa *Griechische Plastik*, Overbeck a supposé qu'elle provenait des frontons du Parthénon et M. Froehner y a

'This colossal head has, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, been brought into relationship with the Niobe of Florence; then, in his first edition of his *Griechische Plastik*, Overbeck believes that it came from the Pediment of the Parthenon, and M. Froehner has also recognised in it a work of the school of Pheidias. To-day one is generally agreed in seeing in it a work of Praxitelean sculpture, analogous as well to the Cnidian Aphrodite as to the Niobe. The arrangement of the hair is simpler than in the Aphrodite of Cnidos, and the style is broader than in the known replicas of that statue. One is, therefore, not astonished to find that serious archaeologists should have thought of Pheidias. Perhaps one can account for their impression by attributing this beautiful head to one of the immediate predecessors of Praxiteles who was still dominated by the great traditions of the Attic school of the fifth century.'

With the Holkham head before us, we can understand the various opinions which this head has produced in the several archaeologists quoted. The head is a good Greek copy, or modification, of the Holkham type; but the sculptor or copyist who made it belonged to a period not earlier than Scopas or Praxiteles, when the Niobe type had already been developed. While hardening and making more mechanical and commonplace such features as the nose, the lips and mouth, and the whole region about the mouth and chin, as well as the hair and brow, he has, perhaps involuntarily, introduced some of the elements of the Niobe type and the later period. This head thus marks the first stage in the transformation of the fifth century original Aphrodite.

The second step is illustrated by a marble head in the Museo delle Terme at Rome (Plate XVIII, 2). This head, over life in size¹⁷ is described as a Greek head recalling closely the Aphrodite of Cnidos,¹⁸ and again appears to be, not a poor later copy, but a good Greek copy. There are holes drilled through the back of the ear, as well as two at the back of the neck, behind the ear, no doubt to receive some further ornaments. This also recalls the type of the original Holkham head, but is somewhat hardened and formalised by the copyist, while in this case again the influence of the dominant Praxitelean type of Aphrodite (with the Scopasian Niobe type), which had certainly been

également reconnu une œuvre de l'école de Pheidias (1866). Aujourd'hui, on est généralement d'accord pour y voir une sculpture praxitélienne, analogue tant à l'Aphrodite de Cnide qu'à la Niobe. L'arrangement des cheveux est plus simple que dans l'Aphrodite de Cnide et le style est plus large que celui des répliques connues de cette statue. On ne s'étonne donc pas que des archéologues informés aient pensé à Pheidias. Peut-être pourrait-on tenir compte de leur impression en attribuant cette belle tête à l'un des prédécesseurs immédiats de Praxitèle, encore dominé par la grande tradition de l'école attique du V^e siècle.

Il n'existe pas de répliques de l'Aphrodite du

Louvre, mais on a signalé des têtes analogues de la déesse à Holkham Hall (Minhaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*; Holkham, No. 37 (avec planche)) et à Terracina. (Blanchère, *Terracina*, Pl. 3. Bouillon, *Museo*, t. iii, Pl. 3, 7; Clarac, *Museo*, 1096, 3793 c.; Froehner, *Notice* No. 163; Stark, *Niobe*, p. 234; Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 48 et Fig. 68.)

¹⁷ 30.5 cm. from the top of head to below the chin; approximate breadth, 26 cm.

¹⁸ *Guida del Museo Nazionale Romano*, p. 68, No. 280, and Savignoni in *Mon. Lincei*, viii, p. 83.

developed before the copyist worked, makes itself felt in the involuntary introduction of some of the characteristics of that famous type, so that this copyist or adapter of the Holkham head lived in an age subsequent to the creation of the Praxitelean Aphrodite.

The third stage is represented by an Hellenistic reproduction of the Holkham type in the well-known colossal head in the Galleria of the Museo Capitolino (Plate XIX, 1).¹⁹ This head, like the Louvre replica we have just examined, was formerly regarded as a Niobid, and was selected by Braun²⁰ for his nobler Aphrodite type. Klein²¹ enumerates four other replicas and attributes the original to Praxiteles. According to the writer in the *Catalogue of the Municipal Collections*,²² 'the large build, the full wavy hair, the broad modelling, undoubtedly indicate a fine original of the mid fourth-century school, and a comparison with the better copies of the Cnidian Aphrodite, such as the Kaufmann head, show an essential similarity between the two types. There is, however, suggested a greater dignity of expression and a larger style in this type, which was probably draped.' The latter sentence necessarily contradicts the sentence preceding it. The head is really a somewhat flattened reproduction of the Holkham type, after it had passed through the transformation we notice in the head from the Louvre. The hair, the eyes, and all the features have become more formalised, and, though it is on a higher level than the ordinary Hellenistic and Roman copies, it still bears traces of a later copyist who has passed through the Scopasian and Praxitelean periods, without being strongly influenced by them either in type or in delicacy of workmanship.

The last phase is, however, reached in the poor Roman shop-copy, of which the head in the Salle des Caryatides of the Louvre Museum gives a specimen (Plate XIX, 2). In this the leading artistic qualities of the Holkham head itself, breadth of style and still delicacy of modelling, have been lost, and have been replaced by coarsened mechanical work, while an individualism has been introduced by the Roman sculptor accustomed to the portraits of Roman ladies.

Between these four types there exist a large number of modifications, if not copies, of the same type in various periods, all testifying to the dominant importance of the parent type as we find it in the Holkham head.

At all events, a comparison forces us to the conclusion that, in spite of the tampering influence of the restorer in interfering with the surface, the Holkham head is not a copy, but an original of the fifth century.

On the other hand, the workmanship in detail does not point to a single statue seen at comparatively a short distance. Moreover, a marble statue of these dimensions, in spite of the evidence of the Dionysos of Rhamnus, would be unusual in the fifth century B.C. The internal evidence derived from the

¹⁹ *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome*, edited by H. Stuart Jones, 1912, p. 124, No. 51, Pl. 31.

²⁰ *Verschulte der Kunstgeschichte*, p. 53, Pl.

82.

²¹ *Pythelische Studien*, p. 19, n. 2 and p. 54, n. 1.

²² p. 82.

study of the detailed working of this head forces us to the conclusion that it formed part of a pedimental group, and was meant to be seen at a considerable distance above the spectator. In fact I have made the experiment of placing the cast of the head in a gable of a house, about the distance of the Parthenon Pediments, and have found that all the points to which I shall now draw attention acted in the manner in which they were intended to do by the sculptor.

To begin with, the slightly exaggerated line of the brow and the bridge of the nose on either side, which obtrudes itself when the head is seen on the eyeline and close at hand, when seen from a distance and from below has its proper effect in giving the drawing of these features at a distance. It brings out the features, but, at the same time, also the more lifelike texture of the smoother surfaces in forehead and cheeks, while defining the whole region of the eye, which in the peculiar slant of the eye-ball (to be noted in the extant heads from the Parthenon, even in their present condition) and the firm treatment of the eyelid, give life to the whole appearance of the head. The slightly opened mouth with the well-rounded lower lip, does not produce the proper effect when seen close at hand. This is especially due to the treatment of the upper lip, which does not end its arching in a point at either angle (as is the case in the so-called Lemnian head and most others), but leaves a broader indentation at the corner of the mouth, which from a distance assists in the impression of its drawing and lifelike quality. Furthermore, the red of the upper lip does not present a convex curve, but is slightly hollowed from the middle to a considerable distance on either side close to the corner of the mouth, and this convexity produces from a distance slight shadowing of the whole upper lip which defines its drawing when thus seen from a distance.

These considerations of, what might be called, perspective, i.e. of the spectator's point of view as affecting the sculptor's treatment in order to produce the proper effect because of the peculiar conditions under which the work is seen, is, furthermore, to be noted in this head in a most important, though a minute, point. This point is the line and direction of the nose (cf. Pl. XVII, Fig. 3), which does not correspond to what they would have been if the statue had been meant to be seen close at hand and on every side; but are modified because the head was to be seen at a distance from below, and was, moreover, to present one definite aspect as a part of a larger grouping and composition. That Pheidias clearly manifested these minute considerations of, what might be called, perspective in his work at the Parthenon to the highest degree has been noted by all who have written on the subject. In all the works preceding the Parthenon there is no evidence of this definite deviation from ordinary plastic laws to rectify the eye of the spectator as he gazes at the work from a distance. Unfortunately, the extant heads of the Parthenon Pediments do not help us. But measurements of the Pedimental figures themselves show that the lower portions of the legs, below the knee, are comparatively shorter than the upper portions of the body, because they appear closer to the eye of the spectator

than these upper portions. The passage from Plato's *Sophist*²² definitely tells us that 'if artists who mould or paint on a large scale were to reproduce the true proportions of their beautiful models in colossal statues to be seen at a distance, the upper parts would seem thicker than they ought, and the lower parts larger, in consequence of our seeing the upper parts from a distance and the lower parts from near at hand. So artists disregard truth, and adopt in their images, not the actual proportions, but those which seem to be beautiful.' This passage is further confirmed by the story told by the late author, Tzetzes,²³ concerning the reasons why Pheidias vanquished Alcamenes, in the competition for a statue of Athene, when his statue was placed on a lofty pedestal, instead of being seen on the eyeline. Whether this story of Tzetzes be an '*archaeologisches Märchen*,' or not, it does show, in support of the Platonic passage, that the sculptors who produced the works which Plato saw before him, did definitely consider these questions. Moreover, as has been pointed out by Michaelis,²⁴ and by myself,²⁵ and by most writers on this



FIG. 17.—HEADS FROM THE ABOVE FRIEZE.

subject, the technical treatment of the Frieze manifests in many definite points the almost mathematical application of such particulars of visual perspective in the treatment of relief, which give undoubted evidence that the sculptors of the Parthenon did definitely consider the point from which the spectator viewed the works, and modified their composition accordingly.

To come to the definite point before us, we find that in the well-preserved head of Dionysos from the Eastern Frieze, which is seen in two-thirds full-face by the spectator from the centre of the composition, standing below, the line of the nose runs in a different direction from the line of the parting in the middle of the hair slightly to the right of it. Yet, as seen by the spectator, this variation from the normal produces its

²² 286.

²³ *Chil.* viii. 353.

²⁴ *Der Parthenon*, p. 204.

²⁵ *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, pp. 77-79; 202-204; n. D. pp. 227, 228.

proper effect. But the point is illustrated more strikingly by some of the heads from the Metopes of the Argive Heraeum,²² which was built c. 423 B.C., immediately succeeding the erection of the Parthenon. These heads (Fig. 17), though forming part of the Metopes in high relief, are strongly undercut and detached from the background. But the working of the marble on the inside, where the sculptor found it difficult to carve freely, enables us to put them at the proper angle in relation to the background of the Metopes. Now, when we take from these heads that of a helmeted Athene, that of an Amazon with a peaked helmet, and a female head without a helmet, and view them on the eyeline in full-face (Fig. 17), we find that the line of the nose of the Athene runs in quite a different direction from that of the nose-piece of the helmet, that of the Amazon has considerable divergence compared with the centre of her helmet, while, to a lesser degree, but still clearly noticeable, that of the Female Head diverges from the centre of the parting of the hair. When, however, these heads are



FIG. 18.—HERAËUM HEADS IN CORRECT POSITIONS.

placed in their proper positions as regards the background of the relief, and are seen from below (Fig. 18), these disturbing divergences vanish, and the sculptures attain the proper effect.

Now, when the Holkham head is viewed on the eyeline and immediately full-face (see Pl. XVII, Fig. 3), it will be seen that the line of the nose, when continued from the middle, tends to the right side of the parting of the hair (our left), and does not run parallel with this parting. This disturbing effect is, however, eliminated when the head is seen from below, the spectator standing somewhat to the right of the head. I have endeavoured to give this effect, as far as, under difficult conditions, the camera was able to produce it, in Fig. 19. What this thus proves is, that the head was not destined for a single figure in the round to be seen from all sides, normally

²² Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, vol. I. p. 184, Pl. XXXIII. Nos. 1 and 2.

placed upon a pedestal; but that it held a definite position from which the proper view was to be obtained, the spectator standing below and to the right of the statue. This can only mean that it formed part of a larger pedimental composition.

If this be true, and if I am right in my contention that the style and workmanship of the head fix it to Attic work of the fifth century B.C., then, on merely *a priori* grounds, it is hardly possible that a pedimental group, containing a head of these dimensions could decorate any other building but the Parthenon. The position, which in these pediments Aphrodite would hold, would be in close proximity to the central divinities of the Eastern Pediment. The goddess would occupy the third or fourth place from the centre. Fortunately for us, owing to the work of Dr. Prandtl,²⁸ Sir Cecil



FIG. 19.—THE HOLKHAM HEAD IN CORRECT POSITION.

Smith,²⁹ and Mr. A. H. Smith, a portion of the head of Athena from the centre of the Western Pediment has been recovered, for, with the extant head of Theseus-Olympus at the extreme angle to the Eastern Pediment, and this central Athena from the Western Pediment, measurements could be made³⁰ which show that the dimensions of the Holkham Head would exactly correspond to the position which we must assign to this head in the Eastern Pediment. For it is well known that the statues grow smaller (though to a degree hardly noticeable by the spectator) as we proceed from the centre to the angles. Our head is thus larger than the heads at the angles and slightly smaller in proportion to the head of the centre.

If I might venture upon a hypothesis as to the general composition of

²⁸ *Mittell. Arch. Inst. Athen*, xxiii, (1904), p. 17.

²⁹ See *J.H.S.* xxviii, (1908), p. 47, Pl. XXV.

³⁰ From ear to ear the Athena of the W. pediment is 2.5 cm. wider than the Holkham head, 1.5 cm. wider above chin and 1 cm. at base of neck. On the other hand the Holkham head (17 cm.) is 1.25 cm. wider about the middle of the neck than the 'Theseus-Olympus'

from the E. pediment, height of Holkham head (29.2 cm.) from beginning of middle parting in hair to chin is 5.4 cm. more than Theseus-Olympus, from bridge of nose to point of chin 2 cm. longer (19.5 cm.). Also compared to Weber-Laborde head the Holkham head is 1 cm. thicker than the former, or from middle of forehead to end of chin 2.5 cm. longer, while from outer eyelid to eyelid 1 cm. wider.

from the central group of Zeus and Athene. If the statue was seated, with the body, more or less, in full-face (like the two seated figures on the left of the pediment), then the head was slightly turned to the left, and the spectator, standing in the centre, got the view of the head which we have in Fig. 19. If, on the other hand, the goddess had a veil drawn over the back of her head and was seated in the position which Mr. A. B. Cook assigns to Aphrodite in his still unpublished restoration of the Pediment (Fig. 20), with the body and chair turned towards the centre, somewhat in profile, then the Holkham head would have belonged to a figure on our right of the centre, and we should then also have the view of the head given in Fig. 19. Of



FIG. 20.—RESTORED GROUP IN EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

course, this definite question cannot be decided with certainty. But in any case, the third or fourth place to the right or left of the centre of the Eastern Pediment, would suit the statue to which the Holkham head belonged.

Whether I have succeeded in my attribution of this head to the Pediment of the Parthenon, or not, one group of facts seems to me undoubted, namely, that the relation which this type of Aphrodite has to the Cnidian Aphrodite and the Eirene of Kephisodotos the Elder cannot possibly mean that it is derived from them; but that it is an earlier type of Aphrodite representing Attic work of the fifth century—the type which Pheidias established in his Aphrodite at Elis. This type would be, if not identical with, certainly similar to, the type of Aphrodite which he placed in the Pediment of the Parthenon.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN

THESEUS, SINIS, AND THE ISTHMIAN GAMES.

[PLATES XX-XXII.]

THERE are in the Hope Collection two vases, which may help towards an explanation of the well-known myth of Theseus and Sinis. They are both known from publications of about a hundred years back, but have for a long period been lost sight of. By the kindness of the owners I am able to bring them once more to light.

The scene from the side of one of them was published by Millin in his *Peintures de Vases Antiques*.¹ It shows in the middle a tree growing from a small rise of ground. To the left of it stands Sinis, naked and bearded. He has pulled down a branch. To the right is Theseus, a young man in travelling costume, wearing a sword and carrying two spears. He has pulled down a larger branch. On the extreme left is a draped bearded man holding a sceptre. Millin writes, 'le vase est aujourd'hui en Angleterre: il appartient à M. Édouard.' By 'M. Édouard' he must mean J. Edwards, whose collection was dispersed in 1815, when the vase probably came directly into the hands of Thomas Hope. Millin's drawing is so incorrect and his description so scanty (he does not even indicate the shape) that a republication is necessary.

The vase (Fig. 1) is a red-figure column-krater, dating from a little after 450 B.C. Its height is 375 m.; the ornamentation is of the kind usual with this shape; the scenes on back and front are framed; on the outer rim is a frieze of little black-figure lions and lionesses. Plate XX. shows from a new drawing the obverse of the vase—the scene reproduced by Millin. Apart from incorrectness of style, the chief mistakes of Millin's drawing are that Theseus and Sinis are made to wear crowns of leaves and the bearded man's sceptre has a lotus-head. The figure of Sinis has been considerably rubbed, so that few inner-markings remain. Those that do remain are mostly in brown. The wreaths or fillets on the heads of the figures are in white. Theseus has the toes of his right foot behind the ground at the foot of the tree, but the curve on the vase made it impossible to show this correctly in the drawing. The style is of no great merit. The pose of the arms and body of Theseus is very awkward, while Sinis' right arm is unnaturally long. The third figure is quite the best. The treatment of

¹ I. Pl. XXXIV. Millin-Reinach, p. 22, where references are given to further reproductions (all taken from Millin).

the subject will be returned to later. The reverse shows three draped youths.

The scene from the other vase, which formed part of the second Hamilton Collection, was published by Tischbein.² It shows on the right a tree, to which Sinis, bearded and dressed in a chlamys alone, hurries in flight, turning his head back. Theseus, a young man in petasos and chlamys hung over his arm, seizes Sinis round the neck and prepares to run him through with a sword. Tischbein's drawing is correct in important details, but as regards style is of course useless. Of the actual vase he tells us nothing.

This is a pelike, dating about the middle of the fifth century, possibly a little before. The height is .28 m. The scenes on back and front



FIG. 1.—KRATER IN THE ROFF COLLECTION.

are enclosed by frames, the nature of which is shown in Plate XXI, which reproduces the obverse from a new drawing. Here again the surface has been much rubbed and scratched, and it is impossible to make out the majority of the inner markings. The fernlike stripe on Sinis' chlamys is not, as has been supposed,³ a branch of pine, but merely indicates the parting of the hairs on the back of a beast's skin,⁴ out of which material the chlamys must be made. The style is very superior both in vigour and facility to that of the krater. Particularly good is Sinis' right arm and hand.

² *Faces of Hamilton*, i. Pl. VI.

³ By Jahn, *A.Z.* 1865, p. 20.

⁴ This is not uncommon on r. c. vases.

Let us now examine the myth of Theseus and Sinis, to see what precise stage of development the present scenes represent and whether they add any new features to the story.

Sinis, it is generally agreed, lived on the Isthmus of Corinth and used to kill travellers by means of a pine, till one day Theseus came that way from Troezen to Athens and made him suffer the same death that he had been in the habit of inflicting on others. One is apt to look upon Sinis as nothing more than an undistinguished robber, but there is evidence that he was a personage of some importance. According to Bacchylides⁶ he was the son of Poseidon and the strongest of mortals.

(Ὁ Θησεύς) τὸν ὑπέρβιον τ' ἐπέφυνε
 Σίνην, δεῖ ἰσχυρὸν φέρτατος
 θνατῶν ἦν, Κρονίδα Λυταίου
 σωτὴρχονος τέκος.

Apollodorus⁷ calls him the son of Polypemon and Sylea, the daughter of Corinthus. Now Polypemon was also the reputed father of Scæiron and Procrustes and need not detain us, but through his mother Sinis is connected with the eponymous hero of Corinth and is thus of royal as well as of divine descent. Pausanias⁸ after describing an altar of Zeus Melichios near the Cephissus, says that Theseus was purified here after having killed the robbers, more especially Sinis, who was related to him through Pittheus. Sinis, then, is connected not only with the royal house of Corinth, but through Pittheus with that of Troezen also. He had, according to Plutarch,⁹ a beautiful daughter, Perigune, who became by Theseus the mother of Melanippus and, as we shall see later, it was said that the Isthmian games were instituted in his honour. Like Sisyphus he seems to have been a man of distinction, but legend made out that he did not make the best use of his gifts. The fact that he was the son of Poseidon, of royal descent, the strongest of men and the cause of the Isthmian Games inclines us to believe that he was hardly so black as he is painted or at least that he was something more than a common robber.

The scene of Sinis' exploits was the Isthmus and there is little doubt as to the exact spot. Strabo¹⁰ rather strangely places it in the Scæironian cliffs, but Pausanias¹¹ gives us more exact information. Travelling from Megara to the Isthmus he writes that at the beginning of the Isthmus is the place where Sinis, the robber, used to bend down pines. From this it appears that he lived just where the flat land of the Isthmus narrows down under the slope of the cliffs of Scæiron—a very advantageous position, if robbery was his trade.

The story of Sinis and his meeting with Theseus is given in three somewhat differing accounts.

⁶ xviii, 19.⁷ iii, 16, 2.⁸ i, 37, 4.⁹ *Thæmus* 8. Athenæus 557a gives the same story.¹⁰ ix, 391.¹¹ ii, i, 4.

(1) Pausanias¹¹ gives us the first account as follows —

Ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐνθα ὁ ληστής Σίνης λαμβανόμενος
πιτύων ἦγεν ἐς τὰ κάτω σφῆας. ὅσων δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσκειν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν
δῆσας ἀφῆκεν ἂν τὰ δένδρα ἄνω φέρεσθαι· ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρα τῶν πιτύων τὸν
δεθέντα ἐφ' αὐτὴν εἴλκε, καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ μηδετέρῳσε εἰκόντος ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρω-
θεν ἐπ' ἱσῆς βιαζομένου διεσπάτο ὁ δεδεμένος. τοιοῦτῳ διεφθάρη τρόπῳ καὶ
αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Θησέως ὁ Σίνης.

The points in this account are plain enough:

(a) There was a contest (μάχῃ).

(b) If Sinis beat his opponent, he

(c) tied him to two equally strong trees, which being released flew up and tore the victim apart.

(d) Theseus killed Sinis in the same way.

(2) The second account is given by Hyginus:¹²

... Pityocampum, qui iter gradientes cogebat ut secum arborem
pinum ad terram flecterent, quam qui cum eo prenderat, ille eam viribus
missam faciebat; ita ad terram graviter elidebatur et peribat.

The points here are:

(a) No contest is mentioned.

(b) Sinis pulled down a pine, caused the traveller to catch hold, then suddenly let go. The pine sprang up; the traveller was tossed into the air and falling down would break his neck.

(3) The third account is given by Apollodorus¹³ and seems compounded of the other two.

Ἡνάγκαζε τοὺς παριόντας πίτυς κάμπτονας ἀνέχεσθαι· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν
ἀσθένειαν οὐκ ἠδύναντο κάμπτειν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἀναρριπτούμενοι
πανωλέθρως ἀπώλλυντο. τοιούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ Θησεὺς Σίνιν κατέκτεινεν.

The points about this account are these:

(a) There was a trial of strength on the traveller's part, if not an actual contest.

(b) If the traveller failed, he

(c) suffered the death described by Hyginus.

(d) Theseus killed Sinis in the same way.

Other accounts than these add nothing new.

Now it is not so much the precise method of the traveller's death (varying as it does so considerably) that is of importance, as the circumstances that led up to it. Hyginus' account is of less value than the others, because it is the gruesome details that he is after. What really lies behind seems this. The traveller had to submit to a contest or ordeal. If he failed, Sinis killed him in a certain way. If he succeeded, what then? Only one man succeeded, Theseus, and he, we are expressly told,¹⁴ killed Sinis in the same way in which Sinis killed the unsuccessful competitors. The inference, then, is obvious: there was a contest, after which the successful

¹¹ L.c.

¹² *Fab.* 28.

¹³ L.c.

¹⁴ Cf. also Plutarch, *Thes.* 8.

competitor had the right to kill his adversary in a particular way. It is the contest that is the kernel of the story. Sinis was the strongest of men. The contest was, then, a trial of strength and the test was the bending of pines.

It would perhaps be rash to infer as much from the literary evidence alone, which, when detailed, is always late and we should turn to the works of art, and in particular the vase-paintings, for further evidence.

The vases showing the legend belong almost entirely to the second and third quarters of the fifth century and are of course all Attic. Here, as might be expected, the actual punishment of Sinis is made the most important part of the myth, for the Athenian potter cared chiefly for the story as illustrating the prowess of Theseus, and the actual death of Sinis is the most glorious part of the episode.

The representations¹⁴ may be divided into three groups showing

- (1) The meeting of Theseus and Sinis.
- (2) The bending of the tree.
- (3) The punishment of Sinis.

(1) The meeting.

(a) *Kotyle in Berlin*¹⁵ of the fine style.

The obverse (Plate XXII, a) shows Sinis seated on a rock below his tree, holding a large club in his left hand. On the reverse (Plate XXII, b) is Theseus dressed in a chlamys and holding two spears. Both figures have their names inscribed above them.

(b) *Bell-krater at Naples*¹⁷

On the obverse is the meeting of Theseus and Sinis, the former standing and watching; the latter seated on a rock and in the act of pulling down the pine over his head. This gesture implies a challenge to the contest.

(c) *Nolan Amphora*¹⁸

This shows, on the obverse almost precisely the same scene as (b). On the reverse is a draped woman, who probably has no connexion with the scene on the obverse. Hence Schulz's explanation of her as Perigune, or Wörner's¹⁹ as typifying the Athenians, is unnecessary.

(2) The bending of the tree.

(a) *Frieze from the Heroon at Trysa*²⁰

Among the scenes is one, fairly well preserved, showing Theseus alone in the act of pulling down a large pine-tree with splendid vigour. Sinis is not present, and here at any rate it is the actual bending of the tree that is the important thing and the immense strength that the hero puts forth.

(b) *Cup at Munich*²¹

Theseus, a very young man, pulls down the tree with both hands. Sinis,

¹⁴ The examples given do not form a complete list of the vases showing Theseus and Sinis.

¹⁵ Cat. No. 2566. Published by Stephani, *Theseus und Minotaurus*, Pl. IX, 2.

¹⁷ *Ann. d. I.* 1868, Pl. H.

¹⁸ Schulz, *Bull. d. I.* 1842, p. 15.

¹⁹ Roscher, s.v. 'Sinis'.

²⁰ Benndorf und Nimmann, *Das Heroon von Ojibowadi-Trysa*, Pl. XIX, 14.

²¹ *J. Z.* 1865, Pl. CCXY.

who has pointed ears, watches him. As on a previous occasion he holds a club in one hand, while he raises the other as if in warning. Wulff²¹ supposes that this scene is to be explained in the light of Hyginus²² account and that Sinis has just let go the tree, thinking that Theseus will be at once tossed into the air, but finds to his dismay that he can hold it down. The painting, however, does not look like this in the least, but far rather that Sinis has completed his challenge and, in the act of warning Theseus that he cannot possibly succeed, is surprised to see him pulling the tree down with ease. It is a picture of the actual contest.

(c) The column-krater described at the beginning of the article has its place here. What does the scene on the obverse really represent? One view²³ is that both Theseus and Sinis have pulled down the branches of the pine, and that Sinis is about to let go suddenly, in order that Theseus may be flung into the air. But a single glance at the painting will convince us that this interpretation is most remote from the truth. Is not the situation self-obvious? Sinis has pulled down a branch of the pine, but Theseus has gone one better and easily pulled down a still larger one. It is a most plain and convincing picture of a trial of strength and Sinis has been beaten. There remains still the third figure, the man with the sceptre. It has been suggested²⁴ that he is Poseidon, Sinis' father; but representations of Poseidon with a sceptre²⁵ instead of a trident are very rare, while he does not usually wear himation alone. Jahn²⁶ once suggested that the figure was that of an umpire presiding over the contest. This is highly probable. The sceptre befits the dignity of the umpire's office and the whole spirit of the scene favours the suggestion.

Now nearly all these works of art, and in particular the Hopo krater, show or imply an ordeal or trial of strength and combined with the conclusions that we draw from the literary evidence alone, prove pretty conclusively that some such practice is at the bottom of the myth of Theseus and Sinis.

(3) The punishment of Sinis.

The scenes here fall into two distinct classes. In the first Theseus uses the tree to work his vengeance; in the second he kills Sinis by some other method.

*Class I. (a), (b), (c). Three Kylikes in the British Museum.*²⁷

These show Theseus dragging Sinis to the pine and preparing to tie him to it.

*(d) Kylix at Florence.*²⁸

A scene on the exterior shows Sinis claspings the tree and Theseus holding down a large branch of it with one hand, while with the other he grasps Sinis. Sauer in discussing this vase along with the metope of the Theseum

²¹ *Zur Theseussage*, p. 86.

²² *l.c.*

²³ Wulff, *l.c.*

²⁴ Millin, *Peintures de vases antiques*, *l.c.*

Enumerated by Overbeck, *Poseidon*, pp.

319-20.

²⁵ *A.Z.* 1865, p. 29.

²⁶ *E. 48* (signed by Duris), *E. 74* and *E. 84*.

²⁷ *Museo Nat. Florentino*, III, Pl. II. (signed by Chacabryllan).

showing the same subject, explains both alike in the light of Hyginus' passage. Sinis, he thinks, has just let go and looks in dismay at Theseus who holds down the pine. But both painting and metope suggest beyond doubt that Theseus is in the act of stringing Sinis up.

(c) *Kylix in the Madrid Museum.*²⁰

A scene on the exterior shows Sinis clinging to the tree and Theseus bending it down and about to tie him to it. The names are inscribed.

It is to be noted that this method of Sinis' death by means of the tree occurs on kylikes alone and forms one of the whole series of Theseus' exploits. It is therefore probably the canonised version of the myth.

Class II.

(a) The pelike described at the beginning. Here we have a tree as usual, but instead of trying to tie Sinis to it, Theseus has caught him round the neck and prepares to run him through with a sword.

(b) *Bell-krater in the Vatican.*²¹

This vase shows much the same scene as the last, only there is in addition a youth with a spear, who is to be explained as an attendant of Theseus.²² Sinis clings to the tree.

(c) *Bell-krater at Madrid.*²³

Sinis clings to the tree with both hands. Theseus attacks him with a sword. On the left is a bearded man draped in himation alone, leaning forward on a staff, his l. hand raised in excitement. He is an exact parallel to the similar figure on our column-krater (Pl. XX). The explanation of him as an umpire would suit here equally well.

(d) *Kylix at Florence.*²⁴

Here again the scene is similar, except that there is no third party and Theseus uses an axe instead of a sword.

From these series of vases showing the death of Sinis we may gather two things. Firstly Hyginus' account of the death which Sinis inflicted on his victims and consequently which Theseus inflicted on him, receives no substantiation, and commentators have been wrong in giving it too much weight. Secondly we have the two contrasted versions, according to one of which Theseus kills Sinis by the tree, while according to the other he kills him in an ordinary way. If we ask ourselves which version is likely to be older we cannot hesitate in saying the simpler and less picturesque. We fancy that in the earlier version Theseus killed Sinis simply by force of arms. The other version would have been suggested by the tree—the ever present element in the myth—and probably originated, as hinted before, at the time when the labours of Theseus were canonised. One of the methods in which Sinis may

²⁰ Leroux, *Vases de Madrid*, Pl. XXVIII, p. 412, No. 196 (signed to Abon).

²¹ Inghirami, *Vas. Vat.* II, 111.

²² Cf. Bacchylides xviii. 46 (speaking of Theseus' journey from Troezen); *ἄναξ καὶ πόρτις* about Asopos.

²³ Ossio, *Vases Græcos de Madrid*, Pl. XXXI. Leroux, *Vases de Madrid*, p. 199, No. 216. Leroux strangely calls the scene Theseus killing Sciron.

²⁴ *Mus. Ital.* III, Pl. III.

have disposed of his victims is suggested by the club on the Berlin kotyle (Pl. XXII).

The contrast between the two actors in the story is very marked—Theseus, the dapper young Athenian ephebe, and Sinis, the primitive clubman, with his shaggy hair and general wildness. Does it not look as if Theseus were a newcomer and not a part of the original myth at all?

The elements of the story seem therefore to be these. Sinis was a primitive clubman of royal descent, who lived in a pine-forest at the north-east corner of the Isthmus of Corinth, at the foot of the slopes of Mount Geranea. He was a robber who stopped travellers and forced them to undergo a trial of strength with him, which consisted in pulling down pines, possibly in the presence of an umpire. The loser forfeited his life.

There can be little doubt that Sinis was a historical character, or typifies several historical characters of the same kind as himself. Like a medieval baron on the Rhine, he was a robber-king living at an excellent point of vantage on a most important trade-route, where merchants with their wares, or pilgrims on their way to the Isthmian sanctuary could be plundered with equal ease. But there is a difficulty. If Sinis was merely a robber-king, why was he so closely connected with pine-trees, and why should he have gone to the great trouble of submitting to an ordeal with every traveller who came along, instead of knocking him over the head with a club in the first instance?

The connexion with pine-trees might arise through Sinis' lurking in a thick pine-forest, but underneath the story of the contest seems to lie a piece of primitive ritual, which consisted in the bending down of pines. Possibly those who were unsuccessful in the ordeal had to undergo some penalty—it may be loss of life. That such a ritual practice is possible, is proved by a passage in Pausanias²¹ which records that a certain image of Apollo, which stood in a sacred cave at Hylae near Magnesia, used to inspire men to pull up huge trees by the roots. It has already been suggested that the Sinis myth shows some ritual connected with Poseidon,²² but the fact that Poseidon was Sinis' father does not at all warrant this, while it is not certain, as will be seen later, that Poseidon was always the greatest religious element on the Isthmus.

The pine-ritual and Sinis, the robber-king, have no organic connexion. It was probably mere vicinity that caused them to be associated.

Mr. A. B. Cook has drawn my attention to his articles on the European Sky-God in *Folklore*, and suggests that the elements of the Sinis legend are to be explained in the same way as a number of Greek stories he has there collected. These are all examples of the practices connected with the *Rex Nemorensis* at Nemi, and explained by Dr. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*. Sinis would be a priestly king, who reigned as the human representative of

²¹ x. 32-6.

²² Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* p. 593. Farwell, *Cults*, vol. iv, p. 39 n. a, says that the story of

Sinis hanging his victims on pine-trees may be a vestige of primitive arboreal ritual.

a pine-god, but who was forced to defend his title against all comers, and might at any moment be challenged. Further, the bending of the pines in the Sinis myth would conceal a custom comparable with the breaking of the branch at Nemi, by which the breaker not only issued a challenge, but assumed the position of the tree-god by contact with part of the sacred tree. Finally, Mr. Cook thinks that the legend that the Isthmian games were founded in honour of Sinis, is an example of what in general gave rise to the games of Greece—namely, the competition for the position of local king—and that the crown of pine marked the victor as the human representative of the pine-god.

Of all the instances given of priestly kings in Greece, that of Phorbas shows the greatest resemblance to that of Sinis.³⁶ His story is told in most detail by Philostratus.³⁷ Phorbas was king of the barbarous Phlegyans, when they were living in huts on the river Cephissus, before they had settled into a city. He had been created king, because he was the strongest and fiercest man of the tribe. He lived apart from the rest of the Phlegyans under an oak-tree, which was regarded as his palace, and to which the tribe resorted for judgment. He used to stop pilgrims on the way to Delphi. If they were old or children, he would send them to the tribe to be held to ransom; if they were vigorous, he entered into contests with them. He beat them in various sports, wrestling, running, the pancration, and discus-throwing. But one day Apollo came, in the guise of a youth, and beat him in boxing, while a thunder-bolt struck the oak-tree, and the place was named the *Δρυὸς κεφαλὴ* in memory of the incident. Other instances of a somewhat similar kind are those of Cynus, Cercyon, Antaeus, and Amycus.³⁸

Now the stories of Sinis and Phorbas have so many points in common, that the conclusion one comes to as regards the one, is bound to influence one's views on the other. Let us then examine the case of Phorbas, about whom we have the more explicit information, and see whether he is an example of priestly king.

The Phlegyans were a Thracian tribe, as is shown by the fact that their eponymous hero Phlegyas was the son of Ares and by a well-known passage in Homer.³⁹ From Thrace they migrated southwards. We hear of them in the Dotian plain in Thessaly.⁴⁰ A part of them settled in Orchomenos, attacked Delphi, were beaten, and settled in Panopeus.⁴¹ In the light of this Philostratus' account becomes plain in many points. Phorbas was the king of a tribe of Phlegyans who had settled near the Cephissus, on the route which pilgrims would take from Boeotia to Delphi, probably at the point where the road turned up from the plain into the hills. His defeat by Apollo simply typifies the defeat of the tribe by the Delphians. He was

³⁶ *Fuldore*, 1904, xv, 376.

³⁷ *Imagines*, ii, 19.

³⁸ *Fuldore*, l.c.

³⁹ *Il.* xiii, 298.

⁴⁰ *ἄλλοι δὲ θροναλουργοὶ ἄρ' ἐκ πολέμου τε μέντοι,*

τῶ δὲ Φόβου, φίλος υἱός, ἦρα κράτερος καὶ ἥτορ.

ἄλλοι.

*ἔσπετο, ἴσ' ἰφρόβου καλὰ φρονέ' περ πολέμου τιν',
τὰ μὲν δ' ἐν ἔθρῳσι ἑφόρου μετὰ θυγέσσιν αὖ
ἢ μετὰ Φλέγυας μαχάλοισι.*

⁴¹ See Roscher, iii, 2, p. 2279, s.v. 'Phlegyas'.

⁴² *Psua.* (z. 36, 1), s. 4, 1.

thus like Sinis, a robber-king, established on a well-frequented route and we need not doubt that he was a historical character.

But here again we are met with the same difficulty as in the case of Sinis. If Phorbas was merely a robber-king, why did he trouble to enter into Olympic contests with his victims? It is probable that boxing was originally the only contest that Phorbas undertook. It was in a boxing-match that Apollo beat him, while the other sports are mentioned by Philostratus alone,⁴² who is naturally inclined to be picturesque. But the very fact that Phorbas had to box with all the strong men he held up, certainly seems to point to the fact that he kept his kingship on condition of undoubted physical superiority alone.

Finally there remains the question why Phorbas dwelt under an oak-tree. Was he regarded as the reincarnation of the tree-god, or can any other explanation be found? Now a belief by any tribe in a tree-god dwelling in a tree would surely postulate the dwelling of that tribe round that tree for a long period of time. The Phlegyans were a tribe of wild, nomad Thracians, who had not yet settled down in their final home of Panopæus; it is therefore inconceivable that Phorbas' oak could have housed anything that could be properly termed a tree-god. The sanctity of the tree was probably caused by the fact that Phorbas' predecessor was buried beneath it and that his ghost was thought to inhabit it. Phorbas dwelt apart beneath it, in order that the spirit of the dead chief might descend on him and on him alone, and so increase his already great strength. The connexion of trees with the dead is a frequent one. Sometimes trees were planted over graves, or, sometimes, as here, men were buried under particular trees, which at once took on a new sanctity. Instances of this last practice are given by Bötticher.⁴³ There are also instances of trees forming the centre of a palace—simply a development of what was the case with Phorbas. An excellent instance of a tree round which a palace was built and which is connected with ancestor-worship is given by a well-known passage in Vergil.⁴⁴

Aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axo
ingens ara fuit, juxtaque veterrima laurus
incumbens arae atque umbra complexa Penates.

We therefore do not look upon Phorbas as the human representative of a tree-god. He was rather a robber-king, chosen to his high position on account of his physical strength, not because a strong man would embody a tree-god more fitly, but because the troubled and warlike state of the Phlegyans demanded for practical reasons a leader of the greatest might. In order that his physical power might be tested, he had to be ready at any time to submit to contests of boxing. In order that he might gain the strength of his predecessor, he dwelt apart under an oak-tree where the latter had been buried.

⁴² Schol. *Il.* xiii. 689, tells the story of Phorbas, but mentions boxing alone.

⁴³ *Baumkultus*, p. 289.

⁴⁴ *Aen.* ii. 512.

The legend of Phorbas suggests certain additional features in the story of Sinis. Though we do not think Sinis shows a parallel to the *Rex Nemorensis*, it is very probable that, like Phorbas, he dwelt apart from his tribe under a tree. There is also the possibility that the bending of the pines, instead of concealing a piece of ritual originally unconnected with Sinis, may be comparable with Phorbas' boxing and be the ordeal by which his physical fitness to maintain the kingship was put constantly to the test. Finally we may note that just as the defeat of Phorbas by Apollo typifies that of the Phlegyans by the Delphians, so the defeat of Sinis by Theseus shows an invasion of Ionians that swept away his little robber-kingdom.

Whether, however, one is inclined to regard Sinis and Phorbas as human representatives of a tree-god, depends largely on one's whole attitude towards the business of the *Rex Nemorensis* and similar customs, and whether one is to consider the case of the *Rex Nemorensis* as having a very wide application or as typical of a number of somewhat abnormal instances. The question resolves itself into one of priority. The elements are physical strength and magical fitness. The *Rex Nemorensis* was required to be physically strong only as a condition of his being magically fit. It is very possible, however, to regard the physical strength as the all-important element in the majority of cases, and magical fitness the natural corollary to this. Such one would imagine to be the case in communities where petty warfare was pretty constant and the safety of the tribe depended very largely on individual prowess.

There is a further question as to the nature of the magical fitness and whence it comes. The customs connected with the *Rex Nemorensis* point to a god of vegetation as the inspirer of magical power, but it is tenable that in the majority of cases it was not a tree-god, but the ghost of a mighty dead man that was imagined to be reincarnated. If one regards physical strength as the primary, and magical fitness as the secondary element, in most instances one will probably give more weight to the mighty dead than to the vaguer powers of gods of vegetation. If, however, the state of things shown by the *Rex Nemorensis* is considered to be of wide application, Sinis will have considerable claim to being a parallel case.

Let us finally consider Sinis' relation to the origin of the Isthmian Games and see whether it throws further light on his position. The *Marmor Parium*⁴⁰ gives the following brief account of their origin

Θησεὺς τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε, Σίνην ἀποκτείνων.

That this passage implies that Sinis' death was the actual cause of the founding of the games is shown by a passage from the Scholiast on Pindar:⁴¹

Τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σίνιδι τῷ Προκρούστῃ⁴² διαθεῖναι φασὶ τὸν Θησέα ἀνελόντα αὐτόν, ὅτε περ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὃς φησὶ Σοφοκλῆς λέγων περὶ αὐτοῦ

⁴⁰ *G.I.G.* 2374, l. 26.

⁴¹ *Isthmians*, Introduction.

⁴² This must be simply a blunder for Πρωκράστῃ.

ὅς παρακτίαν
στείχων ἀνημέρωσα κνωδαίων ὁδόν.

Pliny⁴⁸ states:

Ludos funebres Acastus Iolo, post eum Theseus in Isthmo instituit.
This is all the evidence that we have, and the tradition obviously was that the origin of the Games was definitely funerary. This certainly does not give support to the theory that they originated in a contest for the position of priestly king, but there is one circumstance that is somewhat in its favour. The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius⁴⁹ tells us that the prize at the Games had originally been a crown of pine, though later it was changed to one of parsley. Now if the Games originated in a competition for the kingship, of which Sinis, the pine-man, according to the theory, provides an example, it is only natural that the victor, who would thus become the human representative of the pine-god, should be crowned with a wreath of pine.

There are, however, other traditions connected with the foundation of the Games and these must be considered before Sinis' claim can be properly discussed.

(1) There is a strange story⁵⁰ that there was once a contest between Poseidon and Helios for possession of the Isthmus and that the Games were founded as a sign of reconciliation. The dispute was settled by Briareus who acted as mediator and awarded the Isthmus to Poseidon and the Acrocorinth to Helios. This story may well point to a reorganisation of the Games on a solar and lunar in contrast to a seasonal system, as Mr. Cornford⁵¹ has shown was the case with the Olympic Games. Now Tzetzes⁵² preserves the tradition that originally the Isthmian Games were held yearly and if this was so, some kind of reorganisation must have taken place, for in historical times they were probably trieteric or if not that, penteteric. The basis of trieteric and penteteric festivals is undoubtedly astronomical, so that such a reorganisation might have been assumed apart from the legend of Poseidon and Helios. Now in this legend Poseidon represents the old annual festival held in his honour, Helios the newer solar cult. Briareus we must remember had one hundred arms and fifty heads and one is strongly tempted to see in him a typification of the fifty and hundred lunar months that roughly go to make up cycles of four and eight years respectively. It was through the mediation, so to speak, of this period or a part of it, that a reconciliation between the annual and astral systems was effected. There is one further thing to note before leaving the story. When the reorganisation came, the games were held definitely in honour of Poseidon.

(2) The overwhelming mass of tradition refers the Games to Melicertes, also called Palaeamon, in honour of whose death they were founded.

⁴⁸ *N.H.* vii. 203.

⁴⁹ iii. 1240.

⁵⁰ *Pass. H. L. R. Dion Chrys. Oratio Cor.*

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⁵¹ *J. E. Harrison, Themis*, p. 273.

⁵² *Ad Lyc.* 107.

The legend that attaches to him is briefly this. He was the son of Athamas and Ino. Athamas went mad; Ino fled with Melicertes and leapt with him from the Molurian rocks into the sea. He was landed dead by a dolphin on the Isthmus of Corinth; Sisyphus buried him and instituted the Isthmian games in his honour. Other traditions say that Ino became the sea-goddess Leucothea and Melicertes the sea-god Palaemon. But there is another more interesting legend preserved for us by the Scholiast on Pindar⁵³ alone. When Melicertes was lying unburied on the shore of the Isthmus, a famine fell on the Corinthians and an oracle declared that the evil would not cease until the people paid due obsequies to his remains and honoured him with funeral games. The Corinthians obeyed for a short time, but as soon as they omitted to celebrate the games, the famine broke out afresh and the oracle informed them that the honours paid to Melicertes must be eternal.

Dr. Frazer⁵⁴ thinks that the last passage suggests that the Isthmian Games were founded to appease the ghost of a dead man and supports the view held so widely in ancient times and recently re-asserted by Prof. Ridgeway⁵⁵ that the origin of the games of Greece was in general a funerary one.

It would be dangerous to rely on the evidence of these traditions alone, if unsupported by those of the cults, and to these we must turn. Though Ino and Melicertes are so closely connected in tradition, their cults do not occur together. At Megara, as one might expect from the neighbourhood of that town to the Molurian rocks, Ino⁵⁶ was worshipped, but nothing is heard of Melicertes. At the Isthmus, the home of the Melicertes cult, there is no trace of Ino. The original association of the two seems doubtful.

Corinthian coins show Melicertes riding on a dolphin and coupled with the legend of his being landed on the Isthmus by that fish, suggest that to the Corinthians his aspect as a protector of shipping was of importance. It was not, however, till his association with Portunus that his cult was much more than local. Beyond a mention by Euripides who addresses him as 'πεῶν φύλαξ, δέσποτα Παλαίμων',⁵⁷ we have no evidence in classical literature of his vogue as a general sea-god, and this passage implies no more than one might naturally expect of a local deity of so maritime a people as the Corinthians. When we come to his cult on the Isthmus, it becomes abundantly clear that his marine aspect is secondary, while his worship as a hero is completely established.

Describing Poseidon's precinct at the Isthmia Pausanias⁵⁸ writes as follows:

τοῦ περιβάλλοντος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντός Παλαίμωνος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Λευκοθέα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παλαίμων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο "Ἄδωντος καλούμενον, καθοδὸς δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ὁδοῦ, ἐνθα δὴ τὸν Παλαίμονα κεκρύφθαι φασὶν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ Κορινθίων ἢ ξένος ἐπίοικα ὁμῶς, οὐκ ἐμὴ ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ μηχανὴ διαφυγεῖν τοῦ ὄρκου.

⁵³ *Isthmians*, Introduction.

⁵⁴ *Dying God*, pp. 98, 103.

⁵⁵ *Origins of Tragedy*, p. 38.

⁵⁶ *Paus.* i. 42. 3.

⁵⁷ *I. T.* 370.

⁵⁸ *II.* 2. 1.

Here we have an obvious instance of the so common superposition of Olympian on chthonian worship. There in Poseidon's own precinct was buried the hero Palaemon, for whom the Games were originally held and whose worship was so vital that even at so late a time as that of Pausanias the oath sworn over him was such as no one could escape.

The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius⁵⁹ gives us further information. He tells us that the Isthmian contest was performed in the first instance for Poseidon and later for Melicertes when Sisyphus was king. Μουσαῖος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων δυνάμει ἀγῶνα τελείσθαι ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τὸν μὲν Ποσειδῶνι, τὸν δὲ Μελικέρτῃ.

We thus find not only in the precinct, but in the actual celebration of the Games, two distinct elements. The Scholiast naturally imagined that the games in honour of the Olympian must precede those in honour of the mere hero-Musaëus, as quoted, does not commit himself, but there is a passage in Plutarch⁶⁰ which tells us that the contest in honour of the hero was the older.

Καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτος ἔθηκε (ὁ Θεσεύς) κατὰ ζήλον Ἡρακλέους, ὡς εἰς ἐκεῖνον Ὀλύμπια τῷ Διὶ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν Ἰσθμια τῷ Ποσειδῶνι φιλοτιμηθεὶς ἄγειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ τεθεὶς αὐτόθι νυκτὸς ἰδρῶτο τελετῆς ἔχων μᾶλλον ἢ θέας καὶ πανηγυρισμοῦ τάξιν.

This passage distinctly implies that when Theseus founded the Isthmian Games in honour of Poseidon he found there a chthonian, nocturnal cult, to which of course some kind of games were attached. In all probability there would be sacrifices at night followed by athletic contests the next day. He reorganised the Games on a larger scale, but the old worship of the hero remained in spite of the Olympian superposition.

Final substantiation for the nature of the Palaemon cult comes from Philostratus.⁶¹ He says:

θύνει δὲ (Σίσυφος) τῷ Παλαίμονι ταύρον τιντονὶ μέλανα, ἀποσπῆσας οἶμαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀγέλης, ὃ μὲν οὖν τῆς θυσίας λόγος καὶ ἡ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐσθὴς καὶ τὰ ἐναγίσματα καὶ τὸ σφάττειν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Παλαίμονος ἀποκείσθω⁶² ὄργια.

Everything in this account shows chthonian worship. As Miss Harrison has shown in her *Prolegomena*,⁶³ ἐναγίζω and σφάττω or σφάζω are two terms used in chthonian as distinguished from Olympian ritual. A black bull, too, is a significant victim. The ram sacrificed to Pelops was black⁶⁴ as was the ram sacrificed by Odysseus in the lower world.⁶⁵

For the reorganisation by Theseus we have a still more definite statement by the Scholiast in Pindar.⁶⁶ After telling the story of the foundation of the Games by Sisyphus in honour of Melicertes, he goes on as follows:

⁵⁹ Il. 1240.

⁶⁰ *Thesens*, 25.

⁶¹ *Imagines*, II. 16.

⁶² So the MSS. Mr. J. D. Bradley suggests ἀποκείσθω.

⁶³ P. 55.

⁶⁴ *Paus.* v. 13. 2.

⁶⁵ *Od.* xi. 82.

⁶⁶ *I. c.*

εἰσενήθη δὲ (ὁ ἄγων) πρὸς χρόνον διὰ τοὺς λατοῦς, Θησεύς δὲ ἐλθὼν ἐκάληρε τοὺς τόπους καὶ ἤγε δευτέρον.

The mention of the robbers suggests that we may be able to fix Sinis' relation to the Games with some certainty, and to that point we will return later.

The cumulative weight of all these passages is very strong and shows that the Isthmian Games at least, whatever may be thought about the other games, have a funerary origin. The evidence, too, for a reorganisation at a later period in favour of Poseidon seems quite conclusive, especially in view of the similar superpositions that could be easily advanced as parallels.

But there remains a difficulty that we have not yet touched on. Melicertes nearly everyone agrees, is none other than the Phoenician Melcart, the great god of Tyre. Corinth was, by its position, very susceptible to outside influences and the adoption of Melcart there and his change to Melicertes argue a Phoenician trading-station on the Isthmus. Nothing could be more probable; and if Melicertes was really Melcart, how could he be a man, an actual hero of the native Corinthians? Now it is significant that when Pausanias tells the story of Ino and her son, he speaks of Melicertes, but when he describes his adyton and the terrible oath men used to swear there, he calls him Palaemon. It certainly looks as if Palaemon had been there first. And would it not be strange if the strongest oath the Corinthians could swear were by a mere foreigner? Palaemon was buried and worshipped before Melcart was ever heard of in Corinth and what we obviously have is a simple case of identification.

The fact that it was Palaemon who was equalised with Melcart is in itself most significant. Why was it not Poseidon? Melcart was the chief god of Tyre and one has been used to look on Palaemon as a very secondary sort of person. Poseidon, one always imagined, was the most important object of worship on the Isthmus, but one is forced to admit that when the Phoenicians came, it was not the Olympian but the hero who was the stronger—a very striking example of the vitality of the worship of the dead in Greece.

There are, however, other difficulties about Palaemon. He is generally regarded as a boy, not a grown man, and this suits very ill with his character as a mighty ghost. But there are indications that he was not really a boy originally. The name, Παλαίμων, which can hardly mean other than 'Wrestler', must almost certainly imply a strong, grown man, while if he had been regarded as a boy alone, he could have never been identified with Melcart in the first instance and Portunus in the second. Probably, the idea of his being a boy comes from outside and we may perhaps see some connexion between this and the sacrifice of babes in his honour at Tenedos.⁶⁶ Wülsächer⁶⁷ thinks that this sacrifice is purely Phoenician and that it is simply the same as the Moloch child sacrifice; this might have suggested the idea of Melicertes' death as a boy.

⁶⁶ *I.y.* *Abz.* 229 and *Schol.*

⁶⁷ *Rev. her.* III, 2, pp. 1255 ff., s. s. 'Palaimon.'

Finally with regard to Palaemon we have to consider the fact that Heracles is found with the titles of Palaemon and Penkens.⁶⁹ Now we know that Palaemon was connected with pines.⁷⁰ Hence he may well have had the title Penkens. Heracles was sometimes identified with Melcart. Palaemon was also identified with Melcart. It is therefore probable that Melcart was the medium of transferring the title Palaemon-Penkens to Heracles. This is made practically certain by the fact that the place where Heracles was worshipped as Penkens was Abdera in Spain,⁷¹ which, according to Strabo,⁷² was a Phoenician foundation. The fact that Palaemon could give titles to Heracles is an additional proof that he was regarded not as a boy, but as a grown man.

(3) One authority ascribes the Isthmian Games to Glaucus.⁷³ Now Glaucus, we are told by Pausanias,⁷⁴ was the Taraxippos of the Isthmia, and Taraxippos was without doubt an angry ghost whom the charioteers at Olympia used to appease with sacrifices and whose grave was in the stadium. We may thus infer that Glaucus was a hero, buried in the stadium at the Isthmia. He was supposed to be the son of Sisyphus and thus belongs to the same epoch as Palaemon. Probably the tradition is quite correct, in that some fraction of the Games may well have been held in his honour, while sacrifices to him there must have been. There is no need to identify him with the marine Glaucus, but if one should do so, it would mean that Corinthian mariners used to worship him with especial honour and carried his cult on to and over the sea.

Having surveyed the claims to the origin of the Isthmian Games, we may be able to judge of the position of Sinis. It seems so undoubted that the Games are connected with Palaemon and the worship of the dead that Sinis' claim falls to the ground. All that can be said is that by holding the route to the Isthmus, Sinis succeeded in interrupting the Games and that his death was the cause of their revival. From what has been said before, we may sum up what can be gathered about their early history.

They were founded in honour of the ghost of Palaemon, the Wrestler, while another dead man, Glaucus, received minor honours. At the time when Sisyphus was king of Corinth (then known as Ephyra) this primitive festival was in full vigour. Then, apparently, came a change of conditions on the Isthmus. Possibly, the strength of the house of Sisyphus weakened and the land was split up among robber-kings who were the terror of the district. Who they were is not known, but at this time, apparently, Ephyra became Corinth, and Poseidon was their god; for Sinis, who was one of them, belonged to the royal house of Corinth and was the son of Poseidon. It is probable that they were Ionians.⁷⁵ Another wave of the same people seems to have swept away the petty chieftains and the Isthmian Games were reorganised

⁶⁹ Lyc. Alex. 663; cf. *Kyparistion Glaukos* Παλαίμωνος.

⁷⁰ Paus. II. 1.3.

⁷¹ *Testes*, ad Lyc. 663.

⁷² III. 157.

⁷³ Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 401.

⁷⁴ vi. 29. 2.

⁷⁵ This is made likely by Sinis' close kinship with Poseidon and Theseus (Ionian god and Ionian hero).

in honour of Poseidon, the great Ionian god. Up to this time the Games seem to have been annual, but at some unknown period they were held every two years, a change implying considerable astronomical knowledge. In spite of everything, the worship of the hero, in whose honour they were founded originally, continued to flourish till a very late period.

To sum up our conclusions about Sinis. He was a robber-king, who lived at a point of vantage on the Isthmus of Corinth and robbed the passers-by. He was chosen king possibly on account of his strength and may have dwelt apart from his tribe. He was closely connected with a pine, the pulling down of the branches of which probably indicates a separate piece of ritual, but may have been the test to which he was forced to put his strength, the essential condition of his tenure of the kingship. In any case the spot where he lived was overgrown with pines. His robberies interrupted the already established Isthmian Games, but a wave or expedition of Ionians swept over his little robber-kingdom. These Ionians are typified by Theseus with whom he was associated in later myth.

E. M. W. TILLYARD

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THESSALY AND MACEDONIA.

IN this paper I publish the remainder of the inscriptions gathered by Messrs. A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson in the course of their journeys in Thessaly and Macedonia during the years 1910-12.¹ All except the last belong to ancient Thessaly (including Perrhaebia), though several were found to the north of the frontier of modern Greece as it was prior to the events of 1912-13. Seven of the first eight texts come from Eastern Thessaly, the other (No. 7) from Tirnavos; Nos. 9-11 are unpublished stones from Elassona, Nos. 12 and 13 are substantial, and Nos. 14 and 15 trifling, additions to texts of manumission-records from the same place already published in the Thessalian volume of the *Corpus* (*I.G.* ix. 2). Nos. 16 and 17 are long and well-preserved decrees of respectively the Thessalian city of Phalanna and an unidentified city of Upper Macedonia situated in the region called Orestis, the former belonging to the second century B.C., the latter dated to A.D. 194.

1. In the church of the monastery of Polidendri,² forming part of the pavement inside the altar-screen. On a stele of dark marble. H. '87; br. '47. Letters '04 high, well cut; above them is an uninscribed space '29 high perhaps originally painted.

ΑΝΘΙΟΝΕΙ	Ἀνθιδόρε-
ΑΑΣΤΑΛΛΑ	α' α' στάλα
ΤΟΥΘΡΟΝ	ταῦ Φρόν-
ΕΤΟΣ	ετος.

The lettering indicates that this stone cannot be dated later than the fifth century B.C. No doubt in Thessaly, more than in many other Greek-

¹ The inscriptions previously published are to be found in (1) *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool), iii. pp. 145 ff. ('Greek Inscriptions from Thessaly'); (2) *B.S.A.* xvii. pp. 103 ff. ('A Latin Inscription from Perrhaebia'); (3) *B.S.A.* xvii. pp. 133 ff. ('Inscriptions from Thessaly'); (4) *ibid.* pp. 100 ff. ('Inscriptions from Upper Macedonia').

Dr. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, Ephor of Antiquities under the Greek Government, informs me by letter that he has copied several of these inscriptions within the last few months, and

has collected many inscriptions and other antiquities into a museum at Elassona. He has not yet (October 1915) published any of these texts, except in a preliminary notice in *Εκ. Δελ.* 1912, p. 265.

² For another inscription, and a stamped tile, which seems to indicate that this was the site of Meliboea, see *Liverpool Annals*, iii. pp. 157 f., Nos. 11, 12, and topographical note *ad loc.* The site is close to the sea in lat. 39° 49', Long. 22° 54' E. (Greenwich).

speaking regions at this period, the development of the letter-forms did not proceed uniformly; some remoter districts might well continue to use forms already superseded at more enlightened centres. Thus the present inscription may not be as old as an inscription of *eg.* Larissa which contained the same forms. No other archaic inscriptions are known from this same district, so we must look further afield for parallels. The characteristic forms are: **A** (merging into **Λ**), **N** with the first stroke longer than the others, **P**, **Σ**, **Ο** with both strokes slightly curved,² and **Φ**; unluckily there is no *delta*. Of the longer early inscriptions occurring in the Thessalian *Corpus* the best parallels seem to be *I.G.* ix. 2, 255, 257, 1027, 1098, 1222. Some would appear undoubtedly earlier, namely 199, 271, 1202, 1203, 1206, 1209. Of the former group, 255 has the same transitional *alpha*; indeed **Ο** instead of **Φ** is the only difference from the present forms. 257 has an earlier *alpha*, always **A**, but **Δ** not **D**, and **Ξ** not **ξ**. 1027 has also the four-stroked *sigma*, with **D**, and *alpha* resembling ours. 1098 with its varying *alpha*, and **D** and **ξ**, would seem also about contemporary. 1222, which has **A** and **N** with strokes of equal length, and **Δ** not **D**, might be a little later than our new inscription, though it has still **ξ**. As none of this group can be placed either earlier or later than the fifth century, it seems impossible to date the present stone closer than that, though it seems unlikely to be much, if any, earlier than 450 B.C. The sense is clearly: 'the state of Amphion son of Phrones,' the first word being the feminine of the possessive adjective formed from the name *Ἀμφίων* (= *Ἀμφίων*). Similar adjectives, following a proper name to denote parentage, are constantly employed in inscriptions in the Thessalian dialect. The name *Ἀμφίων* occurs only once to my knowledge in Thessaly, in an inscription of Roman date.³ *Φρόνης* is not a known Thessalian name, though *Φρόνιμος* and *Φροντίς* are found there.⁴

2. *Ibid.* serving as base for a wooden column in the nave of the same church. Fragment of a grave monument (?) of white marble, broken above, below, and on r. H. 43; br. 46. Letters 015.

ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΗΛΙ Δ

(Rosette)

(Rosette)

Πρωτογένης Ἡλι[ο]ῦ[ω]ρον[ι]

Perhaps the second name should be restored as a patronymic adjective *Ἡλι[ο]ῦ[ω]ρεος*. Both names are known in Thessaly.

3. *Ibid.* in the courtyard of the church. *Poros* statue-base. H. 20; br. 46; th. 32. On the upper surface is a sinking measuring 15 × 16 × 03 deep. Letters, well-cut, 04.

² No other Thessalian inscription has such a markedly curved *omega*; in ix. 2, 271 it is slightly curved, but this is apparently earlier and very roughly engraved.

³ *I.G.* ix. 2, 821 as *Ἀμφίων*; in northern Greece cf. *I.G.* vii. 2781, l. 27; *Ἀμφία*, *Ibid.* 2489, l. 2; cf. Bechtel-Fick, *Gr. Personennamen*,

pp. 36 L. For *Ἀμφ* = *Ἀμφ* in Thessalian inscriptions cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, 1104, l. 8; 1278; neither of these is at all early.

⁴ *Φρόνιμος*, a *libertus*, ix. 2, 562; *Φροντίς*, feminine, ib. 1851; cf. *Φροντίμων* *I.G.* ii. 8, 3100 (a Cretan at Athens), and Bechtel-Fick, *op. cit.* pp. 282 f.

ΕΥ ΑC:K	Εὐ[ρύ]λ[α]χ[ος]
ΑΓΕΛΛΕΟΣ	*Αγελλεος
ΤΕΝΕΔΙΟΣ	Τενέδιος
ΑΝΕΘΗ	ἀνέθη[κε.]

This is the first epigraphical record of an islander from Tenedus in Thessaly, and it is interesting to note that he (or the lapidary for him) uses the patronymic adjective in l. 2. The date may be the third or even fourth century B.C. Neither name occurs among the few inscriptions found on the island (*I.G.* xii. 2, 639-644; cf. *Revue Epigraphique* i. (1913), pp. 182 ff.).

4. *Ibid.* in the courtyard. Marble base, of which the inscribed surface has been re-worked with a round cutting above to receive a statue. H. 19; br. and th. 40. Letters 015-02, not easy to decipher, apparently of second century B.C.

ΙΟΝ <Ω	[Δ]ι[ον]υ[σίου]
ΧΥΞΩΝΟ< ΟΙ	...χυσωνος...ου
<ΠΗΤΕΥΣ	[ε]π[η]τε[ύ]σ[ας]

Restoration is quite uncertain. We have to postulate somewhat uneven spacing in l. 1, as there is room in the middle for more than one letter, but Διονύσι[ου] seems inevitable.⁵ In l. 2 we should expect the name and patronymic of the dedicator, but I prefer not to attempt to restore the names. If the first were e.g. [Στά]χυς the second would be impossible. Nor can I find a name in -χυσων. The letters ΟΙ at the end of this line may be later; if they were ΟΥ they might be regarded as the genitive of the second name, and claimed as ancient. In l. 3 I cannot resist [ε]π[η]τε[ύ]σ[ας], though Mr. Wace thought the first letter to be the remains of Σ.⁶

5. At Aya, in the museum of the school (cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, 1074 ff.). Gable-topped grave-stone found at Kastri. H. 1.48; br. 40; th. 10. Letters 03-035. In the pediment is a rosette, and below the inscription is a relief apparently representing a rectangular inscribed tablet suspended from a peg; below this is a horn, of which the lower part is broken away.

ΟΡΕΚΤΗΣ	*Ορέκτης
ΛΟΝΓΕΙΝ	Λονγεῖν
ΝΑΝΤΗΝ	ναντήν
ΗΑΥΤΟΥΓΥ	ἑαυτοῦ γυ-
5 ΝΕΧΑΝ'ΩΛΧΑΙΡΕ	νέκαν ἥρος χαίρει

*Ορέκτης is not a rare name in Thessaly. Λονγεῖνα does not occur there, to my knowledge,⁷ though Longinus is found several times. The illiterate

⁵ For a similar dedication to Dionysus see *I.G.* ix. 2, 374 from Larissa.

⁶ He tells me that he took it for an ethnic, not seeing any more letters after ου. But Thessalian dedications containing the word

ἐπ[η]τε[ύ]σ[ας] (cf. *supra*, see note there; cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, 343, 1040 = (418; 374 restored).

⁷ It is found in Macedonia, at Bitou, *C.I.G.* 1064 (= Demetria, *H. Macedonia*, No. 175) and is common in the Imperial Age.

forms *ἑαυτοῦ* and *ἑνὲκα* are not surprising, for this inscription can scarcely be earlier than the late second century of our era.⁹

6. *Ibid.* Grave-stele, found over a Byzantine interment, in a vineyard at Tsairi near Ayia. H. 86; br. 44; th. 08. Letters 03. Below the inscription is a space enclosed by two antae with an arched top, which was probably once painted.¹⁰

ΦΙΛΑΜΗΔΣΟ
ΑΠΞΛΞΥΘΞΡΑΞΞΝΙ
ΗΗΡΩΞΧΡΗΣΤΗ
ΧΑΙΡΑΙ

Φίλα Μηδέο[υ]
ἀπελευθέρα ξεν[ε].
ἡ ἥρως χρηστῇ
χαίρει.

For the phrase *ἀπελεύθερος* (vel *εἰς*), *ξενικῇ* in manumission-records, see below, No. 12, ll. 17, 18 and note; on tomb-stones it is much rarer, though two examples are known from Larissa.¹¹ This leaves no doubt of the correctness of the division of the names in l. 1. *Φίλα* is common, and *Μηδέος* (= *Μήδεος*) occurs twice in Thessaly.¹² *Χαίρει* may be paralleled in Thessaly.¹³ The forms of *ε* and *σ* are commoner in S. Macedonia.¹⁴

7. At Tirnavos, in the Museum. Limestone stele with rounded top, and projecting foot, found near Drusanadhes. H. 1.03 over all (.70 without foot); br. 20; th. 15. The inscription reads downwards. Letters 018-025.

ΦΙΛΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΙΤΟΠΙΣΔΜΑ Φιλομβρότοι τόπισαμα.
I.e. Φιλομβρότου τὸ ἐπίσημα.

Philombrotos is not a rare name, though I know no other example of it in which the *β* is elided.¹⁵ It is unusual to find the word *ἐπίσημα* used in an inscription, for *ἐπίσημον* is the ordinary term for a device.¹⁶ For what purpose 'Philombrotos his mark' was set up we cannot tell, though it seems more natural to regard it as a boundary-stone than a tombstone.

The lettering seems distinctly earlier than that of No. 1 of the inscriptions published here, and may perhaps indicate a date early in the fifth century, but the rough surface of the stone probably accounts for some of the irregularities of the letter forms.

⁹ For the accusative in *-ας* cf. *J.G.* ix. 2, 237, 1087 etc.; for *ῥωσας*, *ibid.* 940, 942; for *ἑαυτ.* = *ἑαυτ.*, *ibid.* 977. For *ἑκα* of a dead woman, *ibid.* 930, 932, 934, 938, etc., etc.

¹⁰ A similar stele, uninscribed, was found together with this one, and another was seen by Mr. Wood at Klassona.

¹¹ *ix.* 2, 851, 868.

¹² *ix.* 2, 898, l. 27, 583.

¹³ *ix.* 2, 756; cf. *χίρει*, *ibid.* 959, 973.

¹⁴ E.g. at Baioea, *B.S.A.* xxiii, pp. 133 ff. Nos. 5, 11, 22.

¹⁵ For names in *-μβροτος* cf. Bechtel-Fick, *op. cit.* p. 195, and a few cognate names, none from the Greek mainland, in *-σβροτος*; the present form would seem transitional between these two classes. The genitive in *-ου* is not unusual in an early inscription in Thessaly, cf. *ix.* 2, 505, 506, etc.

¹⁶ *Ἐπίσημα* appears from L. and S. to be used only by Simplicius, Aeschylus, and Euripides. For *ἐπίσημος*, cf. the Delian Inventory, *Dittenb. Syl.* 583, ll. 3, 5, 191, etc.; it is common in both prose-writers and poets.

8. At Milies (Μηλιές) in Magnesia. On a slab of marble, which is complete below only, found at Bupha.¹⁷ H. 21; br. 37; th. 10. Letters 92.

ΜΗ/	Υ	ΕΛΛ/	- - μ . . υ . . . ελλ . . -
ΕΝΒΡΑΧΕΟΙΣΧΟΔΙ			- - εν βραχέοις χθα[ν] - -
ΛΙΠΟΝΤΑ			- - λιπόντα
ΛΕΩΝΕΝΤΟΣΕΔΕ			- - λεων έντος έδε[θλαν έχει ?]

Clearly an epitaph written in elegiacs. As l. 3 is not inscribed after λιπόντα we may conclude that the first four or five syllables of l. 4 are lost from the left of that line, and that at least eight letters are missing on the right. I restore έδεθλαν έχει to account for the accusative λιπόντα, though this is quite tentative.¹⁸ Βραχέοις, as though from βράχτος, is striking. The date can hardly be earlier than the second century of our era.

Inscriptions from Elassona.

9. In the altar of a ruined chapel, beside the church of the Παναγία in the Christian quarter of Elassona, and adjoining I.G. ix. 2. 1310. On a marble block, which has been cut down to form a Byzantine capital. H. 67; br. 27. Letters 915.

ΟΣΤΗ//ΠΟΛΕΟΣΑΝ//ΗΝΟΡΟΣΤ//
ΤΗΝΒΕΞΑΜΗΝΟΝΕΠΙΔΕΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΔ
ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΘΕΙΝΥΠΟΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΝΤΟΝ
ΟΥΕΔΩΚΕΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΚΑΤΑΤΟΝ

[Ταμείων]ος τῆ[ς] πόλεος Ἀι[τ]ήραρος τ[οῦ]
- - τῆν β' εξαμήναν ἐπὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ στρ[ατηγού]του(?)
- - ἀπελευθ[έρω]θεϊς ὑπὸ Φιλοξένου τοῦ
- - οὐ ἔδωκεν τῇ πόλει τὰ κατὰ τὸν
[νόμον.]

As nine letters are lost from the beginning of l. 1 there can hardly be more than seven missing from ll. 2 and 3, and still fewer from l. 4. The sign at the end of l. 2 is perhaps a blundered form of a ligature of ΕΤΡ, short for στρατηγού or (-γούτος).

None of these names can be recognized in other local inscriptions. Ἀετάνωρ is found only once in the Index to I.G. ix. 2, and then as Ἀετάνουρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης, though a common name in Thessaly, is not hitherto known as the name of a *prætor*. The name Φιλόξενος is known already at this site; it might be possible to identify him with Φιλόξενος of No. 1301, ll. 3, 10, whose father's name in the former line is highly doubtful. The lettering is not dissimilar in these two inscriptions, which may well belong to the early second century of our era.

¹⁷ The find-spot of I.G. ix. 2. 1310.

¹⁸ Cf. *édare Héthloue*, Kailbel, *Épigr.* 57, 973, l. 9.

10. *Ibid.* In the Church of the Παναγία, on the gabled top of a grave-stele. H. 83; br. 37. Letters 02, much damaged.

ΑΡΙΣΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΔΙΚΕΦΡΕΜΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Ἀριστοκράτης Ἰδικεφρεμον χαίρει.

The reduplicated *sigma* is common in such Thessalian names.¹⁶ The second name savours of corruption, which I cannot profess to cure: the first letter, the *θ* and the *μ* are all doubtful.

11. *Ibid.* On a marble block inscribed on two sides, built into a spring, so that the lower part is hidden. H. 46; br. 45; th. 25. Letters 015.

////ΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΤΟΥ//	- - Πτ)ολεμαίου τοῦ ' -
Ο//ΟΥ//ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡ//	- - ου (ἀπ)ελευθερ[ω]-
ΑΥΣΕΝΕΑΕΥΠΟΡΙΑ	[θεῖσαι !] - - αυσενεα Εὐπορία
ΤΩΝΤΑΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΑ	[ἔδωκεν ἐκαστῇ αὐ]τῶν τὰ χειρήματα
ΔΚΒ<	5 [ἐκ τοῦ νόμου] δι' ἡμέραν κβ<.

Restoration very uncertain. As Εὐπορία in l. 3 seems to be known in Thessaly only as the name of a *liberta*,¹⁷ it seems natural so to regard it here, and the other letters in this line will be the name of one or more women manumitted at the same time. The suggested restoration of l. 4 seems indicated by the letters των, but it demands thirteen letters as against ten in l. 5; and there is no safe clue to the number missing at the beginning of l. 2, which perhaps contains the name of a second ταμίης, if we restored ταμεινότων in l. 1. There is really not sufficient evidence for a convincing restoration.

11b. ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΒΟΝ
 ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΚΤΕΙΟΥ ΕΡΕΚΛΩ
 ΑΤΗΝΟΥ ΠΟΣΣΕΔΩΝΙΟΣ
 ΜΕΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΛΑΤΤΑ ΑΝΤ
 ΣΙΔΟΚΕΝ
 ΕΝΑΕΚΤΟΥ
 ΤΗΠΙ
 ΝΩ
 ΥΔ
 ΤΑ ΜΕΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΝΕΒΟΝΝΑ
 ΕΙΠΟΥ
 ΑΠΟΚΑΛ Ν Λ ΙΟΥ
 ΑΝΤΑΝΔΡΑ ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕ
 ΓΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΕΛΛΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΝΩ ΙΟΥ ΕΔΩ ΕΝΤΗΓΟ
 ΛΕΙΤΑΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ
 Δ ΚΒ<

¹⁶ Cf. *Apertus*, l. 9, ll. 2, 9, 1, 4; *Apertus*, 304.

¹⁷ See *IG*, II, 2, Index I, α ν.

- Ταμ[ι]εύντων τῶν Περραιβῶν
 [τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπ[ι] Γρακείου Πρόκλου
 [... στρ]ατηγῶς Ποσειδωνίου ὁ
 [ἀ]πελευθερωθεὶς ἀπ[ὸ] ... λαγε-
 5 - - - - - κ... εἰδωκεν
 τῇ π[όλει] τ[ῆ]ς ἡγεμονίας ἐκ τοῦ
 ρ[ῆ]μο[ν] δ[ι]ηγήρια) [κβ<]
 Ταμεινόντων τῶν Περραιβῶν Μασ... ρε...
 (ῖ) ἵππου [τὸν ἐπ[ι] στ]ρατηγῶς Πρόκλου [ἐπ[ι] α[ν]τι[σ]τ[ῆ]ν
 10 λσ... Ἀλεξάνδρα ἡ ἀπελευθε-
 [ρω]θείσα ὑπὸ Ἑλληνοκράτους
 τοῦ [Μέ]νω[ν]ος εἰδωκεν τῇ π[ό-
 λει τὰ γεινόμενα ἐκ τοῦ νόμου
 δ[ι]ηγήρια) κβ<.
 15 [Ταμεινόν]τος Ἀντιγόνου [τ]οῦ Παρ...
 - - - - - α ἡ ἀπελευθε[ρω]θείσα] κ.τ.λ.

(at least one more line below this)

The last two lines are from the copy only. The stone is very much worn and has large cracks in the surface, and I am not sure that it does not bear faint traces, just above l. 8, of a previous inscription. I have deciphered from the squeeze much more than Mr. Wace copied, but this is not surprising in view of the awkwardly placed spot where the stone is built in. There are still several uncertain points in the text, though there is happily no doubt about its most interesting feature, the phrase *ταμεινόντων τῶν Περραιβῶν* in ll. 1 and 8. This is not known elsewhere on a Thessalian inscription, and raises an interesting problem, which seems to defy solution. The date of this inscription, on the evidence of the *praetor's* name in ll. 2, 9, is the second century of our era, apparently in the reign of Hadrian. But the independent existence of the Perrhaebi as a *κοινὴ* is now regarded as having terminated in the time of Augustus, as after that epoch the manumission records of Perrhaebian cities are dated by the year of the *στρατηγὸς* of Thessaly.²² That is the case in the present inscription, for the other inscriptions in which Graecius Proclus is *στρατηγὸς* do not belong to Perrhaebia. We must then assume that no change had taken place since the time of Augustus in the matter of the Perrhaebian cities dating their records by the Thessalian *praetor*, and therefore that there is no question of a revival of the *κοινὴ* Περραιβῶν as a political unity. But what is quite plain from this inscription is that there was, at least in this year, a system of federated financial management for some cities of the Perrhaebi, at least in the matter of manumission; what cities shared it we cannot say, though presumably Oloisum, where this stone was found, was one of them,²³ nor how long it

²² See especially G. Kip, *Thessalische Studien* (Halle, 1910) pp. 112 ff.

²³ Kern, *I.G.* ix. 2, p. 263, attributes all the

inscriptions at Elaeusa to Azorus, but without sufficient reason, though he may be right in some cases.

lasted; still less why and how it was organized. The praetorship of Graecinus Proclus is known already from three inscriptions,²² and falls early in the second century of our era. It is true that the lettering of this inscription might as a whole point to an earlier date, but this is extremely unlikely, in view of the ligatured abbreviation in l. 9, which I take to stand for *στρατηγός*, for which we have close parallels in more than one of the other inscriptions of this type.²³

In ll. 1, 2, the names of the *ταμίαι* of the year are not given, and where they recur in ll. 8, 9, they are not intelligible. The former name begins with *Μασ* apparently, though the third letter is extremely doubtful and might even be *Ν*; the second ends in *ΠΠΟΥ* which looks very like *-ίππου*, as I restore it, but many variants such as *-υτίου* are quite possible. In l. 9 *ἐναντὸν* seems obvious and suits the letters which are decipherable, but it leaves us with space for six letters of which the first is *Λ*, and the second perhaps *Ο*, to account for. I have no solution to offer, nor can I explain the space which may have contained three letters in l. 3 before *[στρ]ατηγού*. But the spacing of these documents is so erratic that little importance need be attached to such gaps. The names call for little comment, though it is perhaps worth noting that *Προσειδώνιος* in l. 3 is not known hitherto as the name of a *libertus* in Thessaly. In l. 15 *Ἀρτίγονος* might be the same man as the *ταμίαι* in *I.G.* ix. 2, 1293, l. 4, though he is there *ταμίαι τῆς πόλεως*. If I am right in restoring *Μένανος* in l. 12, this suggestion gains a little support from *Μέναν* being also the name of the father of a *manumissor* whose name is lost, in l. 8 of the same stone. But both names are common in Thessaly.

Additions to Inscriptions in the Corpus (I.G. ix. 2, 1295 ff.).

12a. = 1295a, after l. 18. (For corrections to ll. 1-17 see *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1912, p. 265.)

- Ταμειούντος Μενελάου Νεικόπο-
 20 λης ἡ ἀπελευθερωθεῖσα ὑπὸ Θ.
 ἔρωνος καὶ Φιλίνης καὶ Ἀλκίπο[υ]
 ἔδωκεν τῇ πόλει δ' ἡνάρια κβ' (ὀβολοὺς) ζ ζ :
 Ταμειούντος Ἀρχωνος
 Λήτη ἡ ἀπολυθίσα τῆς πα-
 25 ραμονῆς ἔδωκεν τῇ πόλει
 δ' ἡνάρια κβ' (ὀβολοὺς) ζ ζ .

(Followed by several more lines which it was impossible to copy.)

Several of these names are known already in Thessalian inscriptions. Here as throughout this article those names which occur in the Index to *I.G.* ix. 2 are not commented upon, except in cases of certain or possible identification.

²² *I.G.* ix. 2, 21, 325a, 1268.

²³ 1268, ll. 43, 45; above, No. 9, l. 2.

Ll. 20, 21. *Θέρων* is not known in Thessaly, but several kindred names occur there.²⁴ *Φιλίης* is presumably from *Φιλίνα* rather than *Φίλι(ν)να*.²⁵ *Ἀλεππος* occurs once; the spelling of such names with one *π* is far from rare (cf. *Φίλιππος*, *I.G.* ix. 2, 808).²⁶

Ll. 24. *Λήτη* is not known in Thessalian inscriptions; it is perhaps taken from the Macedonian place-name (cf. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 318, note 2; Bechtel-Fick, pp. 350 ff.).

As the name of the *praetor* is not given for either of these years, exact dating is impossible and conjectures may wait for the present.²⁷ The phrase *ἀπολυθ(ε)ῖσα τῆς παραμονῆς* is known already, and means that the person thus liberated was now freed from the condition attached to a previous manumission of remaining with his or her owner during the latter's lifetime, or for some specified period.²⁸ The verb *ἀπολύειν* is not a synonym for *ἀπ(ε)ξ-ελευθεροῦν*, but seems in Thessaly to be used only, as here, with reference to release from *παραμονή*.²⁹

12b. = 1295b, ll. 16 ff. (numbered there as 34 ff., continuously from *α*).

- Ταμιεύοντος τῆς πόλεως Παρμε-
(35) νίωνος τοῦ Φιλοξένου Εὐ-
πραξος ἡ ἀπελευθέρω-
Φίλωνος τοῦ Φίλωνος
20 ἔδωκεν τῇ πόλει δ(η)νάρια κβ' <
Ταμιεύοντος τῆς πόλεως Εὐ-
βίστου τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ ἐπὶ στρα-
(40) τηγῶν Ἀκύλα Εὐφροσύνη ἡ ἀπελευ-
θερωθεῖσα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Ἀντιφί-
25 λου Στράτωνος ἔδωκεν τῇ πόλει
δ(η)νάρια κβ' <
Ταμιεύοντος τῆς πόλεως Δωροβορίλου ἐν
(45) στρατηγῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἀπολλωνία ἡ ἀπε-
λευθερωθεῖσα ὑπὸ Στράτωνος ΙΑΙΛΟΥ
30 [ἔ]δωκεν τῇ πόλει δ(η)νάρια κβ' <
(Blunk).

²⁴ *Θέρων*, *I.G.* ix. 2, 272; *Θέρων*, *ibid.* 375, l. 13; *Θέρων*, *ibid.* 517, l. 55; *Θέρων*, *ibid.* 74, l. 2.

²⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 1174; and the masculine names *Φιλίππος*, *ibid.* 740, 1232, l. 3; *Φιλίππος*, *ibid.* 517, l. 56; *Φιλίππος* seems a new name in Thessaly.

²⁶ *ibid.* 1295a, ll. 7, 10, 12 (the same man).

²⁷ See below, p. 330.

²⁸ See G. Kossch, *De Manumissionum Titulis apud Thessalos* (Diss. Phil. Halensis, xviii, pp. 107 ff.). Cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, 1044, ll. 5, 6, 7.

ἀπελευθερωθ(ε)ῖσα : - τῆς παραμονῆς; 1296a, l. 8, [ἀπελευθερωθ(ε)ῖσα τῆς παραμονῆς, No. 118a for correction of the reading *πραξος* in the Carpas]; Dittenb. *Syll.*² 863, ll. 2, 3, *ἀπελευθερωθ(ε)ῖσα τῆς παραμονῆς Στόφω* (as a reward for having manumitted her mistress who had been taken prisoner in some fighting, see Dittenberger's note *ad loc.*); and in general, Calderini, *La Manumissione*, etc. pp. 277 ff.

²⁹ In *I.G.* ix. 2, 1121, l. 1, where *ἀπελύει* appears alone in a similar inscription, the stone is incomplete.

Ll. 16 ff (= 34 ff.) are given incorrectly and incompletely in the *Corpus*. The chief alterations are Εὑπραξίς for Πράξις in ll. 17, 18, and Φίλωνος for Σάωνος in l. 19. The remainder of the earlier version is quite inadequate.

Ll. 21, 22. Εὐβίωτος the ταμίης is to be distinguished from the official of the same name in two other manumission-records of this state,³⁰ but his name together with that of his father Ἰπποκράτης appears in l. 27 of the hitherto unpublished face of this stele (see below, 1295c, l. 27) as ταμίης in the praetorship of Ἀκύλας, as here. The latter is hitherto unknown, but his date can be fixed roughly.

L. 27. The name of the ταμίης can hardly be correct as it stands, but it is not easy to emend.³¹ The praetorship of Ἀλέξανδρος is known hitherto from coins only.³² The last six letters of l. 29 contain presumably another manumission's name but it is quite uncertain.

12c = 1295c. Letters in ll. 1-20, ca. 013 high. The rest 009-011.

ΤΑΜΙΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΒΒΙΟΥ ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΜΕΘΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ
ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑ
ΥΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΕ ΣΚΡΙΜΑ ΜΗΝΟΣ
ΛΕ ΣΧΑΝΟΡΙΟΥ ΝΟΥ ΜΗΝΙΑ ΟΙ
ΓΕΝΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙ
ΣΥΡΙΧΑ ΑΠΟ ΛΛΩΝΙΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ
ΑΛΕΞΑΣ ΠΑΡΜΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΛΛΩΝΙΑ
ΟΙΑ ΠΗΛΕΥΘΕΡΩ ΜΕΝΟΙ ΥΠΟΦΙΛΕ
ΤΑΙΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ ΣΙ
ΔΩΚΑΝΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΑ
ΚΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΚΑΣ ΤΟΣ ΔΙΝΑΡ
Ι ΚΟΣΙΔΥΟΟΒΟΛΟΥΣ ΤΕ Σ
ΣΑΡΑΣ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΘΥΟΥ ΑΠΑΤΗ
ΠΗΛΕΥΘΕΡΩ ΜΕΝΗ ΥΠΟΤΑΖ
ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΣΙ ΜΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΣΣΕΝ
ΚΗΕ ΔΩΚΕΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΓΕΙΝΟΜΕ
ΝΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΔΙΝΑΡΙΑ ΕΙΚΟΣΙΑ
ΟΟΒΟΛΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΣΣΑΡΕ Σ

ΑΜΙΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΝΔΡ
ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ
ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΙΠΠΟΥ ΔΑΜΑΣΘΑ
ΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩ ΘΕΙΣ ΥΠΟΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ ΚΑ
Ι ΠΑΤΗΣ ΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΓΕ
ΙΟΜΕΝΑ ΔΩΚΕΣ

Ταμιεύοντων τῆς πόλεως
Αὔλου Ἀββίου Σωσιβίου τοῦ
Μεθύατου τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν

³⁰ *I.G.* ix. 2, 1299, l. 1; 1300, ll. 2, 9.

³¹ The simplest conjecture is Δαμόφλων, which is not known in Thesauri; but cf.

Φιλόφρων, *I.G.* ix. 2, 556, l. 2 (not a very appropriate name for a ταμίης!)

³² *B.M.C. Thessaly to Actolia*, pp. 1, 2, 5.

- ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Σωσάνδρου κα-
 5 τὰ τὸ Καίσαρος κρίμα, μνηστὴς
 Λεσχανορίου νομηνία οἱ
 γενηθέντες ἀπελευθεροί
 Συρίχα Ἀπολλωνία Θεοδόρα
 Ἀλεξῆς Παρμῆς Ἀπολλωνία
 10 οἱ ἀπηλευθερωμένοι ὑπὸ Φιλε-
 ταίρου τοῦ Ἑλλανοκράτους ἔ-
 δωκαν τῇ πόλει τὰ γεινόμενα [ε]-
 κ τοῦ νόμου ἕκαστος δινάρ[ι]-
 [α] εἴκοσι δύο ὀβολοὺς τέσ-
 15 σάρας· μνηστὴς Θόου Ἀπάτη ἡ
 ἀπηλευθερωμένη ὑπὸ Γαζ[αί]-
 ου καὶ Δυσιμάχου καὶ Φίλας ξεν[ι]-
 κῇ ἔδωκε τῇ πόλει τὰ γεινόμε-
 να ἕκ τοῦ νόμου δινάρια εἴκοσι δ[ύ]-
 20 ο ὀβολοὺς τέσσαρες.
 [Τ]αμεινόντος τῆς πόλεως Ἀσανδρ-
 [ου] τοῦ Ἑλλανοκράτους τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν
 ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Ἀλεξίππου Δαμᾶς ὁ ἀ-
 πελευθερωθεὶς ὑπὸ Φίλωνος (τοῦ Φίλωνος) Ἀ[ν]-
 25 τιπάτρας ἔδωκεν τῇ πόλει τὰ γε[ν]-
 ῶμενα διηνάρια κβ' (ὀβολοὺς) = =.
 Ταμεινόντος τῆς πόλεως Εὐβ[ί]-
 ου τοῦ Ἰπποκράτους τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν
 ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Ἀκύλα Λαίε ἡ ἀπελευθερωθε[ῖ]-
 30 σα ὑπὸ Φίλωνος (τοῦ Φίλωνος) Ἀντιπάτρας Φιλοξένου Ἀρχιεπ[ὶ]-
 ως ἔδωκεν τῇ πόλει τὰ γεινόμενα διηνάρια κβ' (ὀβολοὺς) = =.
 Ταμεινόντος τῆς πόλεως Ἀσανδρου τοῦ Ἑλ[λα]-
 νοκράτους ἐν στρατηγῇ Πετάλῳ τὸ τρίτον Ζα-
 [σ]ίβιον ἡ ἀπηλευθερωμένη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ Μενί[π]-
 35 πον Χυρετιέως ξενικῇ ἔδωκε τῇ πόλει ἐν μηνὶ Ἰπ-
 ποδρομίῳ τὰ ἕκ τοῦ νόμου διηνάρια κβ' <.

Ll. 1-3. Ταμεινόντων seems to be a mistake of the engraver's, as it is followed by the name of only one ταμίης. In ll. 21, 27, and 32 the participle is correctly given in the singular. This is preferable to supposing either that the name of the other treasurer (if there was one) is omitted, or that Ἀδλος Ἀββιος was one (and in this case his father's name is not given) and Σωσίβιος the other. It seems probable that this man is related to Μεθύστης Σωσιβίου in ix. 2, 1282, l. 9, and as the present inscription belongs to the age of Augustus and the other to that of Tiberius it is a fair assumption that they are father and son, in spite of the younger man not having a Roman *praenomen* or *nomen*. Whether Sosibius is brother or grandfather of Εὐβίωτος Μεθύστου who is ταμίης in Nos. 1299, l. 1, and 1300, l. 2, is not clear, owing to the uncertain date of these stones.

Ll. 4, 5. The praetorship of Sosander *κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος κρίμα* is known already from another manumission-record,²³ and falls in the reign of Augustus.

L. 7. This use of the participle *γενηθέντες* does not occur in the other Thessalian records of this class, though the weak perfect *γεγονότες*²⁴ and the ordinary aorist *γενόμενος*²⁵ are both found with the adjective *ἀπελευθερος* (-οι).

Ll. 8, 9. *Συρίχα* is a new name in Thessaly, though kindred forms are not rare.²⁶ For such names as *Ἀλεξᾶς* and *Παρμᾶς*, themselves not hitherto found in Thessaly, it is easy to multiply parallels.²⁷

Ll. 10, 11. *Φιλέταιρος Ἐλλανοκράτου* is perhaps a brother of *Ἀσανδρος* *Ἐλ.* who appears as *ταμίας* in ll. 21 f. 32 of this inscription, but the father's name is not rare in the district at about this time (*I.G.* ix. 2, 1292, 1301).

L. 15. The month *Θύος* is not known hitherto in Perrhaebian inscriptions, and this seems to confirm the suspicions of the compiler of the Index to *I.G.* ix. 2 that the Perrhaebi did not retain their own calendar when their political existence was practically at an end.²⁸

L. 16. *Γαζαῖος* is new name in Thessaly, and indeed unknown to me elsewhere.^{29a}

Ll. 17, 18. *Ξενικῇ*, which appears again in l. 35, is a common expression in this class of inscriptions, and the variant *δορεάν ξενικῇ* occurs once in an inscription of Azoros.^{29b}

L. 20. *Τέσσαρες* is perhaps due to careless cutting, as we have *τέσσαρας* in l. 15.

L. 23. *Ἀλέξιππος* is a praetor hitherto unknown; his name is common in Thessaly. For *Δαρμᾶς* compare the names in l. 9 above (and note *ad loc.*).

Ll. 24, 25. The crisis of *καί* and a name beginning with a vowel is apparently unknown in Thessaly, and therefore I am inclined to regard the *κ* as a sign indicating 'son of a man of the same name.' This is likewise unparalleled in Thessaly, though not uncommon elsewhere, and as it occurs with the same name in l. 30, and as moreover *Φίλων* *Φίλωνος* occurs as a *manumissor* on another face of this same stone (1295 b, l. 19, see above)

²³ *I.G.* ix. 2, 1042, ll. 21, 22.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 568, l. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 1297, ll. 17, 39.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Index i. s.v. *Σόρα*, *Σόριος*, *Σόρος*.

²⁷ In Thessaly we find under *αἰὼς* Ἀελλᾶς, Ἀελλᾶς, Δαρμᾶς, Δημᾶς, Ἐπαφρᾶς, Ἐρμᾶς, Ζαστᾶς, Ἡρακλᾶς, Μητρῶς, Σελῆς, Φαρῆς, Ἀλεξῆς, at Olympia, Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 612, ll. 27, 32; at Sparta, *I.G.* v. 1, 62, 188, 675. *Παρμᾶς* I cannot find elsewhere; but cf. *Παρμεῖς*, etc., Bechtel-Fick, p. 19. In general cf. Kühner-Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der gr. Sprache*, I. pp. 493 f.; Mayser, *Grammatik*

der gr. Papyri, p. 253; Bechtel-Fick, pp. 29 f.

²⁸ *I.G.* ix. 2, Index vi. 4.

^{29a} Presumably formed from γάζα in 1295a, l. 5. Arvanitopoulos reads Γαζαῖος for [Παρ]αζαῖος, as the father of the various Lysimachus, *Ep. Arch.* 1912, p. 285: they are clearly the same persons as here.

^{29b} *Ibid.* 1296a, l. 20. Cf. Rensch, *op. cit.* pp. 118 ff.; in general, Calderini, *op. cit.* pp. 272 ff. Note that in *I.G.* ix. 2, Index iv. 6 the reference to No. 1263 should read l. 23 not l. 12.

I believe this to be the true explanation. Further, the absence of *καί* between two names is paralleled perhaps in l. 29 of the inscription just quoted, certainly in ix. 2. 288 l. 5; and in ix. 2. 1043a, ll. 1, 2, as restored by Rensch (*op. cit.* p. 83).

L. 27. For the treasurership of Eubiotus in the year of *Ἀκύλας* cf. ll. 21 ff. of side *b* of this inscription. This shows that the entries on this stone were not made in exact chronological order, proceeding through each face in succession. For further remarks on the chronology, see below.

Ll. 29-31. The name *Λαίης* is not found in Thessaly.⁴⁰ An *Ἀρχέπολις* (perhaps the same person) appears in the same capacity in ll. 8 and 12 of side *a* of this stone.

Ll. 32, 33. Asander was clearly re-appointed *ταμίης*, as he appears as such in the praetorship of both Alexippus (ll. 21 f.) and Petalus. The latter, who here holds office for the third time, is elsewhere unknown, though possibly to be identified with Πέταλος Ἀμύντα in No. 1296 a, l. 13. The name of the *liberta* is not quite certain. The second letter I take to be *ω*, and this leaves little choice. *Ζωσίον* is not known in Thessaly,⁴¹ though names beginning with *Ζω-* are common there.

Ll. 34, 35. *Μέντιππος* seems to be the name of the father of *Ἀθηναγόρας*, though the fourth and sixth letters are not clear and the fifth is lost. *Μενε[λ]άου* is just possible. For the spelling *Χυρετιέως* for *Κυρετιέως* compare *I. G.* ix. 2. 349 a. l. 2, *Χυρετιαίων*; the ethnic is *Κυρετιεύς* (-ιέων in gen. pl.) in the letter of Flamininus to the city.⁴² For *Ξενική* see above, ll. 17, 18. The month *Ἰπποδρόμιος*, the eleventh in the Thessalian calendar, is known already to belong also to the Perrhaebian.⁴³ For *τὰ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου*, which is not a common formula in manumission-records in Perrhaebia, we may compare instances from cities of Achaia Phthiotis.⁴⁴

13 = 1296. The stele bearing this inscription contains another list of manumissions on its right-hand side (= 1296 *b*). A squeeze of the published face (= 1296 *a*) enables us to make the following corrections of the text in the Corpus.

L. 2. For *ΑΠΟ* read *ΥΠΟ*; the letters before this are not clear, but seem to be *ΕΙΣΘΗ* rather than *ΕΙΣΘΗΚ* as in the Corpus.

L. 8. For *ΠΡΑΧΘΕΙΣ* read *ΠΟΛΥΘΕΙΣ*.⁴⁵ There seems to be a letter between the *Ο* *ΑΣ* at the end of the line, either *κ* or *χ*. We should read therefore *ὑπὸ (?) Κασ[. τοῦ] Εὐμήλου*.

L. 21, *ad init.* *ΞΝΑ*, instead of *ΝΑ*.

L. 26, *ad init.* *ΠΟ*; *Ζωσίμην*, followed by *ΤΗΝΣ / ΥΤΩΝ*, i.e. *τὴν [αυ]τῶν*. Note that the letters do not fall under those which appear

⁴⁰ Cf. *I. G.* xiv. 1323.

⁴¹ For *Ζω-* names cf. Bechtel-Fick, p. 133.

⁴² *I. G.* ix. 2. 338, l. 1. The site of *Koperial* is at Dumeniko, some ten miles S.W. of *Thessalonica*.

⁴³ *I. G.* ix. 2. 1232, l. 36.

⁴⁴ *I. G.* ix. 3. 102a, ll. 4, 5, *τὰ ἐκ τοῦ [νόμου] ἐνταύθα α'*; and in 102, at *Hahes*, *πρῶτον*.

⁴⁵ See above, note on 1295 a, ll. 24 f. for another instance of this verb; this was conjecturally restored by Rensch, *op. cit.* p. 112.

above them in the Corpus, for the correct alignment of the central letters in ll. 25, 26 is this:

ΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ

ΝΤΗΝΕΥΤΩΝ.

It is possible that at the end of l. 25 we should read *Θυός[τρατος]* *vel sim.* and regard the three letters before *Ζωσίμην* as the end of the father's name —(?)*ρου*. Neither here nor in l. 2 does the squeeze seem to support Rensch's conjecture *θήκ(η)*, (*loc. cit.*), but the stone is rather worn in both places.

13b = 1296 b. Practically complete on left after l. 6, but damaged on r. The letters mostly range between .008 and .014 in height, but are larger and less regular towards the end.

Ε
ΗΓΗΣΙ
ΟΥΚΑΙΝΑ
ΣΤΕΚΝΩΝΑΥΤΟ
ΧΑΔΕΙΝΑΤΙΑΚΤΟΒ
ΙΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΑΡΝΑΓΕ
ΟΥΘΕΟΔΗΡΟΥΤΟΝΕΠΙΑ
ΥΕΡΜΑΙΟΥΔΗΔΕΚΑΤΗΑ
ΣΥΠΟΚΕΟΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΔΕ
ΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΑΔΕΙΝΑΡΙΑΚΒ
ΤΑΜΙΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΑΡΝΑΤΟ
ΤΟΥΘΕΟΔΗΡΟΥΤΟΝΕΠΙΑ
ΙΟΥΛΕΣΧΑΝΟΡΙΟΥΧΟΙΠΩΝ
ΑΠΕΛΕΥΣΕΡΑΘΕΙΣΔΥΠΟΜ
ΙΟΥΠΔΥΣΑΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΜΕΧΕΛΓΓ
ΤΑΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΑΔΕΙΝΑΡΙΑΚΒ
ΤΑΜΙΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΑΥΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΤΟΥ
ΕΝΟΛΑΟΥΤΟΝΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤ
ΙΟΥΣΑΝΑΙΩΣΤΗΣΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥΚΑΙ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝΜΟΥΕΔΟΚΕΝ
ΠΟΛΕΙΔΕΙΝΑΡΙΑΙΕ
ΙΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΑΡΝΑΤΙΑΟΥ
ΑΓΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥΣΤΟΝΕ
ΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΕΥΡΥΔΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ
ΥΟΓΔΟΙΔΑΜΥΝΤΑΣΘΑΠΕΛ
ΥΠΟΑΡΕΙΕΛΛΑΟΥΤΟΥΕΥΔΗ
ΣΟΥΚΑΕΥΔΗΜΟΥΚΑΙΑ
ΑΡΕΙΕΛΛΑΟΥΕΔΟΚΕΝΤΗΠΟΛ
ΔΕΙΝΑΡΙΑΚΒ

- ε--α--
 --'Ηγησί[α]---
 --αν καὶ Να---
 --τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ --- ἔδωκεν τὰ γένη-
 5 [νόμει]να δεινῆρια κβ, ὁβ[ολούς] [= =]
 [Ταμ]μενόντων Ἀρναγό[ρα] τοῦ ---
 τοῦ Θεοδώρου τὸν ἐνα[υτὸν ἐπὶ στρατηγῶν] --ο[-

- υ, Ἑρμαῖον δωδεκάτη Α[- - - δ' ἀπελευθερω]-
 θείς ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ Δε[- - - ἔδωκεν τὰ]
 10 [γ]ενόμενα δεινάρια κβ' [ὀβολοὺς] = =.
 Ταμιευνόντων Ἀργαγό[ρα τοῦ - - -]
 τοῦ Θεοδώρου τὸν ἐπὶ Ἀλ[- - ἐνιαυτὸν - - -]
 σίου, Λεσχανορίου λοιπὸν [- - - ἦ]
 ἀπελευθερωθεῖσα ὑπὸ Με[- - τοῦ - - -]
 15 [ου Πανσανίου τοῦ Μελεάγρου ἔδωκεν]
 τὰ γενόμενα δεινάρια κβ', [ὀβολοὺς] = =.
 Ταμιευνόντων Αὐτοβούλου τοῦ Ι[- - - τοῦ]
 Ξενολάου τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ στρατ[ηγ]οῦ - - -
 [ν] Πουκε Δημιλῶ(?) ἡ ἀπελευθερωθεῖσα ὑπὸ - - - Ἀλ[- - -]
 20 ἐξάνδρου, Γαγίας (?) τῆς Πανσανίου καὶ - - -
 πόλεως τῶν τέκνων μου ἔδωκεν [τῇ]
 πόλει δεινάρια με'.
 [Τα]μιευνόντων Λεωνίδου [τοῦ - - -]
 ράτου τοῦ Διομήδους τῶν ἐ[ν]ιαυτῶν ἐπὶ στ[ρα]-
 25 τ[η]γαῦ Εὐρυδάμαντος, [- - (μηνὸς)]-
 ου ἑξέδης, Ἀμύντας ὁ ἀπελευθερωθεὶς
 ὑπὸ Ἀρεμείλου τοῦ Εὐδό[μου καὶ]
 [Δι]φ[ύ]σου(?) καὶ Εὐδόμου καὶ Α[- - τοῦ]
 Ἀρεμείλου ἔδωκεν τῇ πό[λει]
 30 δεινάρια κβ' ὀβολοὺς] = =.

Ll. 1-3. Nothing is certain, except that we must restore in l. 2 some such name as Ἑγησίαις or Ἑγησίπολις, which are both known in Thessaly.

L. 6. Ἀργαγόρας is not known as a Thessalian name, though names beginning in this way are common in this region.⁴⁵

L. 8. The month Ἑρμαῖος, as also Λεσχανόριος in l. 13, is common to the calendars of Thessaly and Perrhaebia.⁴⁶

L. 12. The formula seems to be differently worded from those in ll. 7, 18, (24!); we should expect here τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ στρατηγῶ - -, but from both the copy and the squeeze the letters following τὸν are *επιαν*, which can scarcely be attributed to an error of the engraver.⁴⁷ The only difficulty is to account for the letters *σ(ε)μου* at the beginning of l. 13, which I am unable to do, for there is neither precedent on this stone, nor space, for the insertion of the name of the father of the *στρατηγός*. For the formula of the date in l. 13, which is clearly some day between the 21st and 29th of the month, inclusive, we have plenty of parallels.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Cf. Ἀργαῖος, *I.G.* ix. 2, 517, l. 59; Ἀργαῖος, *ibid.* 465; Ἀργαῖος, *ibid.* 797; Ἀργαῖος, *ibid.* 881, l. 15; Ἀργαῖος, *ibid.* 1232, l. 2; Ἀργαῖος, *ibid.* 13, l. 15, 34, 289 b; cf. Bochtel-Fick, 125.

⁴⁶ Cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, Index vi. 4; and see above,

p. 324, note 28.

⁴⁷ This is after all the simplest, though not necessarily the correct, explanation of the difficulty.

⁴⁸ Cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, Index vi. 4; e.g. *Λεωνίδου*, 1282, l. 14.

L. 15. *Μελέαγρος* is not known hitherto in Thessalian inscriptions.³⁰

Ll. 17, 18. The *ταμίαι* cannot be identified elsewhere, though both names are known. It is not impossible that they were related to each other, for in a later inscription of this district dating from the time of Hadrian³¹ we find a *μαννισσος* of the name of *Αὐτόβουλος Ξενολάου*, who thus combines the names of one of the present *ταμίαι* and of the father of the other.

L. 19. The name of the *liberta* is not certain, but *Δημιλῶ* alone seems to suit the letters which are legible. It is not known in Thessaly.³²

Ll. 20, 21. The division of the letters into names seems to be correct, though it is difficult to be certain. In any case *Γαγίας* is doubtful, and this name might be *Παρίας* or *Πάτρως*. In l. 22 the sum is fifteen denarii instead of 22½, probably owing to a reminiscence of the older reckoning of the manumission fee as fifteen staters.

Ll. 23-25. The *ταμίαι* are unknown elsewhere, but the *στρατηγός* Eurydamas is probably to be identified with one of the three *στρατηγοί* of this name whose terms of office all belong to the lifetime of Augustus.³³

L. 27. The name *Ἀρενέλαος* (the first letter might, as it stands, be Δ) which occurs again in l. 29 is strange. The alteration to *Μενέλαος* is not justified in either place, as the form of the Μ (e.g. in ll. 23, 24, 26) bears little resemblance to the first two letters of this name, nor is it likely to be an error in each case for *Ἀρ(εσί)λαος* or *Ἀρ(χ)έλαος*. The Ν in both cases is not absolutely clear, but does not look like any other letter. I have no likely suggestion to offer for the formation of the name, which it would be rash to derive from either *ἀρεν*, *ἀρεσκ*, or *ἀρετ*.³⁴ *Δρεν* is even more unlikely.

14 = 1300, after l. 18:

- πόλις κ' β' δ(ηνάρια) <
 20 Ταμειούντος [τῆς πόλεως ἐν]
 [σ]τρατηγῷ Παθ[- - - τῇν]
 [πρώ]την ἐξάμ[ηνον - - - κρά]-
 τούς τοῦ Θηρ[- - - ἀ]-
 πηλευθερῶ[μέντος (-η ?) ἐπὶ - -]
 25 //ΛΛΡΟΜΑΦΘ - - -

Ll. 18, 19 are restored in the *Corpus* thus: [ἀπελευ]θ[ερ]ωθίς ἐπὶ Ἀπ[- - - τοῦ Ἀ]π[πολ]- - -, but clearly the father's name was not given, so that we must rather read ἐπὶ Ἀπ[- - - ἔδωκεν τῇ] πόλι.

³⁰ It is common in Asia Minor, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 220, 221, 268, 344; *I.G. ad Res Rom. Per.* iii. 462, 467, 474, 515 (= *O.G.I.* 571).

³¹ *I.G.* ix. 2, 1288, l. 5; from Doliche (Duklitsa).

³² Cf. Δημιλῶ, *I.G.* ix. 2, 988; Bechtel-Fick, p. 96.

³³ *I.G.* ix. 2, pp. xxiv f. and Nos. 296, 1040 b, 1042; and see below, p. 331.

³⁴ Perhaps the least unlikely would be *ἀρεν*. *Ἀρ(ε)νέλαος* is not impossible, for such names as *Ἀρρενίδης* (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 747) are known. Between this and *Ἀρ(ε)νέλαος* I am unable to decide.

L. 21. The name of the στρατηγός is past recovery, as we know of none beginning with Παθ-; nor indeed are there any such names in Thessalian inscriptions. The only alternative is Παθ[υτάρχω] *et sym.*

L. 22. The ταμίης must likewise remain uncertain, and the *anagnōsis* in l. 25 is still more problematical.

15 = 1304. Squeezes of the two fragments of this inscription do not add anything of material value to the text. A reproduction of the larger fragment (*b*) is here given, but it is not worth transcribing, especially as many of the letters, and traces of letters, which it contains are far from certain. A study of the squeeze of *a* is even less profitable.

ΠΕΤΤΠΘ ΕΩΕ Η ΗΚ
 ΕΛΩΚΕΤΗΠΟΝ Δ ΚΒ <

Notes on other Thessalian Inscriptions already published.

Among those which I published two years ago in the *Liverpool Annals*,²⁵ some have been republished by Dr. Arvanitopoulos, almost simultaneously.²⁶

No. 4 = *Rev. Phil.* 1911, No. 40, which he wrongly attributes to the site of Θανμακοί (Dhomoko). It is now in the Museum at Volo, and his copy is in many places more satisfactory, being made under more favourable conditions, and disproves the correctness of many of my restorations. But in his own text he is surely in error in restoring in ll. 3, 11, and 13, ἀπελευθερωθεῖσα ἐπὶ—for there is no indication in most of the other lines that so much of the stone is missing. Similarly in ll. 7 and 27 the restoration seems too long for the space available. In the places in question I would restore as follows: ll. 3, 4, [Τίμο]ρ[ό]α Βίθνος ἀπ[ὸ] Λυ[σί]ππο[υ] - -; ll. 7, 8, Κλεοδ[άμου] ἀπὸ Ν[ικασί]ππου; ll. 11, 12, in spite of his copy of l. 11 ending ΑΓΓ, Βίθνος ἀπ[ὸ] [Δαμοξέ]νον τοῦ Σωτέλους;²⁷ ll. 12, 13, Ἀφθονήτου [ἀπὸ] Φιλο[δόμου];²⁸ ll. 25, 26, Ἰστυαίου ἀπ[ὸ] [τοῦ] Πυρρίου.

No. 7 = *Op. cit.* p. 128, No. 30. The name in ll. 1, 2 should, it appears, be Ἀντιμα[χ]ίδης not Ἀντιμ[η]δης.

No. 10 = *Op. cit.* p. 131, No. 34 a. The reading is still doubtful in places, though Λυκο(μ)ά[χ]α is a certain correction of my Λυκόλλ[α] *ua*.

In No. 6, l. 1, Mr. Wace after re-examining the stone tells me that it has Κερδαίου not Κερδ<α>αίου. In No. 14, l. 2, as he has been kindly informed by Dr. Staehlin, the reading is after all *λεπένοντος*.

²⁵ *ibid.* pp. 145 ff.

²⁶ *Rev. Phil.* 1911, pp. 123 ff. Nos. 30, 34 b;

282 ff., No. 49.

²⁷ As I had suggested, *Annals*, *loc. cit.* p. 152.

²⁸ Cf. *op. cit.* p. 155.

In *IG* ix. 2, 1041 b, ll. 2, 3, we should surely read not ταμειόντος - - - ἐπὶ στρατηγῶ Κύλλου (τοῦ) Εὐβιᾶ[του . . . πάλ]τρου, but ταμειόντος - - -, ἐπὶ στρατηγῶ Κύλλου, Εὐβιᾶ[του τοῦ Ἀντιπά (?)]τρου.

Notes on the Στρατηγοὶ mentioned in these Inscriptions.

The names of the στρατηγοὶ and ταμίαι may be tabulated with advantage, in the order which they occur, though it is by no means certain that the latter are all officials of the same city, as the stones may not after all have come from the same site, as I have indicated above (note 21a).

Στρατηγοὶ.	Ταμίαι.
1295 a Κέφαλος, (?) (?) (?) One or more missing.	Λυσίμαχος. Μενέλαος, Ἄρχων.
1295 b Λύκος Εὐρυδάμαν. (?) ⁹⁹ Ἀκύλας. ¹⁰⁰ Ἀλέξανδρος.	-αιος Εὐηθίδου. Διονύσιος Σωσίμου. Παρμενίων Φιλοξένου. Εὐβίσιος Ἰπποκράτους. Δωρόβοιλος (? Δωρόφιλος).
1295 c Σώσανδρος. ⁹⁹ Ἀλέξανδρος. ¹⁰⁰ Ἀκύλας. ¹⁰⁰ Πέταλος (τὸ τρίτον).	Ἀδλος Ἀββίσιος Σωσίβιος Μεθύστου. Ἀσανδρος Ἑλλανοκράτους. Εὐβίσιος Ἰπποκράτους. Ἀσανδρος Ἑλλανοκράτους.
1296 a No additions to those in <i>IG</i> .	
1296 b Ἄρ - - - - ης Εὐρυδάμαν 1300 Τιμασίθεος Σωσίπατρος. Παθ - - (or Πλσ - -).	{ Ἀρναγόρας - - - - - - Θεοδώρου. { Λύτιόβουλος I - - - - - - Ξενολάου { Λεωτίδας - - - - - Ἰωάντης Διομήδους. { Εὐβίσιος Μεθύστου. - - - - - - Μελανθίου. - - - κρατης Θηρ - - - - -

⁹⁹ Signifies a *proctor* hitherto unknown.

¹⁰⁰ Signifies a *proctor* hitherto known only from coins(?)

In this paper.

9	Ἀσκληπιάδης.	{ --- --- Ἀντήνωρ ---
11a	(7)	{ Πτολεμαῖος ---- --- ----
(b)	Γραικίος Πρόκλος.	{ Μασ --- } ταμίαι τῶν Περραιβῶν. --- ---
(3)		Ἀντίγονος Παρ - -, do. (3)

In the first place it is obvious that sides *b* and *c* of No. 1295 are more or less contemporary, but neither follows the other in chronological order, as the last *στρατηγός* but one mentioned on each is the same man, Ἀκύαν. This prevents any confident attempt at establishing the sequence of all the *στρατηγοί* here mentioned, though there is a certain amount of evidence as to their relative order. It is perhaps easiest to suppose that sides *b* and *c* were used indifferently through the period to which they refer, and that Alexander and Petalios are definitely later than Acylas, and that the other five, including the one whose name is lost, preceded him, though their exact order cannot be established. The only other inscriptions of this class which help us towards the date of these praetors are ix. 2. 1042, where the order is Εὐρύδαμας (Ἀγαθάνωρος), Σώσανδρος (as here, κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος κρῖμα), Πετραῖον (τὸ β'), Κρίτων, Σώσανδρος (τὸ β'), rather than an omission from his previous tenure), and a recently found list of manumissions²¹ in which five names intervene between Κρίτων and Σώσανδρος.²² As one of these five, Κέφαλος, occurs on side *a* of No. 1295 we should perhaps identify them, though this is not certain, and our difficulties are increased by the fact that there are two *στρατηγοί* of the name of Eurydamas, sons of Androsthenes and Agathanor respectively, with whom we might identify the man in 1295 *b*.²³ Moreover, as at least three names are missing from No. 1295 *a*, it seems rash to offer further conjectures. Ἀλεξανδρός, in 1295 *c*, may however be the praetor whose name occurs on coins; but the latter may be much earlier.

In 1296 *b* Eurydamas is presumably the earlier of the two,²⁴ as the other face of this stone belongs to the years 15-12 B.C. If we could be certain that it came from the same site as No. 1295, we could be confident that the two praetors of this name were different, as the *ταμίαι* of their years are different. But this may not be the case, especially as in No. 1295 there is only one *ταμίαι* each year, and in No. 1296 there are two.²⁵ Of the other *στρατηγοί*, Ἀσκληπιάδης can hardly be earlier than the end of the first century after Christ, if I am right in reading the sign at the end of l. 2 as an

²¹ E.C.H. 1911, pp. 231 ff. No. 4.

²² Cf. 1040-1.

²³ Εὐρύδαμας, Πλάμιος, Ἐκκάρτης, Κέφαλος, Ἀμύνιος.

²⁴ Conceivably the arrangement was changed, but this is not capable of proof.

²⁵ The latter, cf. 1042-1, seems more likely.

abbreviation for *στρατηγός*, and Gracaeus Proclus belongs to the age of Hadrian.

16. At Dhamasuli. Marble stele, built in sideways over the door of the Mukhtar's house. Complete on both sides and, apparently, above. Height .57; width .27. Letters ca. 907, diminishing slightly in the last few lines.

Ll. 1-14

ΕΔΟΞΕΤ. ΧΕΙΤΗΡΙΩΝ. ΙΜ/
 ΟΝΕΠΕΙΔΗΕΙΑΠΟΣΤΑ. ΝΤΑΙΙ
 ΤΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΩΝΥΠΟΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣ. Μ/
 ΙΟΑΥΜΑΝΔΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ
 ΑΝΤΙΣΘΕΝΟΥΣΤΟΥΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΥΠΡΟΣ
 ΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝΤΗΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
 ΥΠΕΡΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥΕΠΙΤΑΣΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΟΛΙΝΔΙΚΑΣΚΑΙΕΥΘΥΝΑΣΚΑΤΗ
 ΛΟΥΘΗΣΑΝΤΟΙΣΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΟΥΜΕ
 ΝΟΙΣΥΠΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΩ
 ΕΤΙΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΙΣΚΑΘΗΚΟΥΣΑΙΣΤΗ
 ΔΙΣΚΑΙΕΞΕΠΕΝΥΑΝΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣΑΝ
 ΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΝΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤ
 ΗΝΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΥΜΟΝΙΜΟΝΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ

- Ἐδοξε τῇ πόλει τῇ Φαλανναίῳ.
 ὡν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαποσταλῆναι
 πρεσβευτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν
 [ν] Θανμάνδρου τοῦ Πανσανίου
 5 Ἀντισθένης τοῦ Δερκύλου πρὸς
 τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μητροπολεϊτῶν
 ὑπὲρ δικαστηρίου ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ
 πόλιν δίκας καὶ εὐθύνας κατηκ[ο].
 λούθησαν τοῖς παρακαλουμέ-
 10 νοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς [ς] τῶν πρεσβευτῶν [ς]
 ἐτίμησαν ταῖς καθηκούσαις τιμ-
 αῖς καὶ ἐξέπει[ψ]αν δικαστὰς Ἀν-
 δρόνικον Ἀντιγόνου, Ἀριστοκράτ-
 ην Ἐπινίκου, Μόνιμον Ἀνδρόνικου,
 15 καὶ γραμματῆ Κρατήσιππον Ἀπολ-
 λωνίδου, οἵτινες τὴν τε ἐνδημίαν
 καὶ ἀναστροφὴν ἐποιήσαντο ἀξίως
 αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἐξαποστείλα-
 σης πόλεως καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν τα[ῖς]
 20 κρίσεσιν τοὺς μὲν πλείστοις σ[ν]-
 νέλυσαν τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμετέραν τῇ[ν]
 δικαίαν ψῆφον, ποιῶντες ἀξίως ἐ-
 κατέρων τῶν πόλεων, δεδόχθαι
 τῇ πόλει τῇ Φαλανναίῳ ἐπαι-
 25 νῆσαι τε τοῖς δικαστὰς καὶ τὸν γραμ-
 ματῆ καὶ ξένια πέμψαι αὐτοῖς τὰ μέ-

- γιστα παρ[εκ] δὲ ἀπὸ στατήρων δεκά-
 απέντε, καλέσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐ-
 πὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν τοῖς ταγοῦ[ς]
 30 τοῖς περὶ Θερσιμένῃ Κλεοξένου·
 ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ δέδοσθαι Ἀνδρονίκου
 Ἀντιγόνου, Ἀριστοκράτη(ι) Ἐπινίκου],
 Μοῖμῳ Ἀνδρονίκου, καὶ τῷ γραμμα-
 τεὶ αὐτῶν Κρατησίππῳ Ἀπολλωνί-
 35 δου προξενίαν πολιτείαν ἡσυλίαν
 [ἐ]κκτησιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πόλεμον
 καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνους καθέ-
 περ καὶ Φαλανναίοις γ· ἐδόθη ἡ προξενία κ-
 αὶ ἡ πολιτεία, ἱερητεύοντος τοῦ Ἀσκληπ-
 40 οῦ Πολυμήλου τοῦ Ἀριστολάου, ταγενο-
 ντων Θερσιμένους τοῦ Κλεοξένου, Εὐβίοτου
 τοῦ Εὐμήλου, Σωτίμου τοῦ Δημόλου, Κλεομ-
 ένους τοῦ Κλεοῖτου, Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀριστάρ-
 [χο]υ, ἐπιμελὲς δὲ γενέσθω τοῖς ταγοῖς τοῖς πε-
 45 [ρὶ] Θερσιμένῃ Κλεοξένου ὅπως ἡ προξεν[ία]
 [ἦδε ἀναγραφῇ εἰς κίονα (ὃν στήλην) λιθίνην (κ.τ.λ.)].

In the style of writing, as well as in the contents of the last ten lines, this bears a close resemblance to another but more fragmentary decree of the city of Phalanna, *I.G.* ix. 2, 1231, further, the occurrence there as well as on the present stone (ll. 41, 42) of Εὐβίσιος Εὐμήλου as one of the *ταγοί* (ll. 9, 10) shows that they belong to the same epoch. We may thus assume that the Νικίας Θερσιμένους there mentioned ⁶² is closely related to, perhaps son of, Θερσιμένους Κλεοξένου, the first *ταγός* on our stone. In this case the newly-found decree will be slightly earlier than the other, as it is unlikely that a man would have held the post of *ταγός* before his father did so. Moreover, it is perhaps worth noting that Εὐβίσιος Εὐμήλου, the second *ταγός* here, is first in the other list, and this may justify the suggestion that he held office perhaps twice in successive years, or at least within a very short interval.

It is also far from improbable that Andronicus Antigoni f. (ll. 12, 13) is related to Antigonus Andronici f., who records his tenure of the post of ἀρχίφραυρος in *I.G.* ix. 2, 1064 (from Mopsium); as this inscription is dated by the editor to the first century B.C., perhaps the Andronicus of our inscription is his father. Thaumandros son of Pausanias (l. 4) might be a descendant of the Pausanias either of ix. 2, 1228, l. 7, or of ix. 2, 1233, l. 7; both are citizens of Phalanna, but belong to a date considerably earlier than that of our inscription. Moreover, the name is not rare in Thessaly.⁶³ Some of the names, viz. Δερκύλος, Δημόλος, Κλεοῖτας and Πολύμηλος do

⁶² He was also honoured by the city of Gonnoi, *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1912, p. 60, No. 39.

⁶³ *Θαυμάνδρος* is not a known Thessalian

name, nor does it occur in Bechtel-Fick's *Gr. Personennamen*.

not occur in the index to *I.G.* ix. 2. 'Αντισθένης (l. 5) occurs once,⁶⁷ 'Επίκυος and Μόνημος frequently.

Grammatically, the text of the inscription seems at fault, for the verbs *κατηκολούθησαν* (ll. 9, 10), *ἐτίμησαν* (l. 11) and *ἐξέπεψαν* (l. 12) have no subject. It is clear from the contents that the subject is 'the citizens of Metropolis,' understood from l. 8.

The engraving is careless, though the actual lettering is neat and fairly regular, except that in the last few lines preserved the letters diminish slightly in size. Omissions and errors are: in l. 10, *ς* of *τοῖς* omitted and *τε* inserted above the line; in l. 12 *ψ* for *φ* in *ἐξέπεψαν*;⁶⁸ in l. 17 the second *α* of *ἀναστροφῆν* is omitted; in ll. 20, 21 we have *τοὺς μὲν πλείστους, τοῖς δὲ . . .* apparently referring to *κρίσεις* just above (but see below for a possible explanation); in l. 31 *δεδοῶσαι* for *δεδοῶσθαι* (I cannot see the *θ* on the squeeze, but just possibly it is crowded in and written too small to be deciphered); in l. 32 the *iota* is omitted at the end of 'Ἀριστοκράτη(ς)';⁶⁹ in l. 38 the last *iota* is omitted from *Φαλαγγαίο(ς)χ*.

The contents are easy to understand, and enable us to class this inscription with several documents of a similar nature from Thessaly and elsewhere.⁷⁰ The city of Phalanna sends two envoys to the city of Metropolis to request the latter city to send a board of *δικασταί* to hold assizes at Phalanna. This is done, and the board, consisting of three judges and a secretary, perform their duties satisfactorily to both cities and are voted by the city of Phalanna a sum of money, hospitality, and the privileges of *προξενία* and citizenship of that city. Then follows an official record (ll. 38 ff.) of the honour, followed by the names of the eponymous priest of Asklepios and of the *ταγοί* for the year; and the stone is broken in the middle of a rider (ll. 44 f.) enjoining the *ταγοί* to supervise the engraving and erection of a stele recording the honours conferred.

This is the most elaborate document of the kind that we possess from Thessaly. Quite recently excavations by Dr. Arvanitopoulos at Gonnus have brought to light a large number of decrees of that city honouring *δικασταί* from other cities of Thessaly;⁷¹ but none of these is so elaborate as the present inscription. There are however some interesting points of resemblance, and of difference. As a rule the judges there number three, and are accompanied by a *γραμματεὺς* who receives the same privileges as they do,

⁶⁷ *I.G.* ix. 2. 479.

⁶⁸ I am almost certain that the stone has *Υ* not *Ψ*, but no alternative restoration is at all necessary.

⁶⁹ Note that 'Ἀριστοκράτης and *Θεραμένης* make their accusative in *-ας*, though the latter (l. 41) has its genitive in *-ας*.

⁷⁰ This must be distinguished from the inscriptions which relate to arbitration between two or more states, as here the cases settled were all within one state. For the other and more important class, see Tod, *International Arbitra-*

tion amongst the Greeks (Oxford, 1913). Both classes are treated by E. Sauer, *De Arbitris Externis . . . Quæstiones Epigraphicæ* (Göttingen, 1888). Only the honours paid to the arbitrators are of interest in the present connexion, cf. especially *I.G.* v. I, 1111 (= *S.G.D.I.* 4530 = Tod, IV); *I.G.* vi. 4130, 4133 (= Tod, XVIII, XIX); *B.C.H.* xxxv. (1912) p. 469 ff. (= Tod, XXII); *I.G. Rom.* iv. 247 (= Tod, LXXI); Stein, *Papiri Ant. Sch.* i. No. 25 (= Tod, LXII), etc.

⁷¹ *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1911, pp. 129 ff., Nos. 64 ff.

commoner in other regions.⁸² In l. 27 is the only passage where the reading is doubtful. I seem to see τὰ με|ΓΙΣΤΑΠΑΡ, ΔΙ ἀπο, which can be nothing but τὰ μέ|γιστα πάρ[εκ] δα, ugly though this is grammatically; there is no possibility of the phrase being τὰ μέγιστα [ἐκ τῶν νόμων], which we might have expected. The award of a sum of money to dikasts is unusual, and, at least in Thessaly, unknown. Ll. 28, 29, 35-37. The list of privileges may be compared with those in other Thessalian inscriptions.⁸⁴ The invitation ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν (ll. 28, 29) is an honour frequently conferred, though not hitherto found in Thessalian inscriptions.⁸⁵ All the other privileges are too well known to need further illustration. In l. 38 the resolution clearly ends with the word Φαλανναί(ς), and with ἐδόθη begins the official record, and date, of the conferring of these privileges, as in *I.G.* ix. 2. 1231, l. 4, where a punctuation mark should be inserted; indeed, except for the omission of the day of the month in the present inscription, and the insertion of the name of the father of the chief ταγὼς in l. 45, which is omitted in l. 14 of the other stone, the formulae as far as they go are identical,⁸⁶ and leave no doubt as to the manner in which the last lines of our inscription should be completed.

As regards the two cities mentioned here: Phalanna was a city of the Perrhaebi, who were freed from Macedonian rule after the battle of Cynoscephalae.⁸⁷ Their subsequent history does not concern us here, and we have but little information as to their constitution after this date. Phalanna, like many other cities of this district, was, at least after 196 B.C., under ταγοί, who varied in number;⁸⁸ whilst still under Macedonian control the chief officials of the city seem to have been the board of magistrates called πτολιάρχοι, under an ἀρχιπτολιάρχος.⁸⁹ It is, on this view, tempting to assume that another inscription of Phalanna, which mentions seven ταγοί, belongs to a date subsequent to 196 B.C., and not, as Kern suggests in view of the letter-forms, to the third century. The present inscription, which, as we have seen, is to be classed, both as to contents and date, closely together with No. 1231, will thus belong to the second half of the second century B.C.⁹⁰ Closer than this it is impossible to date it, unless some further prosopographical evidence be forthcoming.

As to Metropolis it is less easy to give any definite information. Kip shows convincingly⁹¹ that there were two cities of this name, one in Thessaly proper at the extreme south of Ἑστιάωντις, the other in Perrhaebia,

⁸² Dittenb. *Syll.*² 721, l. 32 (ἑσπερ), Delos; *ibid.* 281, l. 16; 930, l. 54, Delphi.

⁸³ *I.G.* ix. 2. Index IV. 8; *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. ἐκ. αἰ.*, Nov. 64 ff. In general, Sanne, *op. cit.* pp. 90 f., who quotes a few cases of sums of money voted to dikasts (and *ibid.* pp. 78 f., note 46).

⁸⁴ Cf. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 259, l. 40 (Magnesia ad Maeandrum); 814, l. 26 (Elis); 654, l. 22 (Asine Messeniae); 721, l. 33 (Delos), etc.

⁸⁵ The first word of No. 1231 may equally

will be restored as ἀεφάλας, not ἀεναίλας.

⁸⁶ Polyb. xviii. 46; cf. G. Kip, *Thessalische Studien* (Halle, 1910), p. 112.

⁸⁷ Kip, *op. cit.* pp. 123 f.

⁸⁸ *I.G.* ix. 2, 1225.

⁸⁹ Kern says of *I.G.* ix. 2, 1231, *Atticus secundus a. Chr. s. aetatis caesariensis*; Kip, p. 123, is wrong in saying that it 'nach Kern in dem Anfang des zweiten Jahrhunderts gehört.'

⁹⁰ *Op.* 119 f.

apparently only a short distance west of Phalanna, on the right bank of the Europus (Titaresius). The latter is more likely to be the city in question here. It is also possible, but far from certain, that it is this Metropolis, and not the more distant one, from which come the dikasts honoured by Gonnus to whom we have already referred; but certainty is impossible, for in these inscriptions dikasts are honoured from Thessalian cities as remote as Cierium,⁸² Pherae,⁸³ Scotussa⁸⁴ and Tricea.⁸⁵

17. At Dranië (Idranitsa, Dranitshevo), in the church of H. Anargyri. Marble stele, H. 130; br. 59. Letters 015-018; in ll. 41-57 ca. 011. Previously published in *Arch. Zeit.* xxxviii. (1880), p. 159, Demitssas, 'H Makedonia, pp. 236 ff. No. 217, from a defective and misleading copy.⁸⁶

Ll. 1-5.

ΕΙΣ ΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΑΙΟΝΕΝΗΣΥΠΟΥΛΟΙΣΑΙΙΝΝΑΙΩΝΤΩ
ΑΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΚΑΙΠΟΛΥΧ
ΑΤΙΣΔΑΙΔΕΝΩΝΤΙΟΝΕΙΤΩΝΥΠΕΣΤΩΝΕΠΑΡ
ΧΙΚΩΝΕΞΕΛΑΥΝΕΣΘΑΙΤΙΣΤΩΝΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ
ΙΟΠΩΝΧΡΗΣΕΩΕΟΥΚΑΡΚΟΥΜΕΚΩΝΑΥΤΩΝΟΙΣ

Ll. 41-58.

ΚΑΙΤΡΙΑΚΟΠΑΣΤΟΥΜΗΝΟΣ: ΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥΤΡΙΑΚΑΔΙ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΥΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΡΧΗ. - ΤΑΤΑΙΣΑΜΗΝΤΗΕΠΕΤΤΑΥΕ
ΘΕΟΤΕΙΝΟΣΕΝΕΚΩΥ ΝΕΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣΕΙΝΕ ΝΕΣΑΔΕΚΩΜΟΥΦΙΝΤΙΣΦΩΝΤΑ
ΤΟΦΙΝΠΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΣΕΙΠΕΡΕΙΣΤΙΝΑΥΤΩΝ ΜΕΝΕΡΙΝΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΕΛΩΝΕΙ
ΠΑΡΕΝΙΩΝΚΕΙΤΟΥ ΓΛΕΥΤΩΣΕΝΕΚΩΕΠΤΩΝ ΝΕΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΔΕΚΩ
ΝΕΙΚΩΥΤΑΔΕΛΦΩΝΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΙΝΕΝΕΝΕΚΩ
ΕΥΘΥΝΟΙΕΝΙΩΝΟΙΣ ΝΕΝΤΑΕΤΡΑΥΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΝΟΕΤΑΥΝΕ ΑΝΤΙΟΝΟΚΥΗΤΩ
ΕΙΣΕΤΕΡΕΣΤΟΥΣΥ ΠΡΕΜΟΣΠΑΡΩΜΟΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΓΑΦΙΩΝΤΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΤΕΑΝΙΠΤΟΝΟΥ
ΔΗΥΝΤΑΣΝΕΙΚΩΝΟΥ ΕΤΡΑΤΩΝΕΤΙΚΑΔΟΥ ΕΙΝΕΝΑΙΖΩΝΟΥ ΕΙΝΕΝΕΤΕΝΕΟΥ
ΕΙΝΕΝΑΙΖΩΝΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΩΜΑΦΙΝΩΤΟΥΔΗΛΙΤΕΔΗΛΙ
ΕΚΤΙΟΥΣΕΛΕΩΝΟΥ ΛΕΕΜΟΣΕΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΤΑΛΕΔΙΟΥ ΤΡΟΥ
ΠΑΡΕΝΙΩΝΝΕΙΚΩΜΑΧΟΥ ΦΙΝΤΙΠΤΕΝΕΚΩΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΕΝΕΚΕΝΟΥΕ
ΕΚΩΜΑΕΛΕΩΟΥ ΤΕΛΩΝΠΑΡΩΜΟΝΟΥΘΕΟΤΕΙΝΟΕΦΩΠΠΟΥ
ΕΚΩΜΑΕΛΕΩΟΥ ΔΕΙΦΑΣΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΡΕΤΕΖΩΛΟΥ
ΦΙΛΩΝΑΡΙΕΤΩΝΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΝΙΩΝΤΕΝΩΟΕΤΑΙΟΕΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΟΝΟΕ ΚΕΙΛΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΕΚΟΕΝΕΚΩΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΠΑΡΕΝΙΩΝΕ
ΠΑΡΩΝΟΕΤΡΑΤΩΝΕΚΕΑΡΙΕΤΩΜΟΣΕΛΩΜΟΣΕΠΙΧΑΡΕΚΟΙΝΟΥ
ΕΕΚΩΕΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΗΧΑΡΕΤΕΙΧΑΡΟΥΥΑΚΙΝΟΣΕΠΙΧΑΡΟΥΕ

⁸² *Ep. Aeg. loc. cit.* Nos. 81, 82.

⁸³ *Ibid.* No. 84.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* No. 70.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* No. 68.

⁸⁶ Demitssas also refers to its being copied by an English traveller in 1885, *op. cit.* p. 240, note 2; but I cannot trace any subsequent

publication. Sir Arthur Evans kindly tells me that he is the traveller in question, and that owing to the unfortunate loss of his squam after his return from this journey he decided not to re-publish the stone from his copy alone. He had indicated this inscription as a special objective to Mr. Wace.

- Ἐκκλησίας ἀγομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ . . . αἰτυναίων προ-
 λειτάρχου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Λεωνίδα καὶ πολλῶν
 ἀποδουρομένων πολειτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαρ-
 χικῶν ἐξελαίνεσθαι τῆς τῶν δημοσίων
 5 τόπων χρήσεως, οὐκ ἀρκουμένων αὐτῶν οἷς
 ἀποτειμήσαντο, πολλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖ ψευδάμε-
 νοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιβαλλομένων ἄλλας ἑαυτοῖς κα-
 τοχὰς ἐν χωρίοις ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ δια[κα]τέχοντες αὐτὰ
 10 πρότερον ἔδοσαν χεῖρας ἀφιστάμενοι αὐτῶν καὶ
 παραχωροῦντες αὐτὰ τῇ πολειτείᾳ, εἴα δὲ οἱ δυνα-
 τώτεροι τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν ἐκβιάζονται τοὺς πένη-
 τας καὶ αὐτὰ τε ἐκεῖνα ἃ οὐκ ἔξον αὐτοῖς βουλου-
 ται κατέχειν, καὶ προσεμπονοῦσιν τὴν ᾧ(λ)λην (ΛΑΛΗΝ)
 τὴν χαρακισμοῦ τε καὶ νομῆς ἀποκλείουσιν καὶ ἄφαι-
 15 ροῦνται τοὺς πολεῖτας καὶ διόδων, ἔδοξε τῷ τε
 πολειτάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς πολεῖταις ὁμογνωμονοῦσι
 μόνᾳ κατὰ τὴν Γεντιανοῦ διάταξιν τοὺς ἐπαρχι-
 κοὺς ἃ ἐτεμήσαντο καλῇ πίστει κατέχειν, εἰ<ε>ς
 δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ἐπαρχικῶ ἢ ἐμπο-
 20 νεῖν ἢ ἀγοράζειν ἢ κατέχειν δημοσίαν γῆν μη-
 δὲ δόγμα τινὶ διδόναι πολειτείας ἢ χρήσεως<4Λ>
 τῶν δημοσίων, μόνους δὲ ἀρεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν τοῖς
 ἀποτειμημένοις Ὀρέστοις ἐπιμελεῖσ-
 θαι δὲ τούτων τὸν κατὰ ἔτος γινόμενον πολει-
 25 τάρχῃ ὥστε ἐπίνειν μετὰ τῶν πολειτῶν καὶ ἐκβάλ-
 λειν καὶ καλύειν τοὺς εἰς τὴν μὴ ἀποτειμημένην
 γῆν βιαζομένους, εἰάν τις ἀμελήσῃ τούτου πολειτάρχῃ(η)ς
 καὶ δόγμα τινὶ δῶ καὶ καταποδῶ τὰ δημόσια, τούτου ἀ-
 ποδοῦναι εἰς φίσκον δηνάρια πεντακισχέλι-
 30 α καὶ ἄλλα τῇ πολειτείᾳ δηνάρια πεντακισχέλια, προσ-
 αμειβεσθῆναι δὲ τούτο τὸ δόγμα ἔδοξε τῷ διέποντι
 τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἡγεμόνι Ἰουλίῳ Ρουφείῳ διὰ τῶν πρεσβευ-
 τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους Θρασύ[σ]σιππου καὶ Φιλάγρου καὶ Κλείτου τῶν
 Πτολεμαίου, ἐ(ἀ)ν δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸ κυρώσῃ, καὶ στηλογραφηθῇ-
 35 ται αὐτῷ ἐν[τὸς 1] τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς τὸ δηνρεκὲς μένειν κείμε-
 νον, ἐπ(ε)ί τινα τῶν παλ[α]ίων ἠφάνισται γραμμάτων, ὁμοίως
 δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ἀλώσεται πωλῶν ἐπαρχικῶ τινα τῶν δη-
 μοσίων καὶ τούτων ὑποκεῖσθαι τῷ προγεγραμένῳ προσ-
 <τ>είμῃ, τὰ τε ἤδη γεγραμμένα ἄκυρα εἶναι καὶ μὴ κρατεῖσ-
 40 θαι τοῖς ἡγορακόσι. Ἐγένετο ἔτους τεσσαρακοστοῦ
 καὶ τριακοσιαστοῦ, μηνὸς [Ἀρ]τεμισίου τριακάδι.

Ἀλέξανδρος Λεωνίδου ὁ παλιτάρχης [ἐπε]σφραγισάμην . τ . φίμεπ . . . κνε.

COLUMN I.

- Θεότειμος Νεικολάου
 . . . νος Φιλίπ(π)ου ὁ κα[λ] Φλάβιος(?)
 45 Παρμενίων Κλείτου
 Νεικόμαχος Φίλωνος
 Εὐφρόνιος Νικάνορος
 (?) Εὐξέτης Ἀριστολίου
 Ἀμύντας Νεικολάου
 50 (?) [Λεωνίδ]ας [Κλ]εάνδρου
 Ἀντίοχος Κλεάνδρου
 Παρμενίων Νεικόμαχον
 Νεικόλαος Μενελάου
 [Μ]ενελάος Δυκόπου
 55 Φίλων Ἀριστοδήμου[υ]
 Ἀντίγονος . . . υχείδου
 Παράμονος Πρατονεΐκης
 (?) Ἀνδρίσκος Φιλίππου

COLUMN II.

- Νεικάνωρ Θ[εω(?)]νος
 . . .
 Πλευρά[τ]ος Ἐ[ρμ]ωτος
 Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου
 Νε . . . ας Παρα[μ]ώνου
 Πρε[ί]μος Παραμόνου
 Στρατών Ἐπικαδου
 Νεικάνδρος Ἀνδρίσκου
 Δέμμος Φιλίππου
 Φίλιππος(ς) Μενελάου
 Γέλων Παραμόνου
 (?) Δείρδας Τήρου
 Παρμενίων Γέλωνος
 Ἀνδρίσκος Νεικολάου
 Ἀριστοδῆμος Φίλωνος
 [Ε]πιχάρμος[ς] Ἐ[π]ιχάρμου

COLUMN III.

- Νεο[κ]λῆς Νεικολάου
 (?) Μενε[φ]ι[λ]ος Ἀλεξάνδρου
 45 Πτολ[ε]μαῖος(?) Νεικάνδρου[υ]
 . . .
 Ἀντίγονος [Γ]έλωνος
 Φιλώτας Φιλίπ(π)ου
 50 . . . ω[υ] Ζωίλου
 Νεικόλαος Φιλώτου
 (?) . ρ . τλας Ῥαφίου
 Ἀρ . . . εος Νικάνορος
 Θεότειμος Φιλίππου
 55 Ὀρέστης Ζωίλου
 Γάιος Ἀλεξάνδρου
 Ἀλέξανδρος Παρμενίωνος
 Ἐπιχάρης Κοίνου
 Τάκυθος Ἐπιχάρους

COLUMN IV.

- Φίλιππος Φιλώτου
 Γέλων Κε . . .
 . . .
 Ἀ[ρ]ιστ[ο]ν[ό]μου(?)
 Ἀντίγονος Κλείτου
 Κλείτος Ἀντιγόνου
 . . . Πτολεμαίου
 Δεμ[η]τρι[ς] (?) Δημη-
 τριου.
 (Vase)

The previous publication is most unsatisfactory. The letter-forms are frequently incorrect (both in the *Arch. Zeit.* and in Demitsas, which by no means agree in this respect), the lines are not correctly divided (being made to contain ca. twenty-one letters instead of ca. 32-38, the first thirty-four lines being thus transcribed as fifty-five), omissions are frequent, not to speak of inaccuracies in the copy, and moreover the last seven lines (35-41) of the

decree are omitted, as are practically all the names in the last seventeen lines.⁹⁷ In the circumstances it is not worth while to make further reference to the previous copies for the sake of establishing the text.

The general purport of the document is clear, though the style is obscure and somewhat 'breathless.' It is a decree of the *πολιτάρχης* and *ἐκκλησία* of some city concerning the disputed occupation of public territory. The contents are briefly these. Ll. 1-10. In a meeting of the *ἐκκλησία* many of the citizens complain that they are excluded forcibly (*ἐξελαινεσθαι*) from the occupation of the public territory (*δημόσιοι τόποι*) by the provincials (*ἐπαρχικοί*), who are not content with that to which they had established a claim by mortgage, often dishonestly, but also occupy other plots of which the owners had given a proper title to the city. Ll. 11-15. Moreover the more powerful provincials drive out (*ἐκβιάζονται*) the poorer citizens and wish to occupy lands to which they have no right, and even cultivate them and exclude the citizens from rights of stake-cutting, of pasture, and even of thoroughfare. Ll. 15-23. Resolution, passed (unanimously?) by the politarch and citizens, that the possessions of the provincials be restricted to those lands, to which, under the award of Gentianus,⁹⁸ they have a proper title, and that no provincial may till, or sell, or occupy any of the other public land, nor may anyone give a title of citizenship (and therefore of right to it) to any provincial, and that it is to be reserved for the *Orestoi* who have rented it.

Ll. 23-29. This resolution is to be enforced in future by the politarch for each year, in the interest of the citizens, and he is to turn out any intruders on this land; and if any politarch ignores this resolution and traffics in public land (*καταποδῶ τὰ δημόσια*) he is to be fined, 5000 denarii to be paid to the *Fiscus*, 5000 to the city. Ll. 29-35. This resolution (*δῶμα*) is to be referred to the Roman governor (*τῷ διέποντι τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἡγεμόνι*), Junius Rufinus, by a commission of three *πρεσβυταὶ τοῦ ἔθνους*, and to be published in the Agora, to remain valid for ever. Ll. 36-39. An omission from ll. 27-29 is here rectified. The same penalty is fixed for anyone (i.e. (?) any politarch) who is convicted of selling any of the public land to a provincial, and the document is not to be valid, and the purchasers are not bound by it. Ll. 40-42 contain the date, 30th Artemisios 340, i.e. A.D. 194, and the signature of the politarch. Then follow (ll. 43-58) in four columns the names of the signatories to the decree, presumably the members of the *Ecclesia* present.

It is impossible to deal at adequate length with all the points raised by this interesting inscription, which illustrates the condition of the *ager publicus* of a municipality of the Roman Empire at the end of the second century of our era. A few points which demand attention are briefly dealt with.

⁹⁷ Sakellarios, who publishes the copy in *Arch. Zmt.*, loc. cit. says there are only four lines of signatures in smaller letters.

⁹⁸ No doubt the emperor Macrinus at the time of Hadrian, see below, note on l. 17.

L. 1. It is regrettable that the name of the city is not clearly preserved. The first two letters are illegible owing to a slight injury to the stone, which has otherwise survived in excellent preservation, and the TT are not quite clear on the squeeze, though in Mr. Wace's copy of L. 1 they are not marked as doubtful. We cannot tell whence the stone was brought to its present position, but it may very likely belong to the ancient site mentioned by Mr. Wace as at or near Nestrum.⁹⁹ In any case, in view of the mention of the Ὀρεστοί in L. 23 it may be taken as coming from a city of Orestis. But as the ethnic . . . ἀπποναῖος suits no known city of this region, falling the unsatisfactory alternative of the city having been one of which no ancient authority makes any mention, it is not unreasonable to restore [Ἐ]ραπποναίων, and regard it as the ethnic of the city alluded to by Strabo as Eratym.¹⁰⁰ In any case it was a πόλις, with a constitution of its own consisting of an ἐκκλησία and a chief magistrate called πολ(ε)ταρχος, and thus furnishes an interesting addition to the small number of Macedonian cities known to us whose chief magistracy bore this title.¹⁰¹ Here, unlike the system in the other cities, there seems to have been only one official so-called, and we gather from L. 24, 25 that the office was an annual one. Unlike the case with many other Macedonian cities at the time, there seems to have been no βουλή.

L. 3, 4. Ἀποδόμεσθαι is quite unusual in such a document, in place of some quite formal word like ἀποδεικνύειν or ἐμφανίζειν. Ἐπαρχικοὶ are the provincials, as contrasted with the πολ(ε)ῖται in L. 3, 15; this is the ordinary word in this context.¹⁰²

L. 4, 5. The δημόσιοι τόποι, no doubt the same as the δημοσία γῆ in L. 20, and τὰ δημόσια in L. 22, 28, 37, form the *ager publicus* of the city, to which the citizens naturally claim a prescriptive right.¹⁰³ There can be no doubt about the construction, with its antithetical genitives absolute, οἱ

⁹⁹ *J.H.S.* xviii, p. 179.

¹⁰⁰ P. 327. The position of the city is not clearly defined. If this conjecture should be correct we shall have to amend the text to Ἐραπποναίων. I can find no other mention of the place.

¹⁰¹ (1) At Thessalonica, *Act.*, xvii, 2; Demitso, Nos. 364-368 (369 is surely another copy of 365); (2) at Lato, Dittmh. *Syll.*³ 318 (= Demitso, No. 675); (3) at Derriopus, Demitso, Nos. 258 (= Toxot. *Highlands of European Turkey*, ii, p. 258), 280 (cf. Tarn, *Antiquities of Macedonia*, p. 107; note 99 for further references); (4) at Hamaeia Lyncestis, Demitso, No. 218 (Tarn, *loc. cit.*, L. 7 of note, wrongly writes 368 for 218); (5) at Amphipolis, Perdicet, *R.O.H.* 1894, p. 419 (= Demitso, No. 886); outside Macedonia, at Pantionpoum, *I.G. Bos.* i, 871, l. 20.

¹⁰² Cf. Plutarch, *Florus*, c. 38. Contrast with this Dittmh. *O.G.* i, 578, L. 14, where the

word is explained as meaning previous holders of the post of *ἐπαρχος*, being formed on the analogy of *ἐπαριετής*.

¹⁰³ This appears under various names in inscriptions. It is frequently mentioned especially in those earlier than the Imperial Age, dealing with questions of arbitration. E.g. *Βασαία χωρίον*, *I.G.* ii, 2, 89 (= Dittmh. *Syll.*³ 507), l. 20; Dittmh. *Syll.*³ 153, ll. 4, 9, 11, 29 (cf. *δημόσια γῆ* in l. 50); *I.G.* ix, 2, 205 (= *Syll.*³ 425), ll. 12, 13. *Δυσία δὲ γῆ*, *I.G.* ii, 1, 17 (= *Syll.*³ 80), l. 28. Cf. *Δυσία δὲ γῆ*, relating to land adjoining the wall of Nisyra, *I.G.* xii, 3, 89 (*Syll.*³ 455), with which cf. *Syll.*³ Nos. 457, 459, 460. In a long inscription of the Imperial Age, from Thias in Bœotia, relating to planting with trees and vines public lands hitherto ploughed, we have two references to *ἐπαρχικὰ χωρία*; *ibid.* *I.G.* vii, 2226 (= *Syll.*³ 553), ll. 2, 40.

ἀρκουμένων αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν) . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ περιβαλλομένων. Οἱς must be used by attraction for ἐκείνοις οὖν, 'not being content with those τόποι which they rented (on mortgage),' and πολλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖ φευσάμενοι is a pathetic comment on some of these transactions. Ἀπτετεμίσαντο here ἀποτετεμμημένοις in l. 23, and apparently ἐτεμίσαντο in l. 18, must all bear the same sense, and ἀποτετεμμημένην in l. 26 must be the passive of the same verb.¹⁰⁴ The citizens seem to have raised money by letting out some of the *ager publicus* on mortgage to the provincials, as we shall see below.

Ll. 7, 8. Περιβαλλομένων is perhaps used in its classical sense of 'seeking to acquire,' rather than actually laying hands on, though in fact it is hard to distinguish here between the two senses. Κατοχαὶ must be concrete, and equivalent to ἐγκτήματα, though I cannot trace this usage elsewhere in inscriptions.¹⁰⁵ Διακατέχειν is a natural word in such a context,¹⁰⁶ and πρότερον should be taken with both the participle and ἐδόσαν.

L. 9. For another example of χεῖρας διδόναι in reference to an agreement we may compare δούναι τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῖν εἰς σύλλυσιν in an inscription from Pergamon.¹⁰⁷ The sense of ἀφιστάμενοι is obvious.¹⁰⁸

L. 10. The construction of the sentence beginning τῶν δὲ is altered: strictly we should have expected more infinitives governed by ἀποδουρομένων, as in l. 4, or else the sentence should have begun with ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν, passing from complaints to direct narrative.

Ll. 13-15. Προσεμποιεῖν is, I believe, an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον; it clearly means 'to cultivate in addition,' on the evidence of ἐνποιεῖν in ll. 19, 20, which is itself unknown to me in this sense. Χαρακισμός is found once in a fifth-century writer¹⁰⁹ to mean cutting stakes, and this indicates the meaning here: the citizens are excluded from cutting stakes (perhaps for vines rather than fences), as well as from rights of pasturage and thoroughfare. We might have expected some reference to tilling as opposed to νομή, but it is not likely that χαρακισμός would be substituted for some more obvious word, e.g. γεωργία.¹¹⁰ Δίοδοι must mean field-paths, and we may advantageously refer to the regulation as to them in the law of the ἀστυνόμοι from Pergamon.¹¹¹

In l. 15 begins the resolution proper, the previous passage having merely explained the circumstances giving rise to it, in a somewhat loosely constructed style. The resolution is passed by the politarch and citizens in

¹⁰⁴ It is of frequent occurrence. Cf. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 820, 827, 830; *Inscr. Inc. Gr.* pp. 108 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Contrast the abstract sense, κατοχὴ τῶν τῶν χεῖρας διδόντων, Dittenb. *Syll.*² 928, l. 45.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Syll.*² 928, ll. 74, 87; 929, ll. 42 (γάμος), 55 (χάρος), 105 (σπονδ).

¹⁰⁷ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 437, l. 42.

¹⁰⁸ It is common in classical authors. In inscriptions, e.g. *Syll.*² 140, l. 5, of retiring from an office; *O.G.I.* 763, ll. 45, 46, of

abandoning an undertaking.

¹⁰⁹ Photocritica. Πέρσαι, l. 2; cf. the metaphorical use of χαράσσειν, Aristotle, *E.N.* iv. 6, 14.

¹¹⁰ Χαράσσειν is used of ploughing, metaphorically except in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 215, scarcely sufficient justification for its use in this sense in an inscription; still less for that of χαράσσειν.

¹¹¹ *O.G.I.* 438, l. 29; contrast δίοδοι, the right of passing through territory (for military purposes), *O.G.I.* 437, ll. 67, 71.

assembly, apparently unanimously, for otherwise we should hardly require the word *ὁμογνημονοῦσιν*.

L. 17. The *διάταξις* of Gentianus must refer to some regulation passed by a Roman official of this name, who can hardly be other than the D. Terentius Gentianus, who lived in the time of Trajan and Hadrian and was *censitor Macedoniae* early in his career.¹¹² The precise date of his tenure of this post, and of course the nature of his decree in the present case, are unknown. *Διάταξις* is the normal word in this sense.¹¹³

L. 18. *Ἐπειμήσαντο* must be equivalent to *ἀπεπειμήσαντο*; it is perhaps merely an error of the engraver. *Εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ* must be in contrast to *μόνα* in the previous line, the *εἰς* being really superfluous.

L. 21. The regulation forbidding anyone to give a title of citizenship is interesting; apparently in l. 28 the politarch is threatened with a penalty for the same offence, though only *δόγμα δίδοναι* is used. *Δόγμα* cannot here be used in the sense of an official resolution, though it clearly has this meaning in l. 31, and *δόγμα πολιτείας καὶ χρήσεως τῶν δημοσίων* must be a privilege which it was in the power of an individual to grant. It is natural to suppose that the wording of the resolution is confused, and that the sense required is: 'as to the other territory, no provincial may till it, or buy it or possess it; nor may any citizen give a title of citizenship or of occupation of the public lands (to any provincial).' With this explanation we may compare a somewhat similar passage in the inscription from Thesbe already mentioned¹¹⁴ forbidding *ager publicus* to be let to a *ξένος*, as the whole purport of the regulations which it contains is to keep the *ager publicus* in the hands of the citizens in perpetuity.¹¹⁵ This in turn helps us to understand the cause of the complaint, *πᾶλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖ ψευδόμενοι*, in l. 6 of our inscription; clearly the provincials had in some cases succeeded in renting some *ager publicus* to which they were not entitled.

Ll. 22, 23. The land is to be left in the possession of only the *ἀποτετευμημένοι Ὀρεσται*. They can, I think, only be the provincials who were entitled to it, and the verb must here be in the middle voice. It does not merely repeat the provision of ll. 17, 18, for the latter means 'the provincials are to have no more than (*μόνα*) they are entitled to,' whereas this means 'nobody except those who are already entitled to it are to have it,' i.e. no change of ownership is to be permitted. The form *Ὀρέσταις* proves that the ethnic is *Ὀρεσται* not *Ὀρέσται*, as has been already pointed out.¹¹⁶

Ll. 25-27. The letters between *ὥστε* and *τῶν πολιτῶν* in l. 25 are not easy to understand, though all are plainly legible on the stone, except that the ME are ligatured. I cannot see any way of reading them except as

¹¹² *C.I.L.* iii, 1463, cf. ii, 21 (and iii, suppl. 6225); *Prætorius, Ins. Lat.* iii, p. 301, No. 5d.

¹¹³ Cf. Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 383, ll. 76, 305; 490, l. 9; 484 (= *I.G. Rom.* iv, 352) l. 26; cf. *Διάταγμα* in the same sense, *O.G.I.* 441, l. 58, 458, l. 81.

¹¹⁴ Above, note on the ll. 4, 5 and 26. *I.G.* vii, 2228, ll. 47 B, as restored by Dittenberger (*Syll.* 533, note 27).

¹¹⁵ Cf. Dittenb. *loc. cit.* note 2.

¹¹⁶ *B.C.L.* xviii, p. 179, note 5.

ὄστε ἐπιβαίνει μετὰ, and ἐπιβαίνει can only be ἐπι(ἐ)βαίνει. The sense will be that the politarch is to inspect¹¹⁷ the *ager publicus* in company with its rightful occupants, and see that no intruders have come in. Ἀποστεινυμένην is here clearly passive. Those who have intruded are to be cast forth (ἐκβάλλειν), those who are in process of forcing their way in are to be stopped (κωλύειν).

Ll. 28-30. Καταποδίδοναι must mean to assign away, or possibly to sell away, i.e. assign (or sell?) to someone who ought not to have it. I cannot find the word elsewhere.¹¹⁸ The penalty is severe, 5000 denarii to the *Fiscus*, and 5000 to the exchequer of the city:¹¹⁹ the same fine is (as I have noted above) to be inflicted on any politarch (or citizen?) selling *ager publicus* to a provincial. This was omitted here and only inserted by an afterthought in l. 36, rather to the detriment of the construction.

Ll. 30-32. The resolution is to be referred to the Roman governor of the province, Junius Rufinus. Of this use of *προσαναφέρω* we have plenty of instances.¹²⁰ For the phrase ὁ δέειπεν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν we may compare the use of the same phrase, relating to the province of Thrace,¹²¹ and *δηγομένους τῆς ἐπαρχίας* is found frequently.¹²²

Junius Rufinus is less easy to identify, owing to the omission of his *prænomen*. The view of Demitsas, that he was the man of that name who was proconsular governor of Macedonia under Hadrian¹²³ is of course out of the question owing to the date (A.D. 194) in ll. 40, 41. Of the other bearers of the name with whom he might be identified, our choice seems limited to C. Junius Rufinus,¹²⁴ *praefectus vigilum* in A.D. 203 and 205, and L. Junius Rufinus Proculianus,¹²⁵ *leg. pro pr.* of Dalmatia in 184. He might as far as I can tell be either of these two, but there is always the possibility of his being a man otherwise unknown.

Ll. 32-36. The fact that the decree is to be laid before him for authorization by three *πρεσβυταὶ τοῦ δήμου*, not *τῆς πόλεως*, is perhaps an indication of its importance outside the affairs of the city alone. If he approves it is to be posted in the Agora to remain permanently on record,¹²⁶ for the reason that (ἐπεὶ)¹²⁷ 'some of the old letters have disappeared.' In

¹¹⁷ A normal use of the word. For a good parallel for this form of the infinitive, unless it is merely a slip of the engraver, cf. *ἐπισκεῖν* in an inscription from Iaudus, Dittenb. *Syll.* 567, l. 2, and note 1, which successfully defends *ἐπισκεῖν* as against *ἐπισκεῖν* (= *ἐπισκεῖν*).

¹¹⁸ Verbs so compounded seem peculiarly rare. cf. *κατασφραγίζω* in a papyrus, Mayser, *Grammatik der gr. Papyri*, p. 499 [= *Papiri Papyri* (1885), 43, 3, 187], and *κατασφραγίζω* in Athanasius (only!).

¹¹⁹ A practice with which we are familiar among the penalties for violation of graves. E.g. *I.G. Rom.* i. 589, 588, 641, 808, 841, prescribing an equal fine to the corpse and the city; in *ibid.* l. 823 the word *φίσκος* is used in a similar ordinance.

¹²⁰ E.g. Dittenb. *Syll.* 334, l. 36, of reference to the Roman Senate; *O.G.I.* 761, l. 2, of reference to Ptolemy XI of Egypt.

¹²¹ *I.G. Rom.* i. 785. Instances of *δηγομαι* are too numerous to quote, but cf. Dittenb. *Syll.* 561, note 4) on the word.

¹²² *Ibid.* l. 573, 868, 879, 872, etc.

¹²³ *Prosopogr. Imp. Rom.* ii, p. 242, No. 597.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* No. 539.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* No. 521.

¹²⁶ For *ἐν τῷ δήμῳ* cf. Appian, *B.C.* i. 4. The adjective is common in inscriptions.

¹²⁷ I cannot be certain of the second Ε of *ἐπεὶ* on the square; if inserted at all it was figured to the Π with very short cross-strokes, which it is hard to distinguish from scratches on the stone.

l. 34 after *Πτολεμαίου* the reading is not very plain, though clearly the sense requires *ἐάν*. The stone, which is slightly damaged here, has apparently *ΕΝ*, but I cannot be sure that the second sign was not *Α*, i.e. *ΑΝ* ligatured. *Στηλογραφεῖν* is an unusual word in inscriptions,¹²⁸ and is a welcome alternative to lengthy periphrases like *ἀναγράφας εἰς στήλην λιθίνην*, etc.; the infinitive is of course after *ἔδοξε* in l. 31. In l. 35 I restore *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* to account for the genitive *τῆς ἀγορᾶς*: it suits the traces visible on the stone, though they are very obscure. *Ἐπεὶ τινα τῶν παλαιῶν ἡφάνισται γραμμάτων* is not easy of explanation. It may either mean that certain old documents have disappeared, and that this one is not to suffer their fate, or, which on the whole I prefer, that some letters in some specific document have become illegible, and that this decree is to take their place. In the latter case this would surely refer to a record of the *διάταξις* of Gentianus (l. 17), which, drawn up nearly a century before, might well be described as *παλαιὰ γράμματα*, and equally well have become illegible in places.¹²⁹

In ll. 36-39 a further offence is made penal, and the clause should strictly have followed immediately after *πεντακισχίλια* in l. 30. It is impossible to say definitely whether this too refers only to the politarch or whether *τις* might refer to any citizen. The selling of *ager publicus* to a provincial is an act of which a citizen might be guilty just as likely as a politarch, but the fine being identical with that for offending politarchs perhaps decides the question in the former sense. *Τὰ τε ἤδη γεγραμμένα* is not very clear. It certainly reads like a continuation of the *ἀποδοῖς* of the last clause, with the sense that the existing documents (relating to the sale) are to be invalid, and are not to be upheld (in a court of law) in favour of the purchasers (i.e. if they are provincials). But it is by no means impossible that the amendment ends at *προστίμῳ*, and that *τὰ τε ἤδη γεγραμμένα* looks back to *τὰ παλαιὰ γράμματα*: this certainly makes the document much more clumsy, but omitting the *ὁμοίως* clause we get clear sense—that it is to be engraved on a column in the Agora to remain on permanent record, since some of the old document has become illegible... and the existing document is to be invalid and not to be held to support the purchasers. The point of *ἡγορακῶσι* in l. 40 is certainly clearer in the former sense, as the essence of the crime in ll. 37 ff. is *πωλεῖν ἑπαρχικῶς*, but I am not convinced that the other is impossible. *Κρατεῖσθαι τοῖς ἡγορακῶσι* is in any case a curious expression, and by no means so easy to parallel as *ἀγορα εἶναι*.¹³⁰ It seems to give better sense to take it as a dative of advantage, though the dative of the agent is quite possible. In the latter case the sense would be 'shall not be kept, by the purchasers, as part of the agreement'.¹³¹ Ultimately the difference in sense is not very great: the provision in the former case will refer to the whole subject-

¹²⁸ Cf. *E.E.G.* xii. (1890), p. 189, No. 1, from Thessalonica.

¹²⁹ For the use of *ἡφάνισται* in the sense of damaging an inscription cf. Dittenb. *Syll.* 602, l. 7; of damaging an epigraph, *ibid.* 492, l. 2.

¹³⁰ For this see Dittenb. *Syll.* Index vi. c. c. *ἀγορα*.

¹³¹ *Κρατεῖσθαι* being equal to *επιτελεῖν* or *κατασκευάζειν*.

matter of the decree, in the latter to the offence dealt with in the amendment only.

LI. 40, 41. The date falls in the spring or early summer (April-May) of A.D. 194, as the Macedonian month Artemisios corresponds roughly to the Attic Munychion.¹²²

LI. 42-58. The text is quite uncertain after [ἐπ]εσφραγισμένην. As it stands it is meaningless, and it may be only the first name in Col. IV, written above its proper place. The names of the citizens with which the document closes need not delay us long. They are for the most part atrociously written, and in some cases impossible to decipher; some of those which I seem to have made out may not be correctly read, and as a whole they add little or nothing to the value of the document. A large proportion are of Greek origin, the few exceptions being Macedonian (or Illyrian) and Roman. Among the former are Ἀμύντας (Col. I, l. 49), Πλευράτος (Col. II, l. 45), Δείρδας (?) and Τήρης (Col. III, l. 54); among the latter Πρεῖμος (Col. II, l. 48), Δέγμος (?) (Col. II, l. 51), and apparently Φλάβιος as an adopted name (Col. I, l. 44). It is noteworthy that, with this exception, there are no Roman *protonomima* and *nomina*.

The orthography shows nothing striking, considering the date of the inscription. Ει for ε in πολ(ε)τάρχης, πολ(ε)τεία, and πολ(ε)της¹²³ (ll. 2, 3, 10, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 30), in (ἀπο)τεμνάσθαι (ll. 6, 18, 23, 26), χ(ε)λία (ll. 29, 30), and in numerous proper names is a common usage. The omission of one μ from γράμ(μ)ατα, γεγραμ(μ)ένος, etc., is less usual, though it had begun long before this.¹²⁴ Ἐπίνειν for ἐπιέναι in l. 25 might be only a slip of the engraver, though a parallel is quoted above, as might ἐπὶ for ἐπεὶ in l. 36 if we could be certain that the ε was not inserted. To the same cause we may more confidently attribute ΑΛΛΗΝ for ἄλλη in l. 13, two meaningless letters at the end of line 21, and a superfluous τ in προ-στειμῶ at the beginning of l. 39.¹²⁵

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¹²² Cf. *Syll.*³ 656, ll. 38 ff., and notes 8 and 9 ad loc.

¹²³ But we have *πολιτάρχης* in ll. 27, 32.

¹²⁴ At Athens it occurs once in the fourth century (perhaps a mere slip). *I.G.* II, 49; in Papyri, several examples as early as 166 B.C.,

cf. Mayser, *Grammatik der gr. Papyri*, pp. 215 ff.

¹²⁵ I have to thank Mr. M. N. Tod for valuable suggestions and criticism, especially in the last of these inscriptions.

POSTSCRIPT

Page 335, note 76.—I have just heard from Dr. Arvanitopoulos that he has verified the correctness of my conjecture made in this note: he writes (Oct. 29) that Nos. 65 and 74 ἀρμόζουσι καὶ προέχονται ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ψηφίσματος.

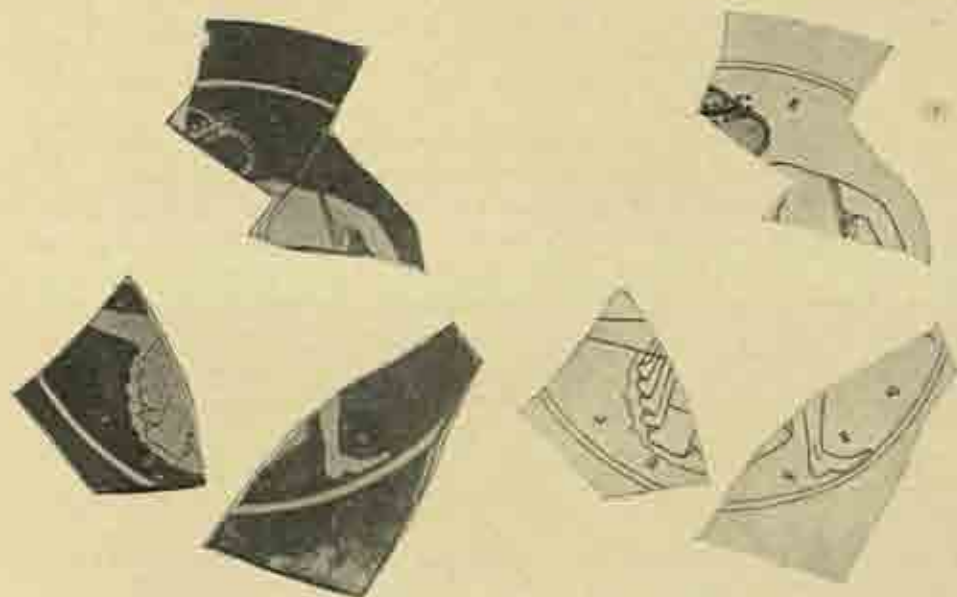


FIG. 1.—FRAGMENTS OF CUP IN HEIDELBERG (B 2).

A NOTE ON THE PAINTER OF THE VASES SIGNED EUERGIDES.¹

THE fragments reproduced in Fig. 1 are in the Archaeological Institute at Heidelberg, and Prof. von Duhn has kindly allowed me to publish them. They formed part of a cup: it is not possible to say whether the cup had pictures on the outside or not. Round the figure on the inside runs the broken inscription Ε . . . ΙΔΕΣ ΕΓ The outlines of the figure are all relief-lines, except the further edge of the chiton below, the outer line of the sleeve near the elbow, and the front part of the sole. The wreath is red, the contour of the hair reserved with a relief-line on either side of the reserve.

Three other cups have figures in the interior which resemble ours closely: Munich 2612; a fragmentary cup in Leipzig (woman running holding a wreath); and a cup found at Capua and published in *Annali*, 1849, Pl. B, but now lost. This third vase bears the legend ΕΥΕΡΓΙΔΕΣ ΕΓΩΙΕ. It is likely then, though of course not certain, that we are to restore our inscription as Ε[ΥΕΡΓΙ]ΔΕΣ ΕΓ[ΩΙΕ] or Ε[ΕΝ]. This is not a certain restoration; for the anonymous artist who worked for Euergides may have worked for, say, Euthymides, as well, although we do not know that Euthymides ever owned a workshop, since his extant signatures are all artist's signatures.

¹ I owe my thanks to Prof. von Duhn, Dr. in Heidelberg; Berlin, Munich, Paris, and Koster, Dr. Sieveking, Mr. Pottier and Mr. E. P. Brunswick, Maine. Warren for allowing me to publish fragments.

Klein, in his *Meistersignaturen*, p. 99, mentions three vases bearing the name of Energides, once in the form ΕΥΕΡΓΙΔΕΣ ΕΓΟΙΕ, twice in the form ΕΥΕΡΓΙΔΕΣ Ε. The first is the lost Capua cup. The second, from Corinth, is in Athens, and has been published twice, in *Eph. Arch.* 1885, Pl. 3, 2 = *J.H.S.* xii, p. 348, and this year in *Monuments Piot* 20, p. 143. The third is unpublished; it was formerly in the Magazzino Ruspoli at Cerveteri, the contents of which have been distributed among the museums of Boston, Leipzig and Oxford; such fragments of the Energides cup as remain are in Leipzig. Klein's list may be increased; first by the Heidelberg cup, in all probability; second, by a fragmentary cup in the Glyptothek at Munich, mentioned on Hauser's authority, by Rizzo²; and lastly, perhaps by a fragment in Athens, from the Acropolis, with the letters ΕΥΕΡ

Leaving out of account the Munich fragment, which I have not seen, and the Athens fragment which has no drawing on it, the style of the remaining four vases is the same: they are certainly the work of a single artist. That this artist's name was Energides, we have not the least justification for saying. Energides is the owner of the workshop; if we speak of 'the style of Energides,' we may only do so on sufferance, using this as an abbreviation for 'the style of the vases which bear the name of Energides.' This artist worked for other makers besides Energides; for the Louvre cup with ΧΕΛΙΣ ΕΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ is by the same hand as the Energides vases, although the three other vases signed by Chelis are not.³

Besides these five cups, a large number of unsigned vases must be assigned to the same artist. Only a few of these have been published at all, and hardly any well; but it seemed to me that a list of these vases, which are all cups, might serve some purpose, especially as Rizzo, in his enthusiasm for the new artist Skythes, has ventured to attribute the Capua cup to his hand.⁴ Only two vases have hitherto been assigned to 'Energides': Cecil Smith, in his catalogue of vases in the British Museum, saw that E 20 and E 21 were by the same artist as the Energides cups.

1. British Museum E 9. *A.V.* Pl. 178-9; *A.* only, Murray, *Designs from Greek Vases*, No. 6.
A. Man with horn.
B. Peleus and Thetis.
2. British Museum E 10. *A.V.* Pl. 186; *A.* only, Murray, No. 7.
A. Sphinx.
B. Scene from Trojan War.
3. British Museum E 20. *A.* Murray, No. 16.
A. Youth with cloak.
B. (a) Youth with horses; (b) Fight.

² *Mon. Piot* 20, p. 144, note 1.

³ Is the Louvre cup.

⁴ List of vases with the name of Chelis in Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, p. 116. His number

⁵ *Mon. Piot* 20, p. 142.

4. British Museum E 21. A. Murray, No. 17. B. *Munchner Archäologische Studien*, p. 371.
A. Youth running.
B. Youths with horses.
5. British Museum E 22. A. Murray, No. 18.
A. Young warrior.
B. (a) Arming; (b) Warriors running.
6. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. A. V. Pl. 180-1.
A. Youth in vat.
B. Peleus and Thetis.
7. London, Mr. Charles Bicketts and Mr. Charles Shannon.
A. Youth in vat.
B. (a) Athletes; (b) Komos.
8. Liverpool, Institute of Archaeology. Small fragment of B. arm, and back of male head, with letters ΠΑ.
9. Louvre G 15. Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 89-90. Signed X(ΕΛ)ΙΣ ΕΥΕΓΙΕΣΕΝ.
A. Youth with halteres.
B. (a) Youths with horses; (b) Athletes.
10. Louvre G 21.
A. Youth with horn.
B. (a) Youth, and panther attacking fawn; (b) Youth with horses.
11. Louvre G 22.
A. Diskobolos.
B. (a) Youths hunting fawn; (b) Youths hunting stag.
12. Louvre G 71. B. (a), *Revue de l'art anc. et mod.* 1901, p. 9.
A. Youth with halteres.
B. (a) Herakles² and lion, Theseus and Minotaur, Theseus and Prokromstes; (b) Komos.
13. Louvre G 20. Fragment.
A. Youth running with crotala. Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 90.
14. Louvre G 1401. Fragment.
A. Male running with stick.
15. Louvre G 96. Fragment. Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 99.
A. Youth lifting stone.

² Herakles' bull head is due to restoration.

16. Louvre S 1403. Fragment. Fig. 2.
B. Athletes.
17. Louvre S 1395. Fragment.
A. Head of youth.
18. Louvre. Fragment.
B. Head of young warrior to left. Corinthian helmet, spear and shield with polyp as episemon; letters ΗΔ.
19. Boulogne 591. *Le Musée* 2, p. 281 = *J.H.S.* xxvii. p. 33.
A. Cock.
B. Between griffins: (a) Athletes, (b) Maenad and Silenus.
20. Boulogne 183. *Le Musée* 2, p. 280, Fig. 28.
A. Youth in vat.
B. Black.



FIG. 2.—FRAGMENT OF CUP IN THE LOUVRE (S.1403): B.

21. Berlin 2265. A, Fig. 3.
A. Youth with kotyle.
B. Between sphinxes, (a) Youth lying down drinking from krater;
(b) Youth lying, with wineskin.
22. Munich 2695. Small sketch of B, *Mon.* 1. pl. 27, No. 39.
A. Youth with halteres.
B. (a) Between griffins, youth running; (b) Same as (a).
23. Munich 2697.
A. Youth with cup at krater.
B. (a) School; (b) Komos.

24. Munich 2608.

A. Silen running.

B. (a) Maenad and Silens; (b) Komos.

25. Munich 2609.

A. Warrior running.

B. (a) Departure of charioteer, with Hermes and an Eros;

(b) Fight.

26. Munich 2612. *A* and *B* (b). Figs. 4 and 5.

A. Woman running.

B. Between sphinxes (a) Male mounting chariot; (b) Maenad and Silens.



FIG. 2.—CUP IN BERLIN (19255) = *A*.

27. Munich 2597.

A. Youth running.

B. Black.

28. Würzburg 347.

A. Youth running.

B. (a) Youth and panther attacking fawn; (b) Komos.

29. Heidelberg B 2. Signed fragments. Fig. 1.

A. Woman running.

30. Heidelberg. Small fragment.

B. Fawn and Silen running to left.

31. Brunswick. Fragment.

A. Youth in vat, turned to left.



FIG. 4—Clay in Museum (2612): A.

32. Dresden. Fragment.

B. Youth with halteres, and hand of acontist.



FIG. 5—Clay in Museum (2612): B (b).

33. Leipzig. Fragment.

A. Woman running, holding wreath.

B. was probably black.

34. Leipzig. From Cerveteri.
A. Part of male head remains.
B. Komos, with column-krater and bell-krater.
35. Leipzig. Fragment from Cerveteri.
B. Herakles and the lion. A fragment of A with Euergides' signature perhaps belongs.
36. Leipzig. Fragment from Cerveteri.
A. Youth to left, backview; arm extended in cloak.
37. Leipzig. Fragment.
B. Pegasus and part of bending youth: letters ΗΣ.
38. Leipzig. Fragment.
B. Woman running (of the Heidelberg cup, etc.).
There are one or two other small fragments in Leipzig.
39. Corneto, Museo Bruschi.
A. Warrior running.
B. Between sphinxes, (a) Herakles fighting the Centaurs;
(b) Peleus and Thetis.

This vase has the letters ΠΟΙΕ on the fragmentary interior, part of the maker's signature.

40. Orvieto, Museo Faina 171.
A. Youth running with horn.
B. Komos.
41. Once in Capua. *Ann.* 1849 Pl. B. Signed.
A. Woman running with crotala.
B. Between sphinxes, (a) Youth with horses; (b) Acontist with paidotribes.
42. Adria. Fragment of A: youth lifting halteres; ΗΟΓΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ.
43. Athens, 1169. *Eph. Arch.* 1885 Pl. 3. 2; *Mon. Piot* 20, p. 143.
Signed.
A. Youth with stick.
B. Black.
44. Athens, Acropolis collection. Fragments. Part of B, *Jahrbuch*, xiv, p. 154.
B. Vase-painter, seated Athena, etc.; bronze-workers.
45. Athens, Acropolis collection. Fragment.
B. Theseus and Minotaur.
46. Athens, Acropolis collection. Fragment.
A. Discobolos to left.
47. Athens, Acropolis collection. Two fragments of B. Young warrior running l. (episemon bird); and young warrior back view, head l.

48. Athens, Acropolis collection. Two fragments of *B*, perhaps from same cup. Centaur l. regardant, with branch; on l. palmette; and head of Herakles l. with letters $\epsilon\lambda$. Scene no doubt same as on the Bruschì cup.
49. New York. *Bull. Metr. Mus.* 5, No. 6, p. 142, Fig. 1.
A. Youth bending with flower.
B. Athletes.
50. Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Fragment. Fig. 6.
B. Young warrior.

It will be noticed that there are no eye-cups in this list, and no black-figure interiors; and the earliest type of cup-foot (Furtwängler, *Berlin Cat.* Pl. 6, No. 173) is found only once, on No. 1. Most of the cups in the list have the usual red-figure foot (*ibid.* No. 225), with the stout stem and thick side which are regular in the early red-figure period. The shape F. No. 224 is also found (33 and 42). The palmettes vary, although certain types predominate; and one rule is, that the heart of the palmette is left reserved, without the customary black dot or filling. Sphinxes sit at the handles in four cups, griffins in two. A simple reserved line surrounds one picture on the interior, and another runs below the pictures on the outside; No. 1 however has two reserved circles in the interior; and the Athens craftsmen cup (No. 44) is one of the earliest cups to use the meander. There is only one love-name, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\Phi\epsilon\lambda\Delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\Nu$ on No. 1; but the master lavishes the general compliment $\eta\omicron\Gamma\alpha\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, to which he often adds a $\Nu\alpha\lambda$ or $\Nu\alpha\chi\iota$, or even a $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\alpha$. Apart from heroic names, the following may be noted: Plexippos (3, 41 and probably 26), Hippokritos (4), and Philokomos (21); Lasios (26) is a silen. The letters . . . $\Nu\omicron\Nu$ on 13 may be part of Memnon.⁶ 19 has the greeting $\Gamma\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\Gamma\omicron$ $\rho\epsilon\upsilon\omicron$.⁷

The interior of the cup has never more than a single figure, most commonly a komast (eleven times); there are five athletes, five women running, and four youths in vats. On the exterior, the komos again predominates (seven times); six times we have athletes, and six times warriors arming, running, or fighting; youths with horses five times, silens and maenads four times, hunting-scenes three times.

A few remarks may be made on the style of these vases. Bodies and legs are thin, and the head is narrow from back to front. The outline of the

⁶ Nearly all the cups which bear the name of Memnon are by the painter Oltes, who worked not only for Exithios, but for Pamphaios (Louvre G 2 and G 3), and the stamnos B.M. E 437 (*H. V.* D. 6), and painted besides the Berlin plate with the fragmentary inscription $\epsilon\Gamma\omicron\iota\theta\iota$, and the fragment in Odessa (*Memn.* *ac.* *Odessa* 22, Pl. 3, 1), which von Stern attributed to Kleophrades. The account which Hartwig gives of Oltes in his *Meisterkatalog* is

misleading.

⁷ Some of the other vases with $\Gamma\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\Gamma\omicron$ $\rho\epsilon\upsilon\omicron$ stand close to our master, but are not by his hand; B.M. E 28, Louvre G 82 (*B. Cat.* 2, Pl. 37), Brussels R 290, Bologna (Zanoni Pl. 107), Dresden. Add to this group B.M. E 27, Louvre G 98 (Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 99), and a cup from Cerreteri in Leipzig (youth to left with wineskin: $\Gamma\alpha\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$).

hair is twice incised, in one figure on No. 1 and in one figure on No. 24. In all the other figures it is smooth and reserved: the reserve is bordered on both sides by a relief-line; a third relief-line edges the hair over the face, above the short loose hairs which are rendered by dark straight strokes without relief; in male heads a fourth relief-line generally edges the hair at the neck in the same way. The artist's women have practically only one mode of doing their hair, and that is the mode seen on the Capua and Heidelberg cups.

The wreath is almost always a simple-curved line with round dots on either side of it; the convolvulus wreath on the Athens craftsmen-cup is an exception on an exceptional vase. The ear is bounded by a relief-line against the hair, but its inner markings, which have the shape seen on the signed Athens cup, lack relief; there are very few exceptions to this rule. In very careless vases, the ear has no inner markings. Relief-line is used for the forehead-nose outline, but is scanty in the lower parts of the face. The facial type may be seen from the pictures. The ankle is either like that on the Heidelberg cup, or, with the addition of a short black line, like that on the signed Athens cup: in careless pieces it is omitted. There is frequently no indication of either collar-bone or breast, for instance on the Louvre fragment, Fig. 2. The Capua cup gives a good specimen of the regular female drapery. The feet are always drawn in profile, except in one figure on the Athens cup with craftsmen, an ugly bearded man squatting with one leg frontal and the foot extended.

The painter of the cups signed Euergides is one of the most prolific painters in what is called the Epictetan period. His work is agreeable but often careless and never distinguished. It is a pity that he did not paint more pieces like the Athens cup with craftsmen.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

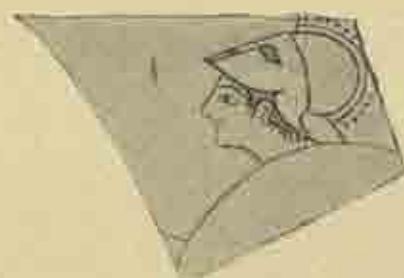


FIG. 2.—FRAGMENT OF CUP IN BOWDOIN COLLECTION, B.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PROVINCE OF KOMMAGENE.

THE object of this note is to examine the earlier history of this North Syrian province, and incidentally to suggest a cause for its political independence, of which we have striking evidence in the establishment of a kingdom of Kommagene when the power of the later Seleucidae had declined. In spite of lying in the more immediate neighbourhood of Antioch, the province had already won its independence in the time of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes; at the beginning of the first century King Mithridates Callinicus obtained recognition of his dynasty from the Seleucid house; and even after the kingdom had become a Roman province it reverted for a time to its independent status. Hitherto, the need for an inquiry into the cause of so decided a tendency to break away from its surroundings has not been apparent. The descent of the Seleucid province from a Persian satrapy of the same area has served as a bridge to Assyrian times; and the continual 'revolts' of 'the land of Kummukh' from the end of the twelfth century onwards have furnished sufficient analogies to its history during the later period.

It will be obvious that this view rested, not only on the identification of the two place-names, *Kommagene* and *Kummukh*, but also on the assumption that the Seleucid and Assyrian districts were largely, if not entirely, identical. But a geographical reference in some recently published rock-inscriptions has proved that the latter assumption was ill founded. Instead of lying on the upper Euphrates, and, as some have assumed, entirely to the west of the river, it appeared that the land of Kummukh, at the beginning of the seventh century B.C., extended as far east as the Tigris. This rather unexpected information rendered it necessary to re-examine the other passages in the Assyrian inscriptions in which the name occurred, and the result has been to show that the land of Kummukh was, strictly speaking, a Mesopotamian and not a North-Syrian district, and that none of its territory lay within the boundaries of Kommagene.¹ In setting out this result I suggested a possible reason for the survival of the name into the Hellenic period for a district with which it originally had no connexion, and it is to this point I propose to return. Such a transference of the name seems to call for a rather more detailed explanation than it was possible to attempt within the limits of that paper. But it will be necessary first to restate the

¹ See the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913, pp. 47 ff.

problem, and perhaps the best way of doing so will be to summarize quite briefly the evidence that the name did actually cross the Euphrates.²

One main result of the re-examination of the Assyrian evidence has been to explain the reference in the seventh-century rock-inscriptions³ by demonstrating the fact that the eastern boundary of Kummukh, during the whole Assyrian period, was the Tigris. There is definite proof that this was the case in the early part of the ninth century,⁴ and it is also practically certain for the close of the twelfth century, when the name first makes its appearance. For the military operations of Tiglath-pileser I, in the course of which he annexed 'the land of Kummukh,' were confined to the basin of the Tigris.⁵ But, in spite of his claim to have subjected the country 'in its length and breadth,' it was only Eastern Kummukh that he conquered, a much smaller district than the Kummukh of Tiglath-pileser IV, three centuries and a half later.⁶ In the interval the western expeditions of Ashurnasir-pal and Shalmaneser II. had considerably widened the geographical horizon of the Assyrians, and had led to a gradual increase in their knowledge of the district. A record of the year 728 B.C. refers to the Euphrates as its western boundary,⁷ proving that the land of Kummukh was a purely Mesopotamian region and extended from river to river.

² The other alternative, that the names Kummukh and Kummukh were of independent origin, need not be contemplated. Both are obviously transliterations of the same foreign place-name, and the Greek and Assyrian forms could hardly be closer. Later Assyrian variants of the name suggest a shifting of the accent from the first syllable, but with no consonantal or vocalic change; the interchange of K and X at the beginning of the word can be disregarded, as before the vowel *a* the distinction tended to be blurred in pronunciation.

³ These were engraved by Sennacherib on the Judi Dagh, to the west of the Tigris, between the years 698 and 695 B.C.; cf. King, *P.S.B.A.* xxxv, 66 ff.

⁴ When starting on his campaign of 881 B.C. Ashurnasir-pal entered the land of Kummukh immediately after crossing the Tigris, and another passage in his annals closely resembles Sennacherib's record, since it refers to Kummukh as contiguous to the cities at the foot of Mt. Nipur (the Judi Dagh).

⁵ The city of Sherike, into which the Kummukhians fled, was on the Tigris; and on their final defeat with their allies, the Kurkhé, the dead bodies of the slain were carried by the river Namo into the Tigris, proving that the Assyrian army had not crossed the water-shed. The Euphrates is not once mentioned.

⁶ It may be noted, in passing that this conclusion is bound to contradict our ideas of the extent of the 'First Assyrian Empire.' In a

lecture before the Egypt Exploration Fund, to be published in the first number of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Mr. Hogarth has emphasized the necessity, both for Egypt and Assyria, of distinguishing a spring raid for booty from an organized empire. The wisdom of this advice has lately been exemplified in the case of the alleged inclusion of Cyprus in the Old-Babylonian empire of Sargon of Akkad. The evidence of a Neo-Babylonian chronicle, to the effect that it was not the Mediterranean but the Persian Gulf he crossed, has been confirmed by an early text from Nippur, which is being prepared for publication by Dr. Arno Poebel. Sargon is there recorded to have 'washed his weapons' in the Persian Gulf, which his successor crossed to capture the 'silver holes' (i.e. the silver mines) of Elam. In the west he raids no farther than 'the cedar forest' (Lebanon) and 'the silver mountains' (the foothills of Taurus).

⁷ The phrase reads 'the Euphrates, the boundary of Kummukh,' and has hitherto been taken as referring to the eastern boundary of the district. Meyer attempts to reconcile the various passages by placing Kummukh on both sides of the upper Euphrates (*Geschichte des Altertums*, I. ii. p. 601); others have placed it mainly to the west of that river with an extension on the left bank (cf. Schrader, *Keilschr. Bibl.* i. 218, ii. 294, and *Keilschr. Bibl. und Geschichtsforschung*, 127 ff.; Winckler in Helmolt's *History*, iii. 54, 56; Munster, *Handbuch*

The principal grounds for the view that would place Kummukh in Syrian territory are to be found in the fact that both Shalmaneser II. and Tiglath-pileser IV. refer to princes of Kummukh who ruled districts to the west of the Euphrates. In 854 B.C. Shalmaneser II., after crossing the Euphrates, received tribute from a number of kings, and the second name on his list, following Sangar of Carchemish, is a certain Kundashpi of Kummukh. A similar list of tributaries to Tiglath-pileser IV., including the kings of Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, Gebel, Cilicia, Carchemish, Hamath, etc., is headed by Kushtashpi of Kummukh. At first sight these passages appear to conflict with the evidence already summarized, but the discrepancy is only apparent. Neither Kundashpi nor Kushtashpi is styled 'king of the land of Kummukh'; each is referred to simply as the 'Kummukhian'.⁸ They were princes from Kummukh, though ruling a district in Syria. The passages, in fact, exhibit the earliest appearance of the name west of the Euphrates. Though employed in Syria at first in a racial sense, the term clearly acquired a geographical connotation. It remains only to inquire the cause of the original settlement in Syria, and the circumstances which may have contributed to the perpetuation of the name in its new surroundings.

It has long been recognized that *Kundashpi* and *Kushashpi* are both Aryan (Iranian) names. The latter corresponds to the Old Persian *Vistāspa*, Gr. *Ῥαδάσπης*, while for the first component of the former name we may compare *Vindafarna* (= *Ῥαδάφρνης*).⁹ For this reason it has been recognized that the dynasty they represent was Aryan in character and was established in Syria before the ninth century.¹⁰ But there the matter necessarily rested. Our new information enables us to connect this dynasty with other evidence of the same class that dates from an earlier period.

The recognition of the fact that Kummukh was originally not a Syrian but a Mesopotamian district opens up new possibilities of comparison. Corresponding to the northern and more mountainous districts of Mesopotamia, it was clearly a later place-name for a considerable part of the area incorporated in the earlier kingdom of Mitanni. And, since in the fourteenth century Nineveh was under Mitannian control, we may infer that Mitanni,

ancient, iii. 195, etc.); others again, disregarding the earlier references, confine the term, like Kommagene, to Syrian territory (cf. *Encycl. Bibl.* i. 352 f.; Gaster, *Land of the Hittites*, 342, 368; Hall, *Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, 504). But if the Tigris formed the eastern boundary of Kummukh in 881 B.C. and also in the years 698-695 B.C., it is hardly probable that in the interval between these two dates it could have been regarded as extending as far east only as the Euphrates. Moreover the passage in question records the defeat of the Vannic king Sarduris III., and is written from the standpoint of Uruiru (Armenia); it mentions the Euphrates as the most distant boundary of Kummukh from that direction.

⁸ In all the inscriptions which refer to these two princes the name occurs in its gentile, not under its geographical form; and the distinction is obviously intended.

⁹ The terminal *-pi* in *Kundashpi* and *Kushashpi* is the Assyrian genitive case-ending; while for the transition of the initial *vi* to *yu* (Assyr. *-hu*) we may compare the Middle-Persian forms *Gondapharres*, *Gondaphares*, *Gutlisp*, etc.; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 372 f.; Gölger and Kuhn, *Gramm. der Iran. Philol.* ii. 500 f.; Schafelowitz, *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Sprachf.* xxxiii. 276; and Meyer, *ibid.* clii. 10 f.

¹⁰ Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. ii. 601 f.

like Kummukh, extended from river to river, though its southern boundary was probably further to the south. Rost's acute identification of the Iranian character of the Mitannian proper names in the Amarna letters¹¹ was confirmed by Winckler's finds at Boghaz Kyôï, which proved not only that the Mitannian princes bore Iranian names, but that they had brought Aryan gods with them and called themselves Aryans.¹² The new finds also directed attention to Scheffelewicz's theory that the Kassite Dynasty of Babylon was Aryan, and proved at any rate that it had borrowed from the Aryans its gods. It followed that as early as the seventeenth century a conquering Aryan race must have begun to invade the northern district of Mesopotamia and to impose its rule on the indigenous inhabitants.¹³ In the fifteenth century we find it fully established as the ruling population and extending its influence into Syria. But in less than a century it had succumbed before the Hittite advance and the encroachments of Assyria.¹⁴ We may regard the Aryan dynasty, which we find settled in North Syria in the ninth century, as representing the fringe, or a fresh wave, of this migration, which had long been settled in Kummukh as their predecessors had been settled in Mitanni. To the westward expansion of Assyria, which began at the close of the twelfth century, we may trace the pressure which drove sections of the Aryan population of Kummukh across the Euphrates. And the survival of the place-name in Syria under the Achaemenian kings may doubtless be traced to a natural tendency on their part to encourage the prosperity of a district in which the ruling caste were men of their own kindred. There is evidence that Kommagene retained this racial character beside a North Syrian population which was largely Semitic.

L. W. KING

¹¹ *Mitteil. d. Vorderas. Ges.*, 1897, 216.

¹² Cf. Winckler, *O.L.Z.*, 15th Dec. 1906, and *M.D.O.G.*, No. 25 (Dec. 1907); and Meyer, *Sitzber. Ept. preuss. Akad.* 1908, i. Winckler at first refused, but afterwards accepted, the equation *Harri* = Aryans.

¹³ This is clear from the non-Iranian character of the Mitannian speech, as represented in one of Tushratta's letters from Tell Amarna. In spite of Scheffelewicz's attempt to prove it Aryan (*Z. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, xxviii. 280 ff.), it has been shown by Bloomfield to be totally non-Indo-European (*Amer. Jour. of Philol.*, xiv. 3 ff.); cf. also Meyer, *Z. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, xlii. 21; Hall (*Ann. Hist. of the Near East*, p. 201) suggests that the ruling caste in Mitanni were 'barons' of the usual Iranian type. The success of the Aryan invaders may in large part be traced to their greater mobility. That they were a 'Reitervolk' is clear from the numerous Iranian proper names which include *aspa* (horse), 'horse,' as a component (cf. Justi, *Iran.*

Namenbuch, p. 486; Meyer, *Geschichte*, I. ii. 579). With their appearance the horse suddenly becomes the beast of burden throughout Western Asia; before that time 'the ass of the mountain' was a great rarity, the earliest reference to it occurring in the age of Hammurabi at the beginning of the second millennium (cf. Ungnad, *O.L.Z.*, 1907, 638 f.).

¹⁴ The Eastern Kummukhians and their allies, the Kurkîs, who were defeated by Tiglath-pileser I. (see above n. 5), were under pressure of Hittite extraction; this is clear from the proper names 'Shadi-Teshub, the son of Khat-tashar,' and 'Kili-Teshub, the son of Kili-Teshub' (cf. Hommel, *Geschichte der Geogr. und Gesch. des alt. Orients*, I. 43). The occurrence of the name of the Hittite-Mitannian weather-god (Teshub) cannot be regarded as a Mitannian survival in view of the purely Hittite name Khattushar (cf. Khattusil, Eg. Khottasir, the contemporary of Ramesses II.).

NOTE ON THE BOSTON COUNTERPART OF THE LUDOVISI THRONE.

I REGRET that an acknowledgment of the courtesy of the Director of the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, in supplying the excellent photographs from which the illustrations of the Boston relief were produced, was accidentally omitted from my previous article.

Since the appearance of my article on this relief in the last number of the *Journal*, I have to thank Dr. Eisler for calling my attention to the very interesting and suggestive paper published by him in the Transactions of the 'Kunstwissenschaftliche Gesellschaft' of Munich in the *Münchener Jahrbuch für bild. Kunst*, 1912. Whatever view one may take of the artistic problems involved, the interpretation of the reliefs is extremely difficult and is not satisfactorily solved in Prof. Studniczka's discussion. Dr. Eisler suggests that we should recognise in the Boston relief a duplication of Aphrodite—the sorrowful and the rejoicing—as well as of Adonis, and regards the whole as representing a Babylonian and Phoenician symbolism of astronomical import—the balance recalling the constellation libra and the equilibrium of night and day at the equinox, and the figures in the scales the approach of the winter and summer half-year with the elevation and depression of the sun. Thus we should have in this relief an example of Wickhoff's 'continuous' method of narration, successive or alternating events in the life of the same persons being represented side by side as part of a single scene. Another very interesting suggestion of Dr. Eisler is that the artist who made the relief translated into the forms of Greek art a representation he actually found on some Oriental relief, possibly, if in Sicily, of Punic origin. In this way perhaps it may be possible to explain the misunderstandings and confusions that have proved so puzzling hitherto. Two other observations of Dr. Eisler also call for remark. He points out the importance to the history of mythology of so early a Greek representation of the Adonis myth 'with its solar import, as attested by Macrobius and often regarded as a late rationalising invention'; and he also calls attention to the fact that this example of the 'continuous' method, if his interpretation be accepted, is the earliest known in Greek art, and quite unparalleled at this period. It is obvious that those who do not accept the early date of the relief have here two strong arguments against it, if they refuse to admit as probable in archaic Greece either the astronomical rationalisation of the Adonis myth or so strange an example of the 'continuous' method.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE (1912-1913).

LAST year was not remarkable for any sensational archaeological discovery in Greece, but much good work was done, and the amount that was accomplished by the Greek authorities in spite of the interruption of the Balkan War is very creditable to their zeal and enthusiasm. It is perhaps fitting to offer them the congratulations of all interested in Greek archaeology on the amount of new ground that is now available for scientific study.

In the minds of those who have known Athens in past years this season will perhaps be best remembered as the first after the definite retirement of Dr. Dörpfeld from his position as First Secretary of the Imperial German Institute in Athens. It is hard to estimate what his loss means not archaeologically only but also socially to Athens and to the students who go there, but happily through his work in Corfu his connexion with Greece is not yet severed.

As the state of war was a new bar to the proposed excavation at Datcha on the Cnidian promontory, the British School turned again to Crete, now at last to be greeted as a part of Greece Proper, and in the month of June made a thorough excavation of the famous cave on a south-east spur of Mt. Ida above the village of Kamaraia, the spot where Middle Minoan pottery was first discovered. A great deal of pottery of this period was found, among which was some very interesting polychrome ware, but the hopes that had been entertained of the discovery of a definite shrine were unfulfilled.

On the Palace site at Knossos Sir Arthur Evans undertook a series of supplementary excavations with a view to obtaining clearer evidence on various points connected with the stratification. In the course of these researches, which lasted about three months, some ninety exploratory pits were dug under pavements and floor levels. Many new facts were thus elicited regarding the history of the building. In the Queen's Megaron, for instance, two earlier pavements constructed on different systems came out beneath that already brought to light, with intervening deposits. Similar results attended the investigation of the Olive Press region and Eastern Magazines and the West Central Court, where it is now clear that the Egyptian monument of Abnub belongs to a well-defined M. M. II. stratum. Of great architectural importance was the discovery of the

earliest Palace 'Keep,' including the area of the deep-walled pits. Its foundations descended 7 m. and courses of the upper wall of large roughly-hewn blocks were preserved on two sides. The work dates from the beginning of the M. M. I. period.

A good deal of new material bearing on the Minoan classification was brought to light in the course of these excavations, and some good decorative fresco from the East Light Well of the Hall of the Double Axes.

Mr. Noel Heaton and Mr. J. P. Droop worked on the fragments of the already discovered frescoes in the Candia Museum with a view to the publication of the *Atlas*, and this work will be continued during the winter.

A full account of the work of the German Institute at Tiryns has been given by Dr. Kurt Müller.¹ Before the war put an end to operations most of the large fallen blocks had been cleared from the approach from the lower to the upper stronghold along the inside of the encircling wall to the east, so that the original impressive effect is restored. The relations between the earlier and the later palace were also examined by a series of smaller pits, with the result that it is now clear that the later building had an entirely fresh plan, in which the large *megaron* was a new feature, a point in which Tiryns differs from Mycenae.

The slight remains of the foundations of the Byzantine church south of the great outer court were removed, and proved to lie immediately, with no intervening Greek stratum, over the remains of some chambers, about which all that could be discovered was their connexion with the later palace. The most important results, however, were obtained from pits in the so-called women's *Megaron*, which showed several definite strata. Lowest of all were the remains of a curved building; then came part of a circular edifice; then a layer of curved walls, and among them some graves (*Hockergräber*), which must be subsequent to the destruction of the circular building; then two layers belonging to the earlier palace yielding a mass of sherds corresponding with the shaft-graves of Mycenae (this part of the palace must have been rebuilt in Late Minoan I. or II. times); and lastly the court of the later (Late Minoan III.) palace. Two pieces of 'faience' date the graves to Early Minoan times, wherefore the round building below them must, at latest, fall early in the same period. This building must have been very large, as its curvature gives a diameter of 27.60 m. The outer encircling wall had tongue-shaped buttresses, and the material was mud-brick on a foundation of unhewn stones. There are but few indications as to the nature of the upper part, but some fine baked tiles were found that must come from the roof of this old building, although in other surroundings they would certainly have been thought to date from more than a thousand years later. The excavations are to be continued, although the impossibility of removing the palace makes it a matter of grave difficulty to ascertain to the full the nature of this very early building.

¹ *Arch. Mit.* xxxviii, 1913, 73.

Dr. Frickenhaus undertook some explorations in Argolis, and established the site of Oinee, famous for the battle that was the subject of one of the pictures in the Stoa Poikile. The place is now called Zevghalatio, and lies to the south-east of Karya, to the west of the spot where the Charadros is joined by the brook from the north-east. He also excavated in the neighbourhood of Kleonae, in company with Dr. Oikonomos, examining the Doric temple that Cockerell believed to be the Herakleion mentioned by Diodorus.²

At Pergamon, the German Institute finished the excavations to the east of the Gymnasium, completely clearing the entrance hall. Below the upper market-place was found a large building dating from the time of the kings, three earlier rock-cut cisterns, and, adjoining the first, a second contemporary building containing a circular hall and a hypocaust, that had been built in later. In plan the whole group much resembles a Roman bath.

At Didyma the season was devoted to completing the clearance of the mass of ruins that had covered the *cella* of the temple ever since its collapse about the end of the fifteenth century. There came to light, besides many new blocks of the frieze of gryphons and of the inner architrave, a number of pilaster capitals, and the position of these made it easy to see to which pilaster each belonged, so that, very few being now missing, almost all the capitals can be given their place. It is certain that the architrave over these pilasters was the last piece of the *cella* to be executed, and that part of it was never put in position. The clearance was also begun of the *débris* accumulated in the Middle Ages before the collapse of the temple. It contained the superimposed remains of various small dwellings, among which were the ruins of a church, of which the eastern part was found last year. The plan of this church, which was much altered owing to rebuilding in consequence of an earthquake, was originally (at some date in the sixth century) a basilica with three aisles divided by columns that had been taken from various ancient buildings, and put up with egregious carelessness, some being upside down. Over each of the side aisles was apparently a gallery. The baptistery was outside the narthex about in a line with the north aisle, and was a small separate building, square in plan with apses on three sides.

It is hoped that this year will see the completion of the work at Miletus. Last season the excavation of a small Byzantine church dedicated to St. Michael was finished, and proved it to be built on the foundations of a small Hellenistic temple.

Work was also done on the well-known tomb that lies near the Temple of Athena to the west of the town under a mediaeval tower. So many fragments of the building were found that a complete reconstruction can be made on paper of its very peculiar architecture. The building dates from late Imperial times.

² Diodorus iv. 33.

The work of the Austrian Institute in Elis in 1912 did not produce very interesting results; slight remains of four buildings being uncovered on the plateau to the west of the Acropolis. One of these can be dated probably to Hellenistic days, and another, that has the proportions of a temple, to the middle of the fifth century. It has not yet been made clear if the Agora lay in the neighbourhood of these buildings but the work was to be continued this year.

In Ephesus the last season was devoted to the examination of the so-called Double Church, with the result that the following four periods of construction could be discerned. The earliest plan is that of a building that was perhaps the *Mouçelion* of the town, for a number of inscriptions were found naming the victors in the medical contests which were held yearly by the doctors of the Ephesus 'Museum.' The building was 265 m. long and 32 m. wide. To east and west lay large rooms with raised apses, and between them was a long open court surrounded by a covered colonnade. In the second period a basilica with three aisles completed on the east by a large apse was built in the western part of the ancient building. To the west was a narthex, and a court surrounded by a colonnade, from which there was an entrance to the baptistery to the north. This basilica is doubtless to be identified with the large church of St. Mary, in which the Oecumenical Council was held in 431. It dates from about the first half of the fourth century.

To the third period belongs the domed brick church, the massive columns of which still remain. This was smaller than the basilica and was apparently built in the sixth century. Much later in the fourth period a small basilica with three aisles was built between the brick church and the then still extant apse of the first basilica. Entrance to its narthex was obtained by piercing a door in the wall of the apse of the brick church.

For the time being the operations of the French School at Delos have been abandoned, but the exhaustive examination of the great Temple of Apollo at Delphi undertaken by M. Courby has resulted in the discovery of such fresh pieces of the sixth-century building as allow of the reconstruction of the architrave and capitals. From the striking resemblance in the dimensions of both temples and from some strangely archaic features in the later building it would seem that its architects followed the plan of the earlier temple to a large extent and, at least in parts, used its foundations.

Much that is now has also been ascertained with regard to the fourth-century temple. It appears that there were only ten or eleven flutings carved on the columns, the remainder being added in stucco, which also hid the vertical dumb-bell clamps that reinforced the internal dowels of wood. M. Courby thinks that the *cella* is unlikely to have had a cross-wall, as has been supposed, and that the *adyton* was probably a separate *adiculo* about 260 m. wide, which stood against the back wall of the *cella*. Through this the Pythia's cave could be entered, which cave, as part of one built wall is still extant, was certainly artificial. Thus

there never was a *χάσμα γῆς*. And, in spite of an interpretation of two inscriptions,³ there was probably no chapel over the *omphalos*.

This year the work of the American School at Corinth has not been continued, but further excavations in Locris are contemplated in the autumn.

The Italian School continued the work of 1911 and 1912 at Gortyn, finishing in the neighbourhood of the Pythium the excavation of the Nymphæum, that was built in the Imperial period and restored in Byzantine days. In the same district, eastward of the temple of Apollo, work on the so-called 'Praetorium' or 'Basilica' brought to light some inscriptions of quite unusual interest, being in honour of the Magistrates of the Roman province of Crete and Cyrene. In the same region to the north of the Apollo temple Dr. Oliverio discovered a sanctuary of Flavian date dedicated to Isis, Serapis, and the gods worshipped in the same temple with them. It contained two fine colossal statues in marble of Isis and Serapis.

Moreover, the excavation of the building of the great inscription was almost completed, the diversion of a mill stream this year having made the task possible. The building is an Odeum, and of special interest, because it was not originally such, but was an older circular building adapted to the purpose in Roman days. There were found some new, but very small fragments of the great inscription, and also a very fragmentary inscription, which perhaps dates from the end of the fifth century.

At Haghia Triadha, Dr. Halbherr cleared the unexplored region between the north façade of the palace and the so-called agora. Here a large court bounded on the north by a wall adjoined the Late Minoan I palace, and had beneath it remains of houses that are dated by sherds to the turn of the Early Minoan and Middle Minoan periods. In a house of the same period near by to the north were found twelve clay tablets (linear class A), all bearing numeral signs, and therefore probably accounts.

A chapel of Late Minoan III. times facing east and west was found on the west slope of the hill to the south-east of the palace. A double door led from a porch to the *cella*, along the back of which, as at Gournia and Knossos,⁴ was a bench, on which lay a number of small cups piled one inside the other, and before which were the remains of some clay cones, decorated with horizontal grooves, about the sacred nature of which there is now no doubt.

At Tylissus Dr. Hazzidakis has continued his excavations, clearing a third building to the north of the so-called palace and contemporary with it. It is very well preserved, and the walls stand in many places to the height of 2 m. Three double flights of steps led to the upper story, the house was divided from north to south by one long corridor, with other passages at right angles, and a small light-well and a window could be traced

³ *B.C.H.* xxvi. p. 42, A. L. 30 f.; pp. 84, 85, C. ii. 14 f.

⁴ Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, p. 47. *B.S.A.* viii. 96.

Directly below this building came walls of Early Minoan date, and, indeed, there appears to be a scarcity of Middle Minoan remains throughout this site. A Late Minoan cistern was found in better condition than any other Minoan cistern. It was 5.40 m. in diameter, more than 4 m. deep, and had stairs leading down to it, and a stone water-channel.

The Greek authorities carried on work at many points. In Athens itself Drs. Kastriotis and Philadelphus resumed the excavation (abandoned since 1871) of the Stoa of the Giants to the east of the Theseum, and established its eastern limit. The Stoa was rectangular, surrounded by a wall, and had in its midst the three giants with snake bodies on bases of a later date. The head found at Eleusis⁵ has been put on again, and the head of a second giant, likewise found at Eleusis, is also to be replaced. Later remains suggest that the eastern part of the Stoa was subsequently used as a dyeing establishment, and that the whole building was possibly converted into a bath.

In Thebes Dr. Keramopoulos could give little time to the exploration (undertaken at the expense of Mr. Gockoop) of the Mycenaean 'Palace of Cadmus,' and work was confined to the western court, where a massive wall, apparently Mycenaean yet not parallel to that of the palace, was partially cleared. Near the potter's kiln discovered last year, the strata had been disturbed by a colonnade belonging probably to the Roman agora.

At Lebadeia, Dr. Keramopoulos' fresh attempt to find the sanctuary of Trophonius proved vain.

At Pagasae, Dr. Arvanitopoulos obtained thirty painted *stelae* from the second of the three towers on the wall that were discovered last year, and intends this year to work the third, into which a large number of *stelae* and architectural fragments are built. Near to the second tower the remains of the temple of Pasikrata yielded a beautiful marble head of the goddess, some three hundred terracottas, and twenty votive inscriptions. Two other temples of unknown divinities have been discovered in the town.

Moreover, Dr. Arvanitopoulos, who with the other younger Ephors served in the war, did yet finer service to archaeology by applying himself in company with Dr. Papadakis to the discovery and preservation of the antiquities of southern Macedonia, and a museum was created at Ellassona before the pacification of the country.

At Salonika Oikonomos and Orlandos devoted themselves to the Byzantine monuments.

At Thermon Dr. Rhomaicos' excavation on the south side of the temple of Apollo brought to light a parallel to the prehistoric villages of Olympia, Eretria, and Aegina. All that is preserved of the seven houses (five to the south of the temple and two near its west end) are the foundations of unhewn stones, but these show the plan to have been similarly in the form of an ellipse with one end cut off. Moreover, the big elliptical building beneath the temple⁶ has also been cleared, and proves to be an elongated

⁵ Karymbias, *Γαλλία*, 375.

⁶ *Antike Denkmäler* II. 49. 1.

ellipse divided by two cross-walls into *pronaos*, *cello*, and *apse*; so that there is here an immediate forerunner of the temple with an *apse*, such as the Boulenterion at Olympia, in the middle of the second millennium, a date given by the monochrome sherds found with a little Mycenaean and Geometric ware at a depth of 2 m. in the prehistoric village. A bronze statuette of an armed goddess was also found in a similar stratum, and is compared by Dr. Rhomaïos with such late Mycenaean statuettes as those found at Tiryns and Mycenae.²

Dr. Rhomaïos has also obtained very interesting results from a study of the mass of tile fragments preserved in the museum and sanctuary of Thermion. These he believes to come from at least four different buildings, but his most surprising discovery is that the great temple had a pediment only at one end, and a pent roof at the other.

At Chrysovitza, one hour east of Thermion, Dr. Rhomaïos cleared a small sanctuary, the excavation of which was begun by Dr. Soteriadhia in 1908. Close to a spring and a stream was found a mass of clay votive objects, chief among which in interest is a series of small reliefs dating from the early fifth to the early second century, and representing a sacred feast, with a fat divinity lying behind a table laden with fruits and cakes. There are also many archaic figures of a goddess, either standing or sitting, and generally holding fruit, and many figures dating from the fourth century onwards, of maidens and of water-carriers. No inscription was found to give the divinity's name, but the finds point to Achelous and the Nymphs.

The excavations continued in Kephallenia by Drs. Kyprisiss and Philadelphens at the expense of Mr. Goekoop, with the object of proving the identity of the island with the Ithaca of Homer, had but a negative result. Several discoveries were, however, made; the foundations of a Doric temple were found under the ruins of a mountain chapel dedicated to St. Minas, to the south-west of Lakkithra, and rich graves of the classical period were discovered at various spots, while at the Palaiokastro, near Argostolion, traces of an extensive Mycenaean settlement came to light, in the neighbourhood of which were some rich tombs of the same period, similar in type to those excavated by Dr. Kavvadhias at Mazarakata.

Owing to the absence of the German Emperor, in consequence of the Balkan war, very little was done this year in Corfu. The work of clearing the remains of the temple of Garitsa, the discovery of which with its archaic pediment group brought new fame to Corfu in 1911, was carried so far forward by Dr. Dörpfeld, that next year it will easily be completed. Several new pieces of the foundations came to light, among which were two stones from the *cello* wall, which give some hope of establishing the dimensions of the temple. Among the finds was the back of a large head in *poros* that may belong to the pediment sculptures.

In a search for the town of Alcinous, Drs. Dörpfeld and Rhomaïos

² *Εφημ. Αρχ.* 1891, pp. 2, 14.

discovered the remains of a prehistoric settlement of the second millennium on the peninsula of Cape Kephali, in the north-west of the island. The pottery was chiefly monochrome, with a small admixture of sherds of Mycenaean technique. The excavators admit that, in spite of its situation, more important finds will have to be made before this settlement can be claimed as the city of the Phaeacians.*

J. P. DROOP.

* In compiling this report, my warmest thanks are due to Sir Arthur Evans, to Dr. Wilberg, and to Dr. Pernier, who kindly sent me notes on their work, to the Greek Archaeological Society for allowing me access to early

proofs of the *Παερικά*, and above all to Dr. Karó, who placed at my disposal all his material for his review of the year's work in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Greek Refinements: Studies in Temperamental Architecture. By WILLIAM HENRY GOODYEAR. Pp. xx+227. 120 illustrations. [Yale University Press.] London: Henry Frowde, 1912. £2 10s.

The first five chapters of this book deal with horizontal curvature, entasis and inclination. Mr. Goodyear's main object, after stating the evidence, is to discredit the theory of 'optical correction.' He especially attacks the view that straight horizontal lines above the eye seem to sag, and rightly insists that Pausanias avoided this generalization. His own position is expressed thus: 'We shall conclude that both the Greek horizontal curvature and the Greek vertical columnar curvature were inspired by an aesthetic preference for the curve and by an aesthetic distaste for the straight line, where it could be conveniently avoided. It need not be doubted that the perspective effects of many of the horizontal curves were appreciated and possibly desired, but it can hardly be held that this was the dominant or leading purpose, when all the facts are considered, and especially those recently adduced for the use of concave curvature in plan, which could not have had a perspective purpose, and which must have been intended to give a variety of light and shadow' (p. 102).

Such views are of course, in the main, far from new, as Mr. Goodyear amply acknowledges. He seems to admit the correction of illusion as the true explanation of the enlargement of the angle column (p. 191).

His statement of the evidence for horizontal curvature seems exhaustive, and contains some new matter. He might, however, have discussed the diverse levels of the angles in the Parthenon and Tholos, and the irregular variations between their corresponding fronts and flanks. A full set of reproductions of Pausanias's plates of horizontal curvature would have been useful: he gives one, that of the west end of the Parthenon (pl. 11), and also Penroze's diagram of the Tholos curves. The most valuable information concerns the observations and theories of such inaccessible writers as Hoffer, Thiersch, Hauck and Burnouf. A great deal of this is repetition or expansion of Mr. Goodyear's own article on the Temple of Cori in *A.J.A.* xi. 1907, No. 2, pp. 160 ff. Mr. Goodyear deserves gratitude for again reviving Burnouf's ingenious interpretation of Vitruvius' 'scamilli impares' (pp. 113, 114).

Especially interesting is the account of these curvatures in plan, concave and convex, of which our knowledge is partly due to Mr. Goodyear himself. The concave curves, which he considers fatal to the 'correction' theory, because above the eye they produce an effect of sagging, are at present a small and suspect crew. He treats them as indisputable, and as far as possible: but in fact one only seems to be established, and that not Greek—namely the front of the Temple of Hercules at Cori. Of this convincing plans and photographs are given, borrowed from Giovannoni. The curve here begins in the alignment of the columns. Besides this, he names (1) the front horizontal cornice of the temple of Egosta. For this he quotes no authority but a bare statement in Marquand's 'Greek Architecture' (1909, p. 115), and Marquand quotes no authority at all. Then (2) the east front of Paestum at Paestum. Mr. Goodyear's photograph, here republished, seems clearly to establish a concave curve in capitals and entablature.

but there are no measurements, and nothing is said of its existence in the alignment of the columns. Until the entablature has been examined it can hardly be affirmed that the curve is intentional. To these Goodyear adds (4) the concave curves observed by Hoffer and Pennethorne in the capitals, frieze and cornices of the Parthenon fronts. Penrose thought them accidental, and Mr. Goodyear does not affirm them: but he points out that Hoffer's statement that there is no curve in the tympanum calls for fresh investigation.

The last two chapters deal with 'Asymmetric Dimensions in Greek Temples.' They form the most original and least satisfactory part of the book, showing much inaccuracy and confusion of thought. Of the inaccuracy striking instances disfigure his discussion (pp. 290-292), after Hauck, of the spacing of metopes and triglyphs on the east front of the Parthenon, as shown by Penrose (pl. 8). The smallness of some of the errors does not excuse them, for his aim is to emphasize subtleties which Penrose ignored, and he argues from variations of less than the twentieth part of an inch. He writes (p. 291): 'The triglyph over the column next the south-east (left) angle is 0.599 foot . . . to the right of the abacus centre. . . . The triglyph corresponding to the next adjacent (third) column . . . is 0.258 foot . . . to the right of the centre of the corresponding abacus. Over the fourth column the triglyph is exactly centred.' All these statements are false. The measurements quoted concern not the triglyph centre but the architrave joint: by bad arithmetic he doubles in each case the distance from the abacus centre: and the triglyph over the fourth column, though its centre happens to coincide exactly with an architrave joint, is further decentred than that over the third. Such mistakes are especially regrettable, because the points raised by Hauck are really interesting.

Again, when discussing, with Koldewey and Puchstein's measurements, the three types of column shaft in Selinus G, he actually reverses the true order of evolution, and makes the later ones thinner than the earlier: and generalises from these topsy-turvy data (pp. 166, 167).

Of the essence of the angle triglyph problem he has no conception, though he dismisses it (pp. 186, 187). He writes 'Inasmuch as the triglyphs are much narrower than the abaci of the columns, the angle triglyph, if placed with exact symmetry over the angle column, would be at some distance from the temple angle.' The problem, of course, has nothing to do with the abacus, and turns entirely on the relation of triglyph width to epistyle depth. Goodyear is consequently unaware that the problem hardly existed for the builders of Selinus C or D, and only became acute as epistyles deepened and triglyphs shrank.

The general aim of these two chapters is to show that the Greeks took aesthetic pleasure in irregularities, especially of column diameter and spacing. A great weakness here and elsewhere is the total omission of early Ionic: the column-spacings of Samos and Ephesus are exceedingly relevant. He emphasizes, in the first place, the familiar but somewhat neglected fact that the earlier temples tend to have on the flanks columns whose average diameter and spacing differ regularly from those on the fronts. Such arrangements he calls 'systematic irregularities.' But his trump cards are the Olympian Heraeum and Selinus G: for here are startling 'unsystematic irregularities' as well. He claims that the notorious variations in column diameter and style in both these temples show an artistic preference for asymmetry. Yet he admits that the different types were in each case set up at different periods, and in the prevailing taste. The admission is really fatal. It is indeed not impossible that in the Heraeum some of the variations are rather local than chronological, and reflect the rival tastes and traditions of contemporary donors. But the most that can be inferred is that some Greek builders hated the copying of obsolete or alien forms more than they loved uniformity. To recent revolts against Dörpfeld's Heraeum dating no allusion is made.

The confusion of Mr. Goodyear's mind is strangely apparent in the following passage (p. 173): 'By the analogies between the Olympian Hera temple and Temple G at Selinus we are now led to consider more closely Professor Dörpfeld's theory that the

discrepancies of columnar diameter at Olympia are due to successive substitutions of stone columns for wooden ones. Admitting that these substitutions actually occurred—and this may readily be admitted—they could not explain why the original wooden columns were unequal, they would not explain why a more advanced taste had not corrected this inequality, if it existed, and they would not explain why the columns and spacings of the fronts are systematically larger than those on the flanks. Finally we are now aware of similar discrepant dimensions in Temple G at Selinus, for which no timber-column theory is possible, and which are not only actually greater but also relatively greater than those at Olympia. His attempts to read similar motives of taste into the unsystematic irregularities of other buildings, especially Selinus C and the Parthenon, are not convincing.

Lack of space forbids further detail; but attention may be called to a mistranslation of Hellodorus of Larissa (p. 144), and to a confusion of the Old Athens Temple with the earlier Parthenon (p. 179).

The book is profusely illustrated, chiefly with photographs, thirty or forty of which are full-page plates: many of them are beautiful and interesting, but Mr. Goodyear seems to overrate the value of such records of curvature. The bibliography and indices are useful. Mr. Goodyear regards this volume as 'the first instalment' of a work on mediæval refinements, on which he is a recognized authority.

Griechische Forschungen. I. Die Nebensätze in den griechischen Dialektschriften in Vergleich mit den Nebensätzen in der griechischen Literatur und die Gebildeten-sprache im Griechischen und Deutschen. Von EDUARD HERMANN. Pp. viii + 346. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. 10 M.

This volume, dedicated to Professor E. Delbrück on his seventieth birthday, forms a welcome addition to the rapidly increasing number of works dealing with the language of the Greek dialect-inscriptions, and will prove of great service to the lexicographer, the grammarian and the philologist. The opening section, defining the term 'Nebensatz' and with it the scope of the book, is followed by the longest section (pp. 7-134) in which the subordinate clauses of the dialect-inscriptions (excluding the Attic, which are adequately dealt with in Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*), are marshalled under the conjunctions and relative pronouns which introduce them. These are arranged in alphabetical order, and the examples cited under each are classified as Doric, Achaean, Elean, North-western Greek, Aeolic, Arcadian-Cyprian, Pamphylian and Ionic. The third section reviews in a similar order the subordinate clauses in literature, save that here the classes are Doric, Aeolic, Homeric, Ionic and Attic.

The following chapter, dealing with the interrelation of the written language, that spoken by the educated classes and that used in colloquial speech in Greece and in modern Germany, interesting and valuable though it is, seems somewhat out of place here, and might be relegated to an appendix. We miss any reference in it to E. Nachmannson's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der attisch-griechischen Volkssprache*.

The author's conclusions regarding the relatives and particles are then set forth (pp. 221-327), not in alphabetical but in logical order, the relative pronouns first, then the local, conditional, temporal and other particles, and the book closes with a brief discussion of these parts of speech in *Vergriechisch*. Two useful tables are added, showing at a glance the distribution among the dialects of the various forms with which the work deals.

The author has fulfilled his task with thoroughness and skill, and though some of his conclusions may be called in question, his work will remain for a long time to come the basis of all discussion on the subject of which it treats.

Kleine Schriften von Adolf Furtwängler. Herausg. von J. Sieveking u. L. Curtius. II^{ter} Band. Pp. 532. Mit 30 Tafeln u. 158 Textillustr. München: Beck, 1913.

This second volume of Furtwängler's collected writings contains papers on Greek vases, gems, bronzes, and miscellaneous subjects. Most of them are familiar to archaeologists as having appeared in the *Jahrbuch* and other well-known journals, but they will be welcome in their present form. The most important are the studies on gems with artists' signatures from the third and fourth volumes of the *Jahrbuch*, which occupy nearly one-third of the volume. The three reprints of the *Neue Denkmäler antiker Kunst* contain much interesting matter. The illustrations are numerous and excellent.

Ptolemäisches Prozessrecht. Von Dr. Jur. GREGOR SEMEKA. Vol. I. Pp. iv + 311. Munich: Beck, 1913. M. 8.

This book is a witness to the attraction of the Seminar für Papyrussforschung at Munich. It deals with one portion of the legal system of Ptolemæic Egypt, the trial of cases. Barely eleven years have passed since the connected study of this subject first became possible,—the material is still all too scanty,—and though much excellent work on different points has been done, only two attempts to deal professionally with Ptolemæic legal process as a whole have been made: that of Bonhe-Lacelereq in his fourth volume, now six years old, and written from the historical rather than the legal point of view; and Mittels' valuable sketch in Vol. II. 1 of Wilcken and Mittels' *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrikunde*, who however could only give 22 pages to that to which Dr. Semeka is to devote two volumes. This is enough to show the importance of the book under review, which contains an extremely clear and well-arranged exposition of its difficult subject, taking account of the latest theories,—publication was delayed for over a year to enable a revision in the light of the newest material,—and enriched with frequent parallels from Roman and German law. Parts of it are not easy to read, but this is probably inevitable from its technical nature. The English reader, too, has to remember that the author's point of view is that of one versed in an alien legal system; for instance, a passage like p. 233 is difficult to follow till one remembers that, to the writer, a defendant is cross-examined rather by the judge than by counsel for the prosecution.

The larger part of vol. i. is occupied by the constitution of the Courts; the remainder contains the first part of Procedure, down to the statement of claim. Vol. ii. will comprise Evidence, Judgement, and Execution, and conclude with a sketch of the transition from the Ptolemæic to the Roman period. The most important sections of vol. i. are naturally those on the strategos and the chrematistai, and they well illustrate the obscurity of the subject; thus, though the *εἰσπρωγὴ* of the chrematistai gets nine pages, his functions can only be guessed at by analogy. As to the strategos, Dr. Semeka decides unreservedly for his judicial powers. The consequence is a complicated scheme of judicature, in which judicial and administrative functions are not yet separated, and there are concurrent and unrelated judicial authorities. But this arrangement does commend itself for its very complexity, as against others that are simpler and more logical; for simplification of legal process is usually one of the last results of an advanced civilisation, while we know that Ptolemæic process was in many ways dilatory and unsatisfactory; the case of the Twins is as bad as an English Chancery suit under the old practice. Probably the best point of Ptolemæic procedure was its preliminary attempt to settle a case before trial (*dialysis*), to which the writer devotes a chapter; and even this was one-sided, as the settlement aimed at was in one sense only, the plaintiff's. Among the many interesting questions of origin which arise, there is one which perhaps the author may treat in vol. ii.; how came Ptolemæic law to admit verbal evidence, which neither Greek (Athenian) nor Pharaonic law (according to

Diodorus) did? Was it a Macedonian custom, as the endorsement of petitions to Ptolemy direct (whether Pharaonic or not) certainly was (Plut. *Dem.* 42)?

The author has an irritating habit of frequently printing even long portions of a text without bracket-apparatus. There are, too, rather many small misprints (p. 137, l. 8 *or* for *de* [or] and p. 237, l. 18 *θεοὶ καὶ τιμωροὶ* *deus* may be especially noted), and not in the Greek alone; an English quotation on p. 12 is a sad offender.

Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. Von Dr. JÜR. MARIANO SAN NICOLÒ. Vol. I. Pp. 225. Munich: Beck, 1913. M. 7.

This study of the private associations of Egypt, *also* owes much to the Munich Seminar für Papyrologie. No one interested in Graeco-Roman Egypt should omit to read it. It contains a rich collection of papyrological material; it is clear and readable; and the writer, by confining his attention to one country, has been able to present an instructive picture of continuity from Alexander to the Arab conquest. Private associations are especially typical of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman civilisation; and it is interesting to see how the *societas*, originally an association of the villages of some tribe round a religious centre to form a state, became (when politics became international) the commonest name for associations of individuals within the state, usually connected with some cult; how these associations could in turn become international, as the Dionysiac artists; and how the religious importance of the private association gradually yielded to the mundane one, as in the *Epitaphiastai*. These associations bridge the passage from Greece to Rome, and keep warm, long after Constantine, the dying embers of paganism.

The author conveniently classifies his associations according to their main activities in five groups: cult, training of youth, &c., festivals, business, and miscellaneous. The chapter on festivals contains a criticism of Poland's view on the Dionysiac artists, which Poland has already reviewed. Some minor faults may be found with the chapter on cult: e.g. the numerous *Samothraci* in Athens and the Islands are omitted (p. 20) from the associations which worshipped Egyptian gods in Greece; the extension of the worship of Ptolemy I. in the Islands (p. 28) to include Ptolemy II. (*B.C.H.* 31, p. 340, No. 3) should have been noticed; and the bold statement (p. 25) that the cult of the Diadochoi originated in Egypt is, on present evidence, incorrect. Possibly the author means the official worship of the deified king by his own subjects. But the division of chapters leaves no doubt that it was not for the sake of festivals or cult that the book was written; for the chapter on business (comprising trading and manufacturing, mercantile and transport, military and learned associations and also those connected with the land), occupies the bulk of the volume, 140 pp. out of 225. It was well worth doing and is well done, and utilises a mass of new material. The number of business associations known in Egypt is so out of proportion to those known elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world that it is natural to seek the reason; and it is our loss that the writer's plan (p. 2), which excludes any attempt to use native Egyptian material, prohibits him from dealing with the question which Poland raised but did not answer, whether that reason is not to be sought in the organisation of an older Egypt than the Ptolemaic. Land is handled at some length, and the author concludes that the village associations of royal peasants were real *societas*. The standing difficulty of deciding what were associations and what not is of course ever present; and the author's interest in the question of the "legal person,"—i.e., what bodies could sue and be sued as such,—has led him sometimes to treat of people who were not associations at all, such as joint owners of land.

The scope of Vol. II. is not announced, but it has been stated elsewhere that it will deal with the internal organisation of the association. May we hope that it will include a chapter on the influence of the Egyptian associations upon the rest of the Graeco-Roman world?

Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum.
 Vol. I, Part II—*Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery*. By H. B. WALTERS.
 M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xxii + 276; 34 Plates. London, 1912.

At last we have an instalment of the First Volume of the British Museum's *Catalogue of Vases*. Volumes II., III. and IV. have been published for some while; and under the circumstances it is appropriate that Volume I. should begin with part II. This part describes 1040 vases from Cyprus, with nine from Sardinia, of allied 'Graeco-Phoenician' fabric; and 286 of various Italian styles. The latter are fairly representative of the non-Hellenic pottery of the peninsula, but are derived for the most part from early collections, and are only seldom furnished with precise records of discovery. The best groups on the whole, for the reason just given, are the primitive pottery of Latium, H 1-54, much of which comes from Albano and its neighbourhood, and the Etruscan bucchero ware H 109-227, which includes some fine examples. The series from Civita Castellana, H 86-106, though only acquired in 1892, has no fuller history (at all events no tomb-references are given); and its interest therefore is only morphological. The Polledrara bowl H 229 is well reproduced on Plate XXI., but not the famous hydria H 228, for which we must still refer to *J.H.S.* xiv. This is a pity, for, though not so amusing as the barbarous experiments H 241, 242, which fill Plates XXIV-V., it is of considerable artistic interest. The slightness of the Introduction to this section (pp. xxiv-xxix) more than matches the brevity of the list. Yet many people turn to the British Museum's Catalogue for a reasoned summary of what is known about this subject, and the introductions to some recent volumes from this Department have accustomed us to look for much. Here, controversy, and even the history of discoveries, are avoided over-scrupulously. Pigorini's interpretation of the Villanova culture, and of the course of events in early Latium, will probably stand; but it is early days to discount alternatives so completely as is done on pp. xxiv-v. Pigorini's own view has matured under persistent criticism. Over the origins of bucchero ware a like veil is drawn. May Mr. Walters' reticence bring him frequent enquirers at the Museum?

Compared with the Italian series, the Cypriote vases are both more numerous, and more instructive. The nucleus of the collection consisted of type-specimens collected by Sandwith, who laid the foundations of our knowledge of Cypriote ceramic, and of some fine pieces acquired from Cesnola. Then comes the little series formed for Sir Charles Newton soon after the British occupation, instructive as an early attempt to record localities and tomb-groups; then disappointingly few objects from the Cyprus Exploration Fund; and only two (C 973, 974) from the 'Gräberfeld von Marion,' the largest excavation between Cesnola's time and the Museum's own excavations under the Turner Bequest. It is of course from the latter, at Amathus, Curium, and above all at Enkomi, in the necropolis of Late-Minoan Salamis, that the bulk of the collection comes. Much is still insecure in the analysis of early Cypriote arts and industries; but if there is any collection of Cypriote material where a preponderance of authenticated finds would give the student a chance, it is here. There are grievous lacunae, nevertheless; worst of all in the Early Iron Age, which might have been better studied at Amathus than it was. But there are very few fabrics which are not at all events represented; and of some of the most interesting the Museum has nearly a monopoly.

Mr. Walters has already written at some length on the vases of Cyprus in his *History of Ancient Pottery*, and it would be unfair to expect him to offer anything revolutionary in the Introduction. But considering the material, his survey is rather disappointing. In some respects he is not quite up to date, and there are a few slips, both in catalogue and in the preliminary matter, which may be conveniently noted here. On p. xli the Black Punctured Ware of the middle Bronze Age is regarded as 'certainly pre-Mycenaean' and 'probably an imitation of the Egyptian'; but it occurs at Nikoïdes, Lamberti, and even at Enkomi, in company which suggests that it had a long range in time, even allowing for a minimum interval between Dynasties XIII. and XVIII. If we are to regard these occurrences as early, we ought to be told why. At Tell-Yahudiya,

which Mr. Walters does not mention (though it was published in 1906), this ware, which is not 'Egyptian' any more than Greek vases are 'Etruscan,' is still copious at the end of the Hyksos period. The vase C 103, as the Tell-Yahudiya series shows, belongs to C 100-105, not to the much later Cypriote Bucchero to which he has assigned it. An interesting suggestion is made on p. xiii. as to the origin of the peculiar White Slip Ware, 'probably from the crystalline rocks of the central mountain range;' but this ware is only copious in the lowlands, and is commonest of all at the ports; and its affinities of form and style are with the Syrian coast. A rare but quite certain variety of it, C 175, is given here under the fabric corresponding with II. 4 in the *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*: it should be under I. 4. On the other hand C 318-325, which do belong to I. 4 (as enlarged by the Lakshat-Riu material in Nicosia and in the Ashmolean, and by the very meagre series of such undistinguished stuff which the British Museum's people thought worth bringing home), are assigned to II. 1 with which they have nothing to do, either in fabric or in date. Other misplacements are C 8 which belongs to the Bano-Ring Ware, or imitates it; C 11, which can hardly be primitive, if it is inscribed; and C 9, 37-40, 47 which are of Fabric I. 2, not I. 1, and should be kept apart. On the other hand C 80 is not of Fabric I. 2, though apparently assigned to it. It is not very clear how the large group B (= C 100-330), described as 'contemporary with Mycenaean vases' (p. 48), should include the Painted White Ware, which is 'seldom found with it,' and is in fact found with XII Dynasty types of bowls at Kalopsida, and with fair (though not the best) Red Polished Ware both there and at Agia Paraskevi. In this group, C 370 seems misplaced among Painted White Ware: it would be more in place with C 732, 736; in any case it comes from Enkomi Tomb 86, which is enough to separate it from its present company; and it is influenced by forms like C 108. On the other hand C 706, which is classed as Sub-Mycenaean, is in the Painted White Ware of the Middle Bronze Age. Among the Minoan pottery, C 403-407 resemble so closely the vase from the Maket tomb, that one is surprised not to find it quoted, and to see these vases put among quite degenerate types, without comment. C 563 also must be on the margin of L. M. II. On p. 76 n. the quoted comparison of a Minoan ornament with the design on a sarcophagus from Clazomenae is a survival from an age of faith.

In the 'Graces-Phoenician' section, the problems are different, and the difficulties of classification greater. Mr. Walters has attempted a rough grouping into styles, to some of which he has given local names, not always fully justified by the material: for example his 'style of Kition' includes the quaint little 'lard-jugs' C 823 ff. which are well represented at Amathus and at Carium, but include not one authenticated specimen from the neighbourhood of Larnaca. Some of these 'styles' are precise enough to be of value, though those of 'Tamassos' and 'Kition' seem to run into each other, and probably represent phases of development rather than local varieties. For example C 732, 734, 735, found at Maroni on the south coast, are very close to the 'style of Tamassos.' Here too there are a few dislocations: C 792, though apparently found at Poli, is of a variety almost peculiar to Kouklia, and should go with C 695 ff.; on the other hand C 700, which is put early, seems to be of a later and standard type: vases like it were in the Museum's excavations at Amathus. In the 'Embroidery Style,' of which the nucleus is the 'Phoenex Vase' C 832, and its cousins from Amathus, C 845 seems rather out of place. The romantic garden-party on C 855 deserves better publication than a little line-block, where its remarkable combination of black-figure technique and incised details with rich geometric patterning is hardly appreciable.

Accurate chronology is of course impossible yet in these Cypriote fabrics; but the modern dating of Late Minoan styles, fully accepted in this volume, would have justified some attempt to distribute the material over the centuries which follow. As it is we are left with Late Minoan work and a 'Sub-Mycenaean' fringe, on the one edge of the gulf, and then nothing until 800 B.C. or later. Why, by the way, does Mr. Walters twice describe objects (p. 151, 178) as 'found with scarabs of the XXVth Dynasty (800-650 B.C.)'? And why are the bulk of the vases with 'concentric or intersecting circle

decorations on white ground' (p. 173) placed among 'Later Graeco-Phoenician Ware,' whereas vases which show clear traces of Oriental influence are classed as 'Earlier'! No one doubts that the concentric-circle decoration persisted until the end of the fifth century (and probably rather later still); but is there any ground for refusing to correlate the earlier examples of it with similar work in the Aegean, which belongs to the Geometric Style? In the same way, the Red Painted Ware (p. 178), though it runs on in recognizable decadence alongside the concentric-circled White Ware, nevertheless certainly goes back, like it, into tombs which contain not merely the Cypriote *Bucchero* or Black Slip Ware like C 1007-14, which Mr. Walters says is 'only found in the earlier or 'transitional' tombs,' but even Plain Red Ware like C 1015-1018.

These are small points, but like the abnormal bulk of the *Addenda* (pp. 210-214), they suggest that this part of the Catalogue might have been improved by even longer incubation than it has actually suffered. A good deal has been done in detail since the *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, which is followed almost too closely; and the British Museum's own publication of its finds in 1899 is in many respects so completely antiquated that a reasoned analysis of the tomb-evidence would have been invaluable. Here there is however no tomb-index, and no reference to the other portion of the same finds, left deposited in Cyprus, and still essentially unpublished. Worst of all, for the unfortunate student, there is no concordance of the present C-numbering with the A-numbering which the same objects long bore, and by which they are quoted in the *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*: a notation moreover which was itself substituted for an earlier one, when that Catalogue was already in proof. There is however, a separate index of sites, as well as a brief general index; the nine photographic plates which are given to the Cypriote pottery are admirably clear; and there are in addition to these and to the numerous marginal sketches six plates of vase-forms, which will go far to supply the lack of that 'Formen-tafel' which was promised nearly twenty years ago in a long-delayed book on the German excavations, and still awaits publication. In a series where the forms are so uncanonical as those of the Cypriote pottery, the use of Greek terms like *olpe*, *stamnos*, *pyxis* seems to many people misleading; *scutche* and *amphora* are tolerable, only because they are so loosely applied in Greek etymology; and *kylix* unfortunately has come to mean in Cyprus exactly what no Greek *kylix* is, a vase with handles set vertically from rim to shoulder. To be able, now, to refer simply to 'Form 112,' will be a very considerable gain; and it would have been greater still if the list had not stopped so soon. There must be quite two hundred forms in Cyprus, which are likely, sooner or later, to be distinguishable in date or locality. The little diagrams of patterns on p. xxxi is of similar service for the decoration; but the terms 'hatching' (48) and 'cross-hatching' (49) seem practically the same, and as the latter is used in the *Cyprus Museum Catalogue* and elsewhere to signify hatchings which cross (as in the 'lattice' of 30, 37, 38, 45) there is risk of some confusion. The 'shell' ornament (25) seems to belong to the class commonly recognized as degenerate Minoan flowers; when one reads of a 'shell' ornament in Minoan design, it has been convenient hitherto to have only to think of the 'Purpurschnecken,' a 'cockscrow' variety. To say 'scallop' would have saved this ambiguity, if Mr. Walters really thinks it is a 'shell.' These are small points, but nomenclature, like classification, should be unmistakable, if it is to be used.

J. L. M.

The Verse of Greek Comedy. By JOHN WILLIAM WHITE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1912.

This is perhaps the first sensible book on Greek metre that has been published in England. The author's translation of J. H. H. Schmidt's *Greek Metre*, published at Boston in 1878, converted England and America to a belief in the 'logaoedic' theory of Greek Verse, the mechanical character of which may be seen, for instance, in Jebb's

analyses of the choruses of Sophocles. This book is a recantation; logaoeïa are dactylised, and the cyclic dactyl gives way to the choriamb and anapaest, while anacrusis completely disappears. The greater part of the volume is concerned with facts: Dr. White prints in full the lyrics of Aristophanes, and analyses carefully the spoken trimeters and other non-metric portions of surviving Comedy, giving special attention to caesura and word-division. In establishing periods he is guided by the Greek before him, having no special theory to make him deaf to catalexis and iustus. This being a technical and not an aesthetic treatise, he uses the nomenclature of Hellenists, the fragments of whose commentary are printed with many revisions and corrections at the end of the volume. Metrical discrepancies between strophe and antistrophe are so common in Aristophanes that Dr. White has perhaps been wise to leave unaltered many passages where only the simplest change was required to bring them into conformity; though many will think that he has been too scrupulous.

There is an interesting discussion (§§ 75, 223 ff. 620 f.) of the cases where first and fourth pæon correspond to ditrocheus and diambus respectively, cf. especially *Lys.* 781-804 = 805-28. It is bewildering for the inexperienced metrist when short syllables lose their shortness, but it seems necessary to accept this 'light trochaic' measure, with the vague comfort of equivalence not equality; the rare iambic instances—e.g. *Pers.* 255—might be more easily explained by acrophalation. The close association of dochmiac with iambic verse leads Dr. White to the theory that the dochmiac arose from an iambic tripod through complete suppression of the second arsis; perhaps it would be better to derive the dochmiac dimeter from the iambic trimeter. In §§ 630-650 'Prosediac-Enoplic' cola are dismissed, and the combination of prosodiac and enoplic, derived from the primitive proeminac, with iambic and trochaic metra is successfully maintained against the Ionic theory of Otto Schröder (§§ 812-29). Dr. White has an ingenious explanation of the metrical disagreements to be found in Pindar and Bacchylides; unfortunately none of our ancient metrical authorities have anything to say about these exceptions, and their effect to a modern ear is often intolerably harsh: 'dactylo-epitrities' indeed are as a whole more puzzling to a reader to-day than even pæonic verse. Chapter xvi is concerned with the theoretic structure of Comedy, and a table of structure and rhythms of the surviving plays of Aristophanes is printed as an appendix, before the bibliography and index.

Aristarchus of Samos, The Ancient Copernicus. By SIR THOMAS HEATH.
Pp. vi + 425. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. 18s. net.

Sir Thomas Heath has followed up his work on Diophantus, Apollonius, Archimedes and Euclid by an excursion into Greek astronomy, and the present substantial work is the result. Aristarchus of Samos, who lived in the third century B.C., anticipated Copernicus in formulating the heliocentric hypothesis; his only extant treatise (which seems to have been written before his great discovery) deals with the sizes and distance of the sun and moon and this Sir Thomas Heath has now edited with a translation and brief critical and explanatory notes.

So far as Aristarchus is concerned, the book falls outside the scope of ordinary classical study, but the editor has wisely prefixed to the text of Aristarchus a history of Greek Astronomy down to the third century, and this introductory matter occupies considerably more than two-thirds of the volume. The history begins with a brief chapter on Homer and Hesiod, proceeds systematically through the philosophers from Thales to Aristotle and Heracleitus of Pontus (who was thought by Schiaparelli to have anticipated Aristarchus's discovery) and ends with a chapter on Greek months, years and year-cycles.

It is hardly within the province of this *Journal* to discuss in detail the problems which Sir Thomas Heath handles with so much learning, research and judgment, and as

Sir Thomas himself is probably the only English scholar really competent to discuss them, this is perhaps fortunate. The book is a most important contribution to the early history of Greek thought and a notable monument of English scholarship. There is no scholar alive so well equipped as the author both on the classical and the scientific sides, and we hope he will continue these studies in a field which he has already made his own.

International Arbitration Amongst the Greeks. By M. N. TOD. Pp. xii+196. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913. 8s. 6d.

In a treatise on Greek arbitration success or failure must largely depend on the author's ability to collect and interpret the inscriptions which constitute by far the greatest part of his evidence. The present volume, issuing from the pen of an expert epigraphist, satisfies these conditions in a conspicuous degree. The array of documents which Mr. Tod has brought under survey is twice as great as his predecessors' lists. Of inscriptions alone he has amassed nearly one hundred, two-thirds of which afford unequivocal evidence on arbitral practices. The only deficiency in this part of the book is the lack of a catalogue of the relevant literary texts, and of a few specimen inscriptions printed in full so as to illustrate the technical phraseology of the records. In the subsequent chapters on the subject matter of the cases at issue, and on the constitution and procedure of the courts, the author has digested his evidence and formulated his conclusions with admirable lucidity. At one point alone does he leave the reader perplexed. He states that the earliest extant inscription relating to arbitration dates back to 392 B.C.; yet he quotes and describes another some record which belongs to the middle fifth century (No. LI). But on the whole the book is singularly free from blemishes. Along with the simultaneously published treatise of Raeder, it is by far the best work hitherto composed on Greek arbitration, and it will long remain a basis for future study of the subject.

Die pseudoxenophontische AGHNAION HOAITEIA. Von K. KALINKA. Pp. vi+324. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913.

This volume, the most elaborate that has as yet been written on the fifth-century pamphlet *Περὶ Ἀθηναίων Πολιτείας*, contains a critical text and translation, together with a lengthy introduction and commentary. The text constitutes a distinct advance upon preceding editions; though the new readings are not many, they improve the sense considerably. The translation is studiously accurate, but does not reproduce the breathless jerky style of the original: its placid rotundity is better suited to Isocrates than to the 'Old Oligarch.' In the introduction the chief topic of discussion is the purpose of the pamphlet. Prof. Kalinka proves successfully—though proof is hardly needed—that the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* is all of one piece and has neither been garbled nor left incomplete. He is on less sure ground when he pronounces it to be an *ἐκτελεσθεῖσα* delivered *impromptu* before an assembly of Athenian and other Greek oligarchs. This theory may explain the incoherence of the treatise, but there is nothing in the text which clearly confirms it, and few will care to believe that reporters were present to take down the speech as it was delivered. The commentary is marred by a profuseness of notes on style and structure which in the case of a slipshod work like the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* seems sheer waste. 232 pages should in no case be needed to elucidate 300 lines of text, nor should three pages be required to explain the force of the opening enclitic *τι*. Nevertheless the notes will often repay the trouble of consulting them, and a special word of praise is due to the commentary on points of history, which is lucid and highly instructive.

The Church of St. Eirene in Constantinople. By W. S. GEORGE, A. VAN MILLINGEN, A. M. WOODWARD, A. J. B. WADE. *Byzantine Research Fund: Oxford: University Press, 1912.*

The Byzantine Research Fund is to be congratulated upon having produced a very valuable contribution to the history of Byzantine architecture. The results of Mr. George's investigations have already been given in outline by Professor van Millingen, who withdrew his own application for permission to examine the church of St. Eirene when he heard that the Society contemplated a more exhaustive study; he supplies to the present volume a historical notice which reproduces, in a slightly amplified form, the account contained in his excellent book on *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*. Mr. Woodward and Mr. Wade, in an appendix, provide a detailed account of the celebrated monument of the chariteer Porphyrius, one of the few remaining examples of a period when Roman tradition was still of predominant influence in the art of the eastern capital; for the architectural survey and the resulting deductions Mr. George is responsible. The building, by a fortunate coincidence, was under repair; Mr. George was therefore able to accomplish a closer inspection of wall and vault than would otherwise have been possible, as well as of the mosaic in the bema, of which no accurate record had been made, and of the fragments of mosaic in the narthex which were laid bare by the removal of plaster. His intimate acquaintance with the structural features and technique of Byzantine and Turkish architecture gives additional weight to the conclusions at which he arrived.

St. Eirene, the first cathedral of Constantinople, was built by Constantine upon the site of a yet older fabric. No doubt Mr. George is right in conjecturing that Constantine's church was a basilica with a wooden roof, and it is quite possible that it may have exercised some influence upon Justinian's edifice, which was built after the fire of 532. It was partially destroyed a second time by fire in 564, and restored by Justinian before his death in 565. Mr. George has established with certainty that the nave arcades are 6th century work. The capitals bear the monogram of Justinian and Theodora, and since the empress died in 548 they must have belonged to the church of 532. Mr. George assigns the lower part of the walls to the same period and concludes that the existing plan is due in the main to Justinian's first design. The narthex with its gallery probably dates from the re-building of 564 and Mr. George suggests that at that time the nave was lengthened so as to include the whole area now covered by the domical vault to the west of the dome. The church was severely shaken by earthquake in 740 and all the upper parts, with the exception of the narthex, belong to a restoration undertaken after the earthquake. The dome on its high drum is incompatible with a date in the 6th century, but it is satisfactory that Mr. George's autopsy should have placed the question beyond dispute. Moreover it goes far to explain the hybrid scheme of the church. Though Mr. George is careful to point out that the architectural evidence is not sufficient to justify a final pronouncement, it seems probable that the church of 532 was a domed basilica of the normal type, and that it was only after 740 that the deep transverse barrel vaults were erected in imitation of the domed cruciform plan, the cross-in-square, which was then coming into favour. Although Mr. George disclaims the intention of attempting to indicate the place which St. Eirene occupies in architectural history, such a monograph as this is the only sound basis for historical studies. Students of architecture will know how to value his masterly analysis of constructive details and the acute observation which has served in deciphering the story of the building. In its two volumes on the Church of the Nativity and the Church of St. Eirene the Byzantine Research Fund has amply justified its existence, and it is to be hoped that money will not be lacking to enable it to extend its activities. The beautiful plans and drawings which Mr. Harvey has prepared of the dome of the Rock at Jerusalem are ready for publication and await only the financial assistance essential to expensive reproductions. English archaeologists have played a distinguished part in the exploration of the Near East, and work as solid and as discerning as that of Mr. George and Mr. Harvey is in harmony with our best traditions.

Das Fünfte Buch der Ilias. Grundlagen einer Homerischen Poetik. Von ERGHEERT DIERUP. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1913.

This book is a sequel to the author's well-known 'Homer' 1903 (Italian translation 1910; the author announces a second German edition) and deals with Homer himself and the secrets of his art. Pp. 5-34 give a sketch, interesting if rather depressing, of the present state of 'Homerforschung,' pp. 34-71 lay down the *Grundidee* (in Belzner's words) that 'Der Dichter giebt uns die Regeln für sein Schaffen, nicht wir ihn.' Pp. 76-346 are devoted to a very minute analysis of Book 5, the longest and perhaps the least interesting of the books of the Iliad (τὸ ἰν' ἔν μῦθος τοῖς πῶς δέσκει πέποιε remarks the scribe of Laur. 32.3). Herr Dierup is a convinced unitarian, and his method is in essence the same as that of Blass, Rohlf and Belzner, viz. to show by means of a detailed consideration of the text that the discrepancies, weaknesses and contradictions which have caught the eye of critics from time to time all proceed from the hand of the Master; and are part of his art and his mental outlook. On the whole the results appear solid, and indeed it is a facile if tedious task to refute line by line the blind wild assertions of nineteenth century critics. At the same time the method, like any method, can be pushed to excess, and the reviewer does not feel entirely easy that every line of E. is more direct from Homer or was his deliberate intentional composition. The demonstration seems to impart too much reasonableness into trifles, Homer never nods, and we seem on the way to a devotional Bible-exegesis. It is better to admit imperfect assimilation of material, and the limitation exercised on the artist by tradition and even vested interests. Moreover the pure psychological method is inevitably subjective, and requires keeping in control by external evidence, when there is any, and by the essential question 'what has Homer in such and such a passage done to his source?' I cannot believe for instance that Homer invented the lists of minor personages, or that their names were chosen for their meanings and that *Δῖος* is connected with *δῖος* (either really or in the poet's belief). I note that Herr Dierup puts Homer late, as late as the Cyclic, and that the Tlepolemos-episode, the most valuable thing in the book, is called 'Dorian.' How a son of the Hercules who sacked Troy under Laomedon can be Dorian does not appear, nor why Hercules *semper et ubique* need connote Dorian. The remains which prove a Mycenaean settlement of Rhodes, Cos, etc. are ignored. But these are rather questions for 'Homer zweite Aufl.'

T. W. A.

Tendenz, Aufbau und Quellen der Schrift vom Erhabenen. Von HERMANN MUTSCHMANN. Pp. vi+114. Berlin: Weidmann, 1913.

The tireless energy and inexhaustible ingenuity of the German *Quellenforscher* is such that it seems sometimes as if he would spend one day in showing all late Greek literature to consist of kaleidoscopic combinations of excerpts from a few great *Urschriften*. But often the 'source-hunter' has to content himself with very hazardous conjectures and very doubtful inferences, and often, however cleverly he disposes his materials, an attack from the right quarter will tumble his structures down like houses of cards. Such an attack is executed with admirable vigour in the little book under review. The subject is the famous treatise 'On the Sublime,' *Hieronymus Longinus fere adscriptus*, for centuries the centre of learned controversy. The treatise purports to be a statement of the truth about Sublimity, addressed by a teacher to a pupil in order to clear up difficulties suggested by certain criticisms which the teacher had offered of a pamphlet by Caecilius which he and his pupil had read together. In spite of the fact that if ever a writer had a mind of his own this writer would seem to have had one; in spite of the complementary fact that all we know of Caecilius suggests that his mind was of a very inferior order, some scholars have been led to suppose that the critic borrows largely from the work criticized, or from other works by the same author. Ofentloch's recent *Caecilii Catactini*

Fragmenta (Teubner, 1907) writes out whole passages of the real *Epica* as verbatim or in thought Cæcilian. The main object of this book is to show that the alleged dependence of 'Longinus' on Cæcilius is an illusion. It certainly succeeds in showing how very flimsy is the argumentation on which this allegation rests.

Out of this negative thesis arises a positive contention of considerable interest and importance. The writer seeks to prove that the opposition of 'Longinus' to Cæcilius is no purely personal or accidental affair, but the opposition of two opposed schools of rhetoric—the school of Apollodorus, tutor to Augustus, and that of Theodorus, tutor to Tiberius. Schanz and other writers have already called attention to the controversy of these schools as parallel with the warfare of Analogist and Anomalist in the domain of Grammar and with that of Salonian and Proculian in the field of Law. It may even be, at bottom, the old quarrel, immortalised in Plato, between Rhetoric and Philosophy. So in the *zēti lyōon*, we are told, we have the philosophic theory of rhetoric, inspired by the scholastic stoicism of the early Kurete, going to war with the pseudo-scientific and doctrinaire analyses of the preceding generation, showing how genius confounds rules and sublimity is born where the great mind rises to a great occasion.

It is pleasant to see our old friend 'Longinus' in this light—so emphatically on the right side in an age-long controversy—and we should be happy to think that Dr. Mutschmann had finally removed from the treatise the chilling shadow of Cæcilius—a figure long magnified far beyond life size in the interest of what is here happily called 'the scholar's sport of fragment-hunting.' We hope, therefore, that this little treatise will attract the attention which it deserves. While so much is dark, probability is the most that can be attained; and it may be that some of the constructions of this essay will collapse before attack; but Dr. Mutschmann shows understanding as well as ingenuity, and he has no call to apologise for adding to the literature of the subject.

Collected Literary Essays, Classical and Modern. By A. W. VERRALL.
With a Memoir.

Collected Studies in Greek and Latin Scholarship. By A. W. VERRALL.
Edited by M. A. BAYFIELD and J. D. DUFF. Cambridge: at the University Press,
1913. Each 10s. 6d.

The pleasure with which these essays will be read by a large circle of readers must perforce be tempered with regret at the thought that the hand which penned them will write no more. The fine sympathetic imagination, the daring unconventionality of thought, the exquisite sense of language, which distinguished Verrall's work, are no common qualities; his death leaves a blank which will not soon be filled. The essays contained in this first volume, dealing with such subjects as the poetry of Martial, the love-story of Propertius, the birth of Virgil and the prose of Sir Walter Scott, show us Verrall's powers at work on fields which lay outside his own particular studies. But if the scene is somewhat changed, the writer is the same; we find the same quickness at detecting a difficulty, the same ingenuity in finding a solution and the same persuasiveness in commending it to the reader, which have made Verrall's more special studies on *Æschylus* and *Euripides* so deservedly famous. Scattered throughout the essays the reader will find many short translations from the classics into English, which illustrate most happily Verrall's wonderful power of appreciating and interpreting his author.

Aristophanes on 'Tennyson' is a good example of how to enforce an argument by an appeal to the sense of humour; and the last two essays, on Scott and Meredith respectively, illustrate the qualities which marked out Verrall as the fit occupant of the King Edward VII. Professorship of English Literature at Cambridge. The editors have

performed their labour of love with devotion and care, and the *Memoir* is wonderfully successful in presenting to us a convincing and life-like view of the personality of one who was scarcely less remarkable as man than as scholar.

The *Literary Essays* show us the more general aspects of his intellectual activity; the second volume shows him rather in the light of the classical expert. The reader of these *Studies* will find illustrated all the qualities which gave character and distinction to Verrall's work—the mental vigour and agility, the passion for unravelling tangled skeins, the brilliant originality, and, one must in honesty add, the daring that can always dazzle but cannot always convince. Let us look a little more closely at a few of the *Essays*. 'On a Lost Word in Homer' and 'Death and the Horse' are fine examples of Verrall's boldness in encountering old difficulties; his explanation of the epithet 'κτερόεστος,' as applied to Death, in the second of these, is so well carried out, that the reviewer must own that he was convinced by it as he read it, even though he could not silence the doubt that there might be objections to it, which it would need a specialist to discover. The two papers on 'Tyrtæus' propose a tempting solution of the old question as to the date and life of the poet; Verrall's suggestion—that Tyrtæus lived in the time of the Revolt of the Helots (c. 465-455) and not, as is generally supposed, during the Second Messenian War of the seventh century B.C.—is certainly tempting, but Verrall is, I think, guilty here of making the problem look easier than it is; the orthodox view has more in its favour than he will allow. 'The *Pæans* of Pindar and other new *Literature*' gives us a charming, if hazardous, interpretation of a passage in a Pindar fragment, and also reveals Verrall's lack of keen interest in history, except as a branch of literature; the discovery of the new historian of Oxyrhynchus left him quite cold, and, if one cannot blame him for his own feeling, one may perhaps suggest that he might have realized a little more fully the interest that such a find must have for many of his fellow-scholars. 'A Metrical Jest of Catullus' illustrates Verrall's fine sense for subtleties in classical versification; and 'A Vexed Passage in Horace' gives us a characteristic and brilliant emendation, which is effected by a change, not in text, but simply in punctuation. We must leave readers to enjoy the rest of the book for themselves; they will, we believe, frequently fail to be convinced—seldom or never to be instructed and stimulated.

Die Lebensalter : ein Beitrag zur antiken Ethologie und zur Geschichte der Zahlen. Von FRANZ BOLL. Pp. 57, 2 plates. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913. M. 2.40.

This interesting little contribution to the history of numbers approaches the subject by an indirect route; instead of tracing the application of any particular number to different groups of ideas, it takes one particular conception, that of the division of human life into a number of stages, and shows how that conception has been modified under the influence of the various numbers. Divisions of life into three or four stages are shown to have been, from time to time, popular; but, on the whole, the number seven holds the field here and 'the Seven Ages of Man' remains the proverbial statement of the idea. It is hard for anyone who is not himself a specialist to criticize a book of this kind with insight and fairness, or to stimulate the author by pointing out any oversights or errors; but even the general classical reader cannot fail to appreciate the neat and orderly arrangement of the theme, the wealth of illustrative detail, and the wide range of curious and interesting information which the book offers.

Studien zur Lateinischen und Griechischen Sprachgeschichte. By EMIL THOMAS. Pp. 143. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912. 4 M.

This excellent work contains studies on thirty-six Latin and Greek words and phrases, such as 'Flagrare,' 'Dellagraré,' 'Madula,' 'Inferiores,' 'Servire & acc.', 'Se apoculare,' 'Deuro de facore,' 'AKIMOS.' The object of the author is, p. 5, *einiges erschütterte Sprachschatz aus Licht bringen und ex . . . der lateinischen und griechischen Sprachgeschichte darbieten*. The methods of Comparative Grammar are to a slight extent employed, but for the most part the author seeks to ascertain the correct forms and meanings of the words and constructions discussed by examination of the textual tradition, and of the literary usage. In this way he makes important contributions to the interpretation and criticism of several of the later Latin writers, notably of Petronius in, e.g., II, and III. In a more general way, too, this work is a valuable addition to the literature on the too much neglected subject of Semantics.

Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum. Von CARL CLEMEN. [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten XIII. i.] Pp. 88. Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1913. M. 3.40.

The extent to which Oriental religions such as Mithraism exercised an influence upon primitive Christianity has been much debated. The similarity of certain forms of ritual, e.g., Baptism, lends colour to the theory that the debt owed by early Christianity to contemporary religions was a large one. Such however is not the conclusion at which the author of this book arrives. He examines carefully the language of the Epistles bearing upon the question, and comes to the conclusion that the rites of Eleusis, of Mithras, or of Isis, had little or no influence upon the development of Christianity until the end of the first or the beginning of the second century after Christ. He would find far greater traces of them in Gnosticism. The author shows distinct independence of judgment and a lack of bias. Those who approach the question from a general standpoint and without claiming to have made a special study of it, will be disposed to agree that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, particularly those relating to the death of Christ, have no real counterpart in the 'Mystery Religions,' and that where similarity of ritual can be observed it relates to external ceremonial rather than to vital tenets.

Hagios Nikolaos: Der Heilige Nikolaos in der Griechischen Kirche. Von GUSTAV ANRIEHL. Band I. Pp. xv + 404. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913.

Few hagiologists have sufficient perseverance and endurance to treat their subject in a thoroughly scientific way. The obscuring influences of mediaeval pious fictions prove overpowering, and the researcher loses his way among the overgrowth of truthless legends. But the Teutonic mind has occasionally conquered. Ernst Lucas gave an illuminating example of thoroughness in *Die Aufträge des Heiligenkults*, and now his pupil, Gustav Anriehl, working on the same lines, has taken up one definite cult with the view of publishing its exhaustive and final history. The present volume is the first of two which will deal with the cult of St. Nicholas of Myra, but only from the point of view of the Greek Church. The widespread cult of the saint in the west demands separate treatment.

It would be somewhat previous to pass judgment on the work before the appearance of the second volume which Dr. Anriehl hopes to publish in the spring of 1914. This first volume consists solely of the texts referring to St. Nicholas, and it gives the material from which the deductions of the second volume are to be drawn. The method is praiseworthy

from the student's standpoint, for with both volumes before him he will be able to check the writer's conclusions without reference to original manuscripts. Seventy-one manuscripts have been collated, and the author claims to have given a complete publication of material without unnecessary repetition and with the omission of poetic literature. Full textual foot-notes are given. The manuscript work has been done with a scientific care which makes it invaluable for the hagiological student, and the labour which it has clearly involved shows what a large field remains for researchers in this department of literature.

Dr. Aurich has dealt chiefly with Greek manuscripts, but he publishes also some texts from Armenian and Slavonic which throw light on the Greek legends. It seems regrettable to the non-German that these texts are given in German translations only. One could wish for a reproduction of the original or for a Latin rendering.

The second volume is to contain the belated Prolegomena, and the literary and historical examination of the cult, which is one of the most important in modern Greece. Only with its appearance will the full value for science of the first volume be evident. We congratulate Dr. Aurich on his diligent and painstaking collation of the texts, and the rational thoroughness in detail of which he gives evidence makes us look forward with great interest to the publication of his researches into the cult of St. Nicholas.

La Collection Millon. Antiquités Préhistoriques et Gallo-romaines.

PAR J. DÉCHELETTE, L'ABBÉ PARAT, DR. BRYLARD, P. BOUILLEROT, et C. DUBOIS.
Pp. 282. 46 planches et 68 figures. PARIS: Paul Gauthier, 1913. 50 f.

The collection formed by M. H. E. Millon of Dijon has proved well worthy of the pains bestowed upon it by M. Joseph Déchelette and four distinguished archæologists of Burgundy. The description, with index, occupies nearly 300 pages and, besides figures in the text, there are forty-six photographic plates grouped at the end of the volume. First come the prehistoric flints collected mostly in the Forest of Othe, south west of Troyes; and the most striking feature of the series from this plateau-region is that characteristic Drift forms, not to mention palæolithic Cave-types, occur in considerable quantity, their position by no means invalidating the internal evidence of date. The importance of the classification will be evident to those concerned with surface finds in our own country; and collectors will be interested to know that a broken blade from the famous Volgu Find is included in the collection.

The Bronze Age section comprises some typical specimens, but M. Millon's chief treasures are of the Early Iron Age and come from burial-mounds at Chamouilly, Champ Rougeaux, Semoutiers and especially La Motte St. Valentin, all in Haute Marne. They illustrate the transition from the Hallstatt culture, and the period known as La Tène I, which M. Déchelette dates 300–200 B.C. From the classical point of view the results are of special interest, as it was then that Herodotus was investigating the Celtic world, and Greek commodities were being exchanged for the products of eastern Gaul. The Attic kantharos of St. Valentin, found in a warrior's grave, is practically identical with that from Rodenbach in the Rhinish Palatinate, and both are assigned to the first half of the fifth century, while the kylix from Somme Bienne (British Museum) is approximately contemporary. These fragile Greek products were evidently imported commercially and were not merely loot. Like the bronze stamnos, of which one was found in the same St. Valentin tomb, they passed into Franche Comté, a region of brinsprings and oak-forests, in exchange for the pickled pork which early Roman writers specially mention, also perhaps for slaves and iron from the Jura, Burgundy and Lorraine. The Gauls are known to have indulged freely not only in their native fermented liquor but also in wines imported from the south, and it is significant that the Greek painted pottery found in chieftains' graves consists exclusively of drinking vessels.

M. Millon's possession of a bundle of iron spits from the bed of the Saône at Chalon, also of an isolated spit, incomplete but weighing originally six or seven oz. Av., suggested reprinting M. Déchelette's paper from the *Revue Numismatique* (1911, p. 1) on the origin of the drachma and obol. These bundles of spits were a form of currency, and figure in the sacrificial procession on the Certosa bronze bucket at Bologna. Analogous to the obelisks called in by Phœidon of Argos and deposited by him in the Herseum (where they have been since found), these throw light on the origin of the ancient British currency-bars, of which five denominations are now known. The latter rather suggest a sword, but a bar of iron used as currency might easily take the familiar form of a sword or a spit; and it is interesting to find an iron ingot also from the Saône, shaped like an ommid, of exactly the same weight as the bundle of spits (2 kil. 900-4½ lbs. Av.). The suggestion is made that at Chalon there was a Gaulish toll-house for those crossing the river, just as the Celts at La Tène took toll of the traffic between the lakes of Neuchâtel and Bienna.

There are useful observations on the suspension of bronze cauldrons; on the use of fish-hooks; on a peculiar form of Roman sword with ring-pommel, and a gold wheel-pendant for the neck with symbols of the sun, moon and double axe of Zeus, ascribed to the late Roman period. There is therefore much in the volume to interest the classical student and to encourage him in a line of research that has been rather neglected in the past—the relations between the classic and barbaric civilisations of Europe.

R. A. S.

Die Schlange in der Griechischen Kunst und Religion. Von E. Küster.
Pp. 172+1 plate and 32 illustrations in the text. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1913.
M. 6.50

This work is issued as one of the series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, founded by Dieterich and Wünsch and edited by Wünsch and Deubner, of which previous volumes have from time to time been noticed in these pages, as dealing with Greek worship and ritual. The present volume is in two parts, of which the first, originally issued separately as a Heidelberg dissertation, is the lighter, beginning with Palaeolithic bone reliefs and Neolithic pottery with decoration of spirals or loops, it traces the history and employment of the snake as a decorative element from Early Cypriote and Cretan vase-examples onwards. Rare and usually conventionalised in the Mycenaean style, the snake regains favour in the succeeding Geometric period; later its use is again restricted to decorative ends, e.g., as a shield device. This part is illustrated by a plate and thirty-two smaller figures. The remainder of the book is more ambitious in character, being an attempt to collect and classify the functions of the snake in Greek religion. Successive sections deal with the snake in grave-beliefs and hero-worship, in chthonic cults and as an attribute of the various Olympian deities, a function which is shown to arise at times from sources other than chthonic. Later chapters treat of the snake as the instrument of magic, of healing, and of fruitfulness, under which heading its widespread significance in ritual and the mysteries is briefly discussed. Full references to literary and monumental sources are given and there are three useful indices.

Das Lesbische Kymation; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Ornamentik.
Von CARL WIECKERT. Pp. 110, 10 plates. München u. Leipzig: Schönböck, 1915.

In this dissertation for his Doctorate the writer has laboriously collected and arranged in chronological order examples of the Lesbian cymation and 'leaf-and-dart' mouldings in general. Though in the preface first-hand knowledge of the buildings is disclaimed, the examples chosen are mainly architectural, as for these an accurate dating can be more

often proposed than for objects of the minor arts; of the latter only such specimens are given as are of dateable or unusual forms, such as occur on Chazemontian sarcophagi. The list extends from the earliest times down to the sarcophagus of Sidamara; it is fairly exhaustive in the archaic and succeeding period, but from Hellenistic times on, the treatment grows scantier. There are ten awkwardly arranged plates and seventeen blocks in the text.

Theban Ostraca. PART I. *Hieratic Texts*: by ALAN H. GARDINER. PART II. *Demotic Texts*: by HERBERT THOMPSON. PART III. *Greek Texts*: by J. O. MILNE. PART IV. *Coptic Texts*: by HERBERT THOMPSON. Pp. 214. 12 Plates. University of Toronto Library. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1913.

The ostraca edited in this volume are a selection from a large number obtained in 1906 near Thebes and now about equally divided between the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology at Toronto and the Bodleian. It was a happy idea to edit the selected texts in all four languages in a single volume, and the names of the editors are a sufficient guarantee of the efficiency with which the work has been carried out. Ostraca do not as a rule furnish material of the first importance, but they often contain evidence of great value on points of detail, particularly with regard to taxation, and such is the case with the present collection. The Hieratic texts are not of much interest, with the exception of C.1, a very curious spell against disease, which deserves the attention of students of sympathetic magic, and A.11 (Appendix), a large and well-preserved limestone slab, containing model letters of considerable interest. The Demotic ostraca are of greater importance, and throw valuable light on not a few points. Special mention may be made of Sir Herbert Thompson's note on the word *abe* (pp. 26 ff.). He shows conclusively that this is the word which in Greek appears as *αβδα*, a word whose origin has long puzzled scholars, and suggests, with great probability, that it is to be identified with an old Egyptian word 'meaning a stake which was employed in staking out the ground.' The transition from this sense to that of a measure of cubic capacity in excavation is easy. On pp. 44 ff. is a very interesting series of texts concerning the allotment (1/2) of land, all of which Sir Herbert Thompson believes to date from about the same period. Their nature is far from clear, and their editor leaves it doubtful to what they refer. It may be suggested, as a mere conjecture, that possibly they are connected with a *δωρεα*, i.e. the compulsory lease of crown-land to the peasants at a reduced rent, without a *credulagium*; for this see Wilcken, *Papyriusunde*, i. 1, p. 277. In several cases the rent is specified, but not in all. Possibly in those last the land was let at a standard rent. On pp. 51 ff. is another interesting series of texts by which one priest leases to another his 'temple-month,' i.e. the month for which his *phyle* was liable to service in the temple; and on pp. 57 ff. are a number of valuable 'temple oaths' (Wilcken, *op. cit.* i. 2, pp. 140, 142). They begin, 'Copy of the oath which N. N. shall make,' and Sir Herbert Thompson remarks that we should rather expect the oath to be recorded as having been taken. There seems however no difficulty. In D 88 the inverted commas should no doubt come, not, as the editor places them (or is this a misprint?), after 'wheat' but at the end of the first paragraph. What follows is an instruction to the official who was to administer the oath. Clearly, the oath was first written on the ostrakon and then handed to an official, who subsequently administered it in the appointed place to the person concerned, and finally noted at the foot that it had been duly sworn.

The Greek ostraca also contain much valuable evidence as to taxes. Special reference may be made to that proving the existence of a bath-tax in Ptolemaic times (No. 2), to the important discussion of the obscure *ae* (pp. 90 ff.), to the ostraca relating to the bath-tax in the Roman period (pp. 99 ff.), to the discussion of the *εργολογία* tax (p. 114), and to that of the poll-tax (pp. 118 ff.). In some respects the commentary suffers from the editor's not making use of Wilcken's *Papyriusunde*, published two years

ago; possibly it may have been prepared before that work was available. Thus, on p. 81, Wilcken's theory that receipts of a certain kind were given to the tax-collectors is criticized. But Wilcken has now abandoned it (*op. cit.* i. 2, p. 309). On p. 146 ff. is a series of certificates for the statutory labour on the embankments. On ostraca the amount performed is always reckoned in *naubia*, in papyri of the Roman period in days, and Mr. Milne suggests that a *naubion* was taken roughly as a day's work, so that receipts could be issued either for *naubia* or for days. The explanation was almost certainly (Wilcken, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 334 f.) that the system differed in different parts of Egypt. In the Thebaid, the work was measured by *naubia*, in the Fayum, and perhaps the Heptanomis generally, by days, five days being the normal period. The mention, in an unpublished British Museum papyrus from the Thebaid, of an official called *ἐπιστατης* seems to confirm this; for the *ἐπιστατης* was clearly the official who measured the *ἐπίλοι*, i.e. the side of the cubic *naubion*. On p. 151 (No. 133), Mr. Milne suggests that *ῥαυρη* means a bailiff, as an order for payment is issued to him. Perhaps however this is merely an order from landlord to tenant to pay his rent direct into the public granary in discharge of the landlord's taxes. This would save the landlord trouble.

The Coptic documents are not of special interest. In No. 12 it may be suggested that 'potaherd' stands, not for 'contract' in general, but specifically for 'receipt': cf. P. Lond. iv. 1459, 7, *note*. In No. 18, the editor comments on the form *πιστοφίσις* as curious. A *κόπιν πιστοφίσις* occurs in P. Cairo byz. i. 67118, 16; the name *πιστοφίσις* without the Greek ending is found in an unpublished British Museum papyrus. Lastly, in Nos. 24, 25 the editor finds a difficulty in the abbreviation *ρ^α* (= *ἀριθμῶς*, = *ῥήματα*) followed by a curved stroke, then a straight stroke, and finally *α*. He takes the whole as '11 curats by reckoning,' remarking that the symbol 'is not quite the usual symbol for *καρδίας*'. It should really be read (δ)κ(ι)θ(ί)σις (*ἑκατόν*), (*κερτία*) *α*: i.e. half a solidus (= 12 siliquae) in nominal value, the real value of which was only 11 siliquae. So too in No. 26 and the parallels quoted in the *note*, the reading is no doubt *ἀρ(ι)θμῶς* (*ἑκ*), (*κερτία*) *α*β', i.e. 'one nominal solidus, (actual value) 22 siliquae.' Many examples of this double reckoning may be seen in P. Lond. iv. 1412-1414.

Organisation Militaire de l'Égypte Byzantine. Par JEAN MASPERO. Pp. 167.
Paris: H. Champion, 1912.

This volume is a valuable addition to the literature dealing with Graeco-Roman Egypt and throws welcome light not only on the army itself but on several matters connected less directly with military affairs. The author, as the editor of the catalogue of the Cairo Byzantine papyri, is well qualified for his task, and his acquaintance with the Coptic and Arabic authorities enables him to add materially to the evidence obtainable from Greek and Latin sources. The work is well arranged, beginning with a general account of Byzantine military organization and that of Egypt in particular, and passing on in turn to a detailed examination of the defensive system of the Egyptian diocese, to an analysis of the various elements in the army, the disposition and organization of the forces, and the officers of the *numerus*, and concluding with a general estimate of the value of the system thus traced. In an appendix the author collects, city by city, the evidence for the various garrisons known to us. He confines his study almost entirely to the sixth and seventh centuries—not merely on account of the well-nigh complete lack of evidence for the fifth century, but because he holds that the Byzantine period should properly be treated as commencing in the latter half of the fifth century. Against this view grave objections may be raised, and it seems far better to follow the existing custom which ends the Roman period with the reforms of Diocletian; but as regards the army M. Maspero's starting point is justifiable enough.

Among the subjects treated in the volume is the position of Egypt with regard to foreign enemies. M. Maspero holds that in the later days of Byzantine rule the country was on the whole immune from invasion, and that the Blemyes in particular had ceased to be a danger. In the main he may be right, and it is likely enough that the seriousness of the marauding raids of desert tribes at this period has been exaggerated; but he is perhaps himself guilty of an overstatement when he says (p. 15) that 'l'époque byzantine, jusqu'au règne d'Héraclius, fut pour l'Égypte une époque de paix extérieure presque complète.' There are several indications, even in those papyri which chance has preserved for us, of a sense of insecurity, as for example P. Cairé byz. I. 67004, where a certain person is accused of being in league with the Blemyes. The 'poems' of Dioscorus too in the Cairo catalogue contain several lines which point in the same direction, for example—'Ὁ γὰρ ἐν Βασιλικῇ γίνεσθαι, αἱ Σαρακενῶν.' Doubtless the muse of Dioscorus was never unduly fettered by the tyranny of fact; but even a poet 'on the make' would hardly introduce such allusions if there were no point in them. A propos of Dioscorus, the author probably takes the phrase *ἑξῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ* too literally on p. 41 when he infers from it the existence of actual fortifications; it is no doubt merely a literary reminiscence.

The most interesting and valuable result of M. Maspero's researches to the student of Byzantine history is their bearing on the condition of the army at the time of the Arab conquest. His investigations enable him to correct in several points the figures given by Arab writers and accepted by modern historians as to the numbers of the Romans. Thus Butler in his *Arab Conquest of Egypt* commits himself to figures which are quite clearly far too large. Maspero's own calculation, is, as he admits himself, uncertain enough, but he is not likely to be much, if at all, in excess of the true figure when he reckons the total armed force of the diocese of Egypt, including Libya, at 30,000 men; and we can see the impossibility of Butler's estimate of 20,000 Roman troops at the battle of Heliopolis or 50,000 as the garrison of Alexandria when 'Amr laid siege to it. But not only was the force available at any one spot far less than has been supposed; M. Maspero shows that there were grave defects in the quality of the army. The lack of co-ordination—each *Dux* was independent in his own sphere, and there seems to have been no central authority—the practice of choosing *Duces* and tribunes from the landed gentry without reference to their military capacity, and the inexperience of the troops, were in themselves sufficient to account for the collapse of the Roman authority before 'Amr and his Arabs, even had the disparity in numbers been greater than seems to have been the case. The Arab conquest of Egypt, one of the epoch-making events of history, still remains a brilliant exploit, but it can easily be explained without resorting either, with Butler, to the supposition of treachery on the part of the patriarch or, with pious contemporaries, to a theory of God's vengeance on erring Christendom.

De Saltationibus Graecorum: capita quinque. Scripsit KUET LATTE. Pp. 112. Gießen: Topelmann, 1912. M. 4.

The third part of the thirteenth volume of the well-known series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* is devoted to a study of the part played in Greek ritual by the dance. An introductory chapter deals with the extant literary authorities, Pollux and Athenaeus; the second discusses perfunctorily the actual elements of Greek dancing. The various dances with arms and armour are next treated; the development of the best known of these, the Pyrrhic, from its sepulchral origin to a Bacchic performance, is illustrated with reference to the Palaikastro hymn of the Kouretes. Subsequent chapters deal with the civic choirs, their history and place in the various cults, and with the appearance and development in the Greek world of the rustic dances which formed so prominent a feature of the later orgiastic worship. An appendix suggests additional philological reasons for the Doric origin of the Pyrrhic dance.

The Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. PAGE, and W. H. D. ROOSE. London: Heinemann, 1912, 1913. *Sophocles* by F. STORR (2 vols.), *Euripides* by A. S. WAY (4 vols.), *The Greek Bucolic Poets* by J. M. EDMONDS, *Apollonius Rhodius* by R. C. SEATON, *Appian's Roman History* by HORACE WHITE (4 vols.), *The Apostolic Fathers* by KIRKSOT LACE (2 vols.), *Lucian* by A. M. HARMON (first of 8 vols.), *Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, etc.*, by F. C. CONYBEARE (2 vols.), *Julian* by W. C. WRIGHT (first of 3 vols.), *Quintus Smyrnaeus, The Fall of Troy* by A. S. WAY, *Terence* by J. SARCEAUNT (2 vols.), *Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius, Venus* by F. W. CORRIE, J. P. POSTGATE and J. W. MACRAIL, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* by E. O. WINSTEAD, *Propertius* by H. E. BUTLER, *Petronius, Seneca Apocolypnotica* by M. HESLITINE and W. H. D. ROOSE, *St. Augustine's Confessions* by W. WATTS. Each volume 5s. net.

It is impossible to attempt a detailed appreciation of the twenty-eight volumes of this series which are now on our shelves. The aims of the Loeb Classical Library are familiar to all our readers. The general execution of the excellent scheme is satisfactory, and Mr. Loeb deserves the warmest gratitude. The volumes are convenient in size and pleasantly printed and bound, and the translations, though mostly undistinguished, maintain on the whole a respectable level. Of the Greek authors hitherto issued, more than half are of the Christian era, and only two (*Sophocles* and *Euripides*) are pre-Alexandrian. Of some translations have been lacking or inaccessible: particularly welcome are Dr. Cave Wright's *Julian*, Dr. Horace White's *Appian*, and Dr. Way's *Quintus Smyrnaeus*. Some of the volumes cover ground lately traversed: Mr. Harmon's *Lucian*, for instance, provokes comparison with the recent Oxford translation. Mr. Harmon has the advantage in vigour and liveliness, but his work is marred by faults of style and taste. Such words as 'preempted' (p. 365) should perhaps be secure from English criticism, but we protest against 'disgruntled' (p. 357), even in a footnote. Of the versions of classical writers, Mr. Edmonds' *Greek Bucolic Poets* is the least satisfactory. He has adopted (in his own words) 'an archaic style,' which is quite intolerable. *Βεργιλιος . . . Ἰωρφέως* in the exquisite *Ἠλοξενύ* becomes 'Mistress Pretty-toes,' and we read in the fourteenth idyl, 'Then I up and fetched her a clout o' the ear, and again a clout. Whereat she etched up her skirts and was gone in a twink!' The songs are rendered into verse.

The general editors seem to have left the choice of prose or verse to individual translators: *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Quintus Smyrnaeus* are in blank verse, *Apollonius Rhodius* is in prose. It is perhaps regrettable that prose was not made universal.

The Latin volumes concern this Journal less: but some of them are very good, especially Mr. Sargeaunt's excellent *Terence*. The *Saint Augustine* is a revised reprint of Watts' seventeenth-century version. The texts vary greatly in the matter of critical notes.

Antigonos Gonatas. By WILLIAM WOODTHORPE TARN. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1913.

The important articles which Mr. Tarn contributed to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* had already signalled his erudition in the field of later Greek history. It is therefore a fact to be noted with satisfaction that he has now given us a book covering the tangled period of the Diadochi. Perhaps no lucidity of narrative could make the history of that period easy reading, and to reconstruct it with any human understanding there must be a good deal of more or less hazardous conjecture in filling up the gaps in our sources. There is no harm in such conjecture, as a working hypothesis, if its hypothetical character be frankly stated, and this Mr. Tarn does at the outset. One can probably say safely that no one in England has made so thorough a study of the early Hellenistic

period: his book and Mr. Ferguson's on Athens are those which give the most complete conspectus of what has been written on the subject in England and abroad. But Mr. Tarn is not only erudite: he is laudably anxious to give a really human interpretation, and his narrative has often a kind of conversational vigour. In the opening chapters, we follow the vicissitudinous history of Demetrius the Besieger from the Battle of Ipsus till his final fall and capture by Seleucus. Then come the years, in which confusion was rendered more confounded by the irruption of the Gauls, and which ended by Antigonus beginning his rule as King of Macedonia. Involved as are the international relations of the time, the history of Macedonia under Antigonus is the history of all the states round the Eastern Mediterranean. In the years 246 and 245 Macedonia replaces Egypt as the predominant sea-power in the Aegean—the triumph with which 'the history of Antigonus Gonatas should end.' Mr. Tarn's final chapter narrates the anti-climax constituted by the concluding years of Antigonus, when Macedonia is ousted from the Peloponnese by the Achaean League. For his central figure, Mr. Tarn has warm admiration, which no doubt was useful in supplying zest to the telling of his story. It may perhaps be questioned whether the figure does not appear in Mr. Tarn's picture somewhat too grave and philosophic. There was a side of his nature, as Mr. Tarn admits, to which the coarser pleasures appealed, an element of gross joviality. Qualities of this kind seem incongruous with the earnest moralist drawn by Mr. Tarn, but they are not incompatible with loyalty in practice to certain broad principles of conduct, with a stalwart honesty. It may be that the character of Antigonus Gonatas was one which the English might be thought especially fitted to understand, the people whose genius is supposed to be typified by the figure of John Bull.

Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines. By GUSTAV MENDEL. Vol. I. pp. xxii + 594. Constantinople, 1912. 80 piastres (16 francs).

The Imperial Museum of Constantinople is of comparatively recent date. The first collections were assembled between 1850 and 1860, but it was not until 1881 that really modern and scientific management began. From that date until a few years ago Hamdy Bey was in charge of these treasures, and it is primarily to his initiative, perseverance, and skill that we owe the gradual growth of order out of chaos and the development of one of the best arranged and pleasantest museums of Europe from the haphazard system left by his predecessors. It is matter for universal regret that the man who made M. Mendel's catalogue possible should have passed away before the appearance of the work he had done so much to assist.

This volume is the first of three to be assigned to the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine sculptures of the museum. Its first 316 pages are devoted to the funerary monuments of the vestibule, Halls I, II, and III, and the Sidamara sarcophagus of Hall V. Then follow the statues from Miletus and Thasos, which complete Hall V, and all the contents of Hall VI, which include the frieze of the Magnesian temple of Artemis Leucophrym and other architectural details from the same site together with the friezes of the altar and temple of Heate at Iagina, the monument of Didyma, and a few other miscellaneous objects. It is thus mainly devoted to reliefs, and covers the greater part of the left wing of the museum, omitting the Hittite and Assyrian collection of Halls IV and VII, but including the contents of Hall I. The archaic Greek sculptures, the Roman sculptures, and the great bulk of the free sculptures of the classical and Hellenistic periods await treatment in the remaining volumes.

M. Mendel's catalogue is of the most exhaustive fulness. Each object is accompanied by a sketched illustration, and every detail of the description is to be found also in the text. Each account is preceded by a full statement of the evidence for provenance, where

there is any doubt; and by a paragraph on the material and state of preservation: it is followed by a complete bibliography. Some idea of the conscientious treatment of the subject may be conveyed by giving the details of the space allotted to the chief treasure of the museum, the 'Alexander' sarcophagus. This occupies 28 pages, of which 6 (in small print), are devoted to the material and condition, 15 to description, 3½ to discussion, 2½ (in small print) to bibliography, and 1 (in small print) to a list of photographs. This treatment is typical of the more important objects in the museum. Thus the Sidmaras sarcophagus occupies 27 pages, the Magnesian frieze 50, and the Lagina frieze no fewer than 108. M. Mendel defends the proportions of his work on two grounds: his objections to what he calls a 'telegraphic' style, and the fact that only the minutest observations could have led him to the various discoveries of new detail such as are to be found in his description of the 'Alexander' sarcophagus. But the visitor to the museum would probably prefer a less prolix treatment, and it is after all M. Mendel's observations, not his publications, which have provided him with new discoveries. The catalogue is in fact designed for use in a library and not in the museum itself. For the latter purpose it is too large and clumsy, and its usefulness is severely handicapped by the fact that a partial rearrangement of the exhibits has already been carried out; and consequently two statues in juxtaposition in the catalogue may be in separate rooms in the museum. M. Mendel's view of the function of his catalogue is to give a detailed description accompanied by full discussion only when discussion is not available elsewhere. Thus the Lagina frieze, which has never been properly published before, receives a very complete study, the Magnesian frieze, well published by Wiegand, is little discussed, and the Muses of Miletus receive no discussion at all in view of Wiegand's approaching publication. From the point of view of the visitor who requires explanation rather than description, such a catalogue tends to be disappointing.

But in the special case of Constantinople the theory of a catalogue for library use has one supreme justification. Constantinople is not easy of access, and its museum will never be thronged with visitors. On the other hand a knowledge of its antiquities is much needed, and M. Mendel's careful descriptions combined with his illustrations will go far to supply the want of a series of really excellent photographs.

The illustrations of the catalogue are of unequal value. Where the original drawing has been considerably reduced, they are often very good, but sometimes they are so sketchy as to be of little value. The Lagina frieze is excellently illustrated, the Magnesian frieze badly. But in every case it is of the utmost value to have even an inferior cut to accompany the description. To this feature of the catalogue high praise is due, and also to the laborious bibliographies, even if the latter are sometimes overloaded with references of slight archaeological value.

Any attempt to criticise in detail this great and monumental work would require a monograph in itself. On general grounds M. Mendel is to be most warmly commended for his erudition, sanity of judgment, and artistic insight, and if he leaves ground for differences of opinion in detail, he is almost always careful to do justice to the various points of view. He decides strongly for real personalities in discussing the female figures in the intercolumniation of the 'Plenreuses' sarcophagus; but we may well ask why, if they were friends and relatives of the deceased, are they all women, and why, if they represent his harem, are they all in Greek dress? M. Mendel disposes rather too cavalierly of the theory that they are ideal figures of grief. On p. 87 the suggestion of 300 B.C. for the date of the stele of Kleitomachos seems too early considering the C-shaped sign in the inscription. On p. 179 the examples of *επιγραφὴν ἐπιτομὴν* might well be increased by one of the most obvious instances of their occurrence--on the *xoanon* figures of the Ephesian Artemis. On p. 185 Alexander is identified by 'la tête nue et ceinte de bandeau royale.' But is this thin cord really the royal diadem? It is very different from the normal type of the Hellenistic royal insignia. M. Mendel appears to attach too much weight to the identity of Alexander in this sarcophagus. The lionskin helmet worn by the

so-called Alexander in the battle-scene is by no means certain evidence of the great Macedonian (cf. for instance the so-called Mithridates in the Louvre with a similar headdress), and the subordinate part played by this figure in both of the scenes where he appears requires a more satisfactory explanation.

On p. 333 the head of the young goddess from Miletus is described as turned towards the left hand: it is really turned to the right. On p. 346 the important differences between the new signed statue of Philodema from Thasos and the Milesian Muses are not properly appreciated. Finally on p. 583 the description of *Liegefallen* as 'dessins sur l'étoffe' raises an interesting question which deserves a fuller explanation.

These criticisms, even if justified, are few and far between. M. Meunier has produced a book which will remain for long the standard work on the subject. The special circumstances of the museum go far to condone any prolixity, and in every other direction the first volume of the catalogue of the Constantinian sculptures inspires the warmest sentiments of appreciation for itself and of expectation for its successors.

G. D.

I Documenti Greci Medioevali di Diritto Privato dell'Italia Meridionale e loro attinenze con quelli bizantini d'Oriente e coi papiri greco-egizii. By GIANNINO FERRARI. Pp. viii+148. [Byzantinisches Archiv, Heft 4.] Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1910.

The persistence of Byzantine institutions in Southern Italy through the Norman period is becoming more and more definitely established, as the scientific study of texts and documents advances, and Dr. Ferrari's exhaustive analysis of the Greek mediaeval documents of Southern Italy is an important contribution to the knowledge of the law and administration of this region from the tenth to the thirteenth century. The author limits his enquiry to private documents from Apulia and Calabria, thus leaving on one side not only those issued by public authority, but the Latin private documents belonging to the same period and area. But while Latin evidence for the moment is excluded, an elaborate comparison is instituted with Oriental Byzantine documents of the Middle Ages, and with the Egyptian Papyri. The diplomatic formulae of the documents of each geographical group are analysed, and the documents themselves classified according to their juridical content, as charters of alienation whether by gift, sale, or exchange, as marriage contracts, and as wills and acts of adoption. Dr. Ferrari next compares the results of these investigations, and shows that identical or only slightly divergent types of documents and formulae are found in the Byzantine Oriental documents and in the Italian *civitates* both of the Byzantine and Norman-Swabian periods. He goes on to show that these later Greek documents are direct descendants of the *χαρισματικὰ* of the Papyri, and traces the chain of development right down to the Constitutions of Melfi, where a different type of document, the *instrumentum publicum*, was definitely authorised. In regard to the nature of the legal conceptions revealed in the Italian documents, Dr. Ferrari once more points out the normal course of development on Byzantine lines, and seeks to minimise the influence of external systems of law. Thus, in treating of the fusion of the various kinds of *δῶτα* or marriage gifts and in the calculation of the offerings of the husband on the basis of his own property rather than on that of the wife's dowry, a state of affairs which appears from the Italian documents, he suggests, though only tentatively, that these changes may be traced to certain modifications in Eastern Byzantine law rather than to Lombard influence.

Before analysing the documents, Dr. Ferrari discusses the persons charged with drawing them up. Here he trembles on administrative history and seems to be somewhat less sure of his ground. Thus, in dealing with the expressions *κατὰ τὴν ἐπαφίαν* or *κατὰ τὴν ἐπαφίαν* used of the notaries of the Norman-Swabian period, while he rightly

decides in favour of the translation 'about this time' and not 'for a time, temporarily,' and recognises that it is improbable that the notaries were appointed for a year or short period only, he seems to think that this was the case with the *επιστολαιοι* and the *κορραι*, and fails to call attention to much evidence on both questions. So far as the notaries are concerned, abundant confirmation of the long periods of time during which they held office is afforded by the series of documents for Auletta, Caggiano, and Carliaro in the *Syllabus Graecorum Membranarum*, and this is confirmed by the *Novee Constitutions* of Frederick II, which, while ordaining an annual tenure for other officials, make a special exception for the notaries. In the *επιστολαιοι* and *κορραι* such long periods of office do not present themselves as for the notaries, so far as the Greek documents are concerned, but their tenure often extended over several years. At the same time it does not seem likely that they were appointed for a definite term, for documentary evidence shows them to be in office for varying periods, and in the provision of the *Novee Constitutions*, already referred to, it is distinctly stated that the judges have had a permanent appointment hitherto. In his treatment of documents of Italian provenance it is satisfactory to note that Dr. Ferrari separates the Sicilian from the South Italian *cartae*. Here he recognises the fundamental difference which runs through the institutional history of the two regions, but it would be interesting to have some explanation of the divergence in diplomatic formulae which to some extent appears. Can it be that the Sicilian forms go back to the Byzantine tradition previous to the Saracen occupation of the island, while Southern Italy was in constant touch with the East and followed more closely the same lines of growth? Dr. Ferrari has laid all students of the history of South Italy under obligations for his careful analysis of Byzantine tradition in one important aspect. His promised study of Latin evidence should be eagerly welcomed, since a comparison of Latin and Greek contemporary documents would in many cases throw light on questions discussed here, notably on the local officials, and the conditions of their office.

Paganism and Christianity in Egypt. By P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1913.

The late Mr. Philip Scott-Moncrieff's book on the relations between Paganism and Christianity in Egypt has appeared some two years after the author's death. It was unfinished when, in February 1911, so terribly sudden an end was put to a most promising life, and it remained for Moncrieff's immediate colleagues in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, Mr. L. W. King and Mr. H. R. Hall, to prepare the unfinished work for the press. Luckily, Moncrieff had written most of what he had intended to write, verifying and adding footnotes here and there, so that the editors had to do little but see the book through the press, a task in which they were assisted by Messrs. O. M. Dalton and G. F. Hill, two other of his colleagues, and by his old tutor, the Rev. N. McLennan, of Christ's College, Cambridge, who contributes a very appreciative sketch of Moncrieff's short life and work as a preface to the little volume.

The final chapters of the work were never written, so that we do not know how the author would have gathered together the various strands of his tale for the conclusion. Each portion of the unfinished tale is, however, complete. We begin with the Egyptian religion at the close of the Ptolemaic Era and trace its gradual degenerative development till the Third Century A.D., when Christianity comes definitely upon the scene. Then comes what is no doubt the most interesting portion of the book, the description and discussion of the evidence as to the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt, literary, documentary, and archaeological. Then follow chapters on early Christian iconography, on Egypt, on Gnosticism, and on the rise of Christian asceticism and monasticism. Chapter V, which deals with the archaeological remains of early Egyptian Christianity, is the most

important of the book. Here Moncrieff shows his first-hand knowledge of the Egyptian archaeological evidence, which should make his book indispensable to serious students of these problems. He knew well what he was talking about here, and his criticisms are no less valuable than his statements of fact. The trenchant criticism of M. Gayet's results at Antinoë, of which some are exhibited in the *Musée Guimet* at Paris, may surprise readers who are not well acquainted with Egyptian archaeology but will not astonish those who are. Moncrieff rightly draws attention on page 117 to an almost incredible blunder of Gayet's and we fear that the author of *L'Art égyptien* comes badly off at his hands.

The initial chapters on the Egyptian religion are also good, and shew special knowledge. This is not so apparent in the chapter dealing with the literary evidence of Christian beginnings, where, of course, Moncrieff, like all other writers on the subject, owes a great debt to Harnack, or in the two chapters on Gnosticism, which also do not deal with a subject on which Moncrieff possessed special knowledge. But here his industry in compiling his facts and fitting them together has succeeded in giving us a most readable and very accurate account. The chapter on iconography gives several favourite views of Moncrieff's, which may or may not stand. That on asceticism and monasticism, while of course including much that has already been said by other writers, at the same time contains distinctly original work, which is well brought out, the author's conclusions being stated here with an incisive vigour which those who knew him will well remember as characteristic of his conversation on scientific questions which interested him. His conclusion, not actually framed by him, but inserted by the editors on the strength of the whole trend of the chapter and their knowledge of his views, was that 'it is evident that to Egypt the world owes monasticism.'

Here the book ends. It is a torso. But it is a fine one, though small in size. Moncrieff was a man of great original force and keen intelligence, as his book will shew to all who read it. His scientific spirit—he was strongly scientific in his method—was due not so much to any training at school or University as to his own keenly inquiring mind, argumentative, critical to the last degree, satisfied with nothing that other people told him *ex cathedra*. In the British Museum he found his work with congenial colleagues, who then delighted to foster and encourage his critical and scientific bent, and now mourn his premature departure from among them. This book shews perhaps signs here and there of the immaturity of the author's views on certain parts of his subject (he was only twenty-eight at his death), but at the same time it also shews what he would have done later had he been spared.

We love his memory for what he was

And honour him for what he would have been.

H. H.

Der Reliquienkult im Altertum. Von F. PRISTER. Zweiter Halbband.
Pp. 401-686. [*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, V. Band.] Gießen:
A. Topelmann, 1912. 10 M.

In the first part of this volume, *Die Reliquien als Kultobjekt*, there is some recapitulation of the material which was collected in the first volume of the book, *Das Objekt des Reliquienkultes*; but it provides a welcome opportunity to review the same facts in a different aspect. Archaeological as well as literary records are used in the description of ancient graves, their external and internal furniture, situation in localities of civic and religious importance, and the cults attached to them. The last section, *Geschichte des Reliquienkultes*, traces the development of the cult, especially on the literary side, from Homer and the Epic sources through lyric and tragic tradition to the Alexandrian writers. With the Hellenistic age there came considerable divergences from the Ancient faith, Euhemerism and apotheosis of the dead; but the author insists that the elements of

this change were not new, and finds them in the earliest mythology. The next phase, deification of the living person, is less easily linked up with native custom, and is derived from the religious practices of Egypt and the East. An interesting digression treats of early Rome, where the virtual absence of these cults is accounted for by the lack of a native literature to preserve the heroic tradition. The last chapter surveys the Christian cult of martyrs, saints and relics, and works out the comparison which is borne in mind throughout the book. The contrast with ancient ideals is more apparent than the similarity, and the cult of relics especially, with its lack of reverence for the repose of the dead, was adopted from the Oriental church, and was indeed forbidden so late as the year 386 (in the Theodosian Code): '*humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat, nemo martirem distrahât, nemo necetur.*' Like the rest of the series, the present work is distinguished by laborious and accurate research, and the store of permanently valuable material which it contains is made accessible by an efficient index.

Entaphia, in memoria di Emilio Pozzi. La Scuola Torinese di Storia Antica. Pp. 251. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1913. L. 8.

A volume of essays dedicated to the young historian, Emilio Pozzi, by his fellow students in the University of Turin. Of most general interest is a paper of A. Ferrabino on *Θεοφάνης Παύρβια*. The other subjects are *Ιωνοφυλάκες d'Atene* (G. de Sanctis), *Due ricerche di cronologia greca*: I.—Per la cronologia siciliana del principio del V sec. av. Cr. II.—Le imprese di Tiberone in Asia nel 400/399 e nel 391 av. Cr. (L. Pareti), *Isocrate e Filippo* (A. Rostagni), *Il decreto apostolico di Gerusalemme* (L. Coccolio), *Gli ultimi anni di Nerone* (G. A. Alfaro), and *Examen storico-critico del III libro dei Maccabei* (B. Motzo). The book is a worthy monument of a promising life unhappily cut short.

ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΘΕΤΗΝ ΗΕΜΙΤΗΝ ΑΜΦΙΕΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΕΤΕΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΥ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ. Pp. 367.
ΑΘΗΝΑ. Pp. 411. Athens: 'Hestia' (Moussner and Kargadouris), 1912.

The first book is the complete official record of the recent celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the National University of Greece. The text is in Greek and French. Besides the account of events and the official speeches, it contains a list of delegates and the text of complimentary addresses which were presented by other Universities and Institutions. The frequent misprints in the names of foreign scholars, no doubt difficult of interpretation in their signatures, might have been avoided by reference to the useful handbook *Museum*.

The other volume contains some thirty papers which were offered to the University on the same occasion. Their range is wide, even within the sections of Theology, Literature, Archaeology, Byzantine Art, History and Geography, Natural Science and Mathematics, and Medicine.

Histoire de l'Antiquité, Tome I: Introduction à l'étude des sociétés anciennes. Par EDUARD MEYER. Traduit par MAXIME DAVID. Paris: Gauthier, 1912.

M. Maxime David seems to have carried out his task of translating *Band I, Erste Hälfte* of Prof. Eduard Meyer's great *Geschichte des Altertums* with praiseworthy accuracy. It will no doubt be of great service to French historical students, and to those English

readers who have no German (let us hope, for the credit of our national intelligence, a steadily diminishing number). Meyer would probably look better in an English than in a French dress, as a work translated direct from German into French without considerable modification of arrangement as well as of diction always gives a somewhat uncomfortable impression. But in English Meyer would have to be heavily illustrated or we fear he would not sell. The French have not succumbed to the childish mania for pictures, and we do not doubt that M. David's translation, formidably dry as it may seem to the English reader, will be carried out successfully to the end as a deserved and admirable tribute on the part of French learning to German thoroughness and scientific accuracy.

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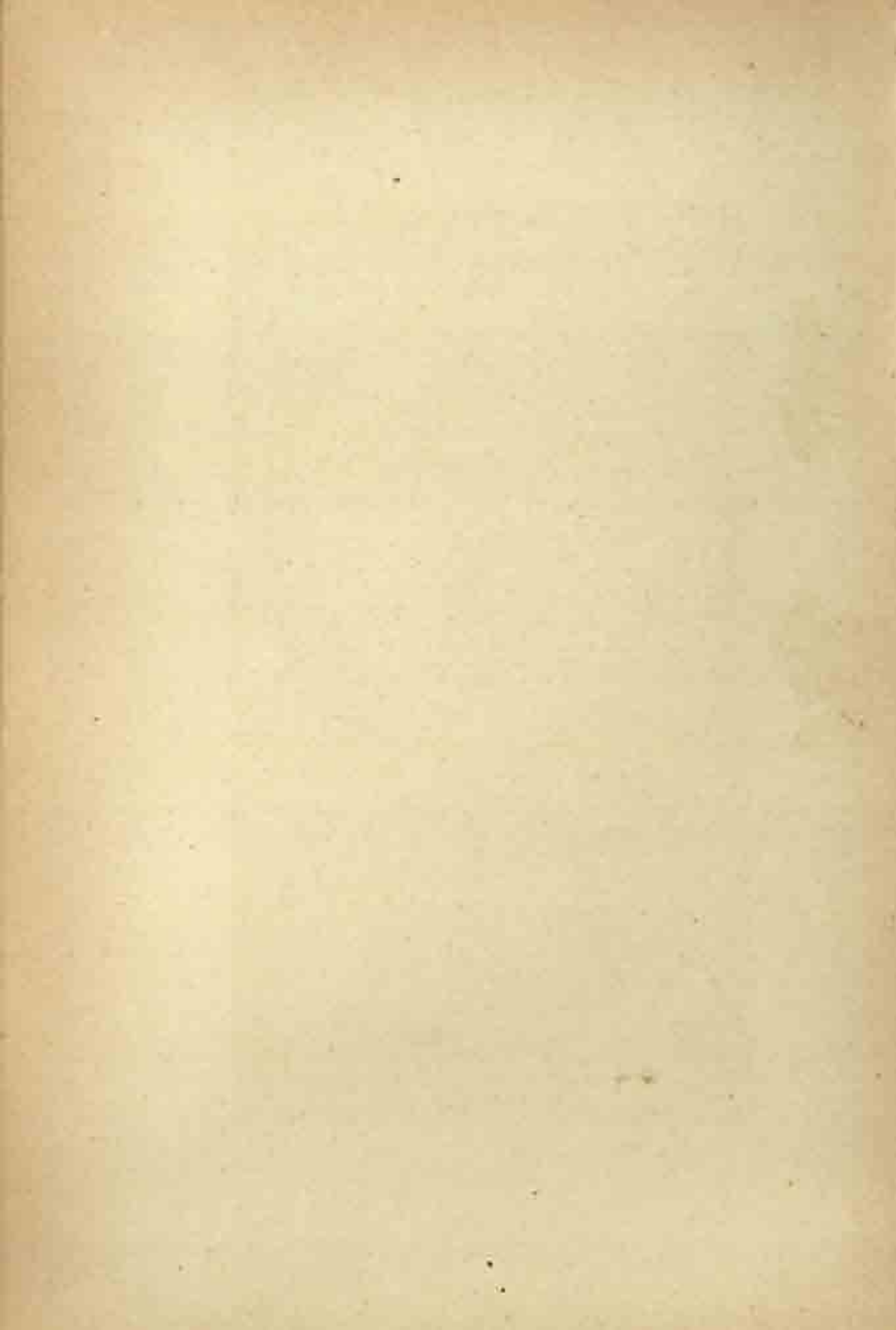
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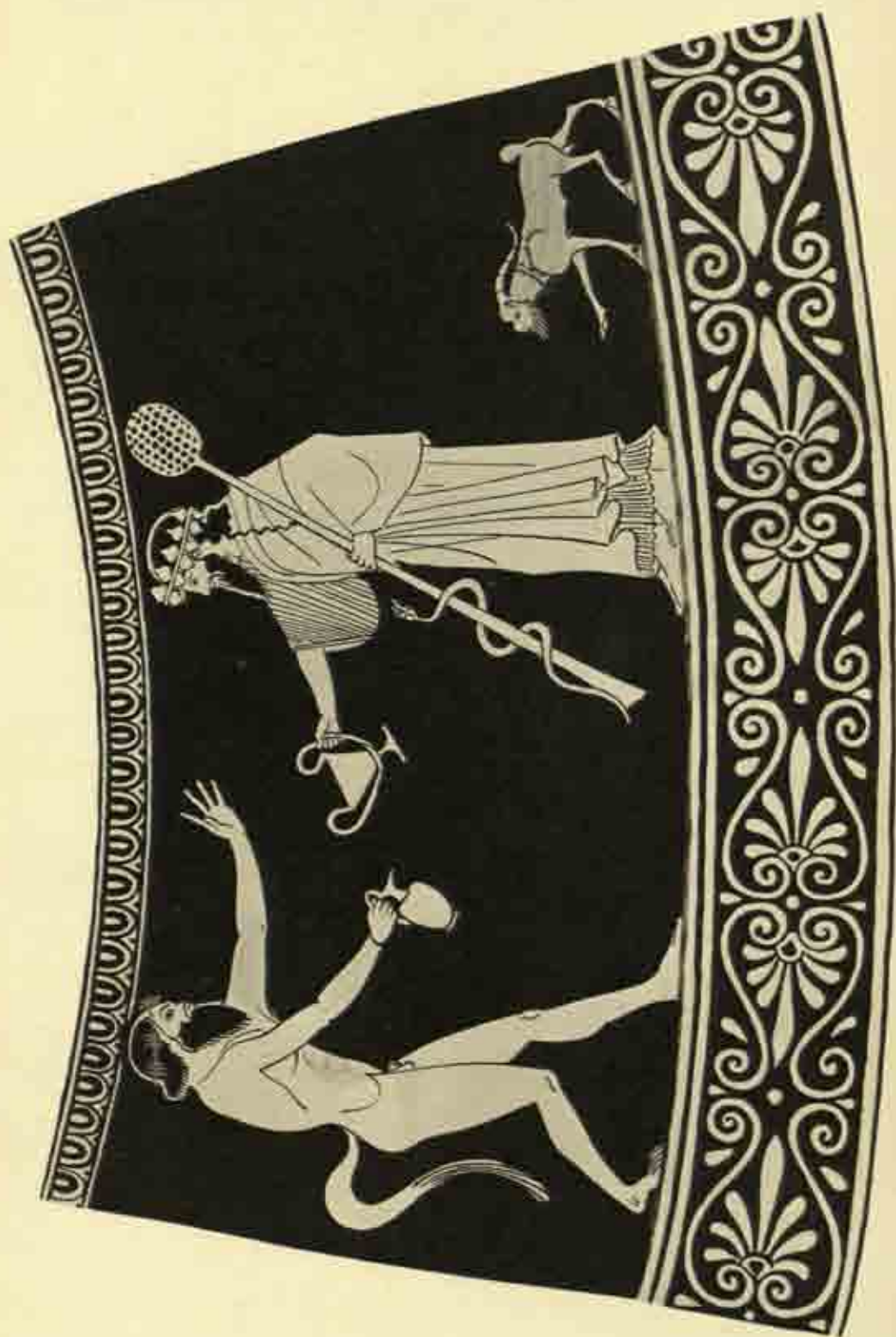
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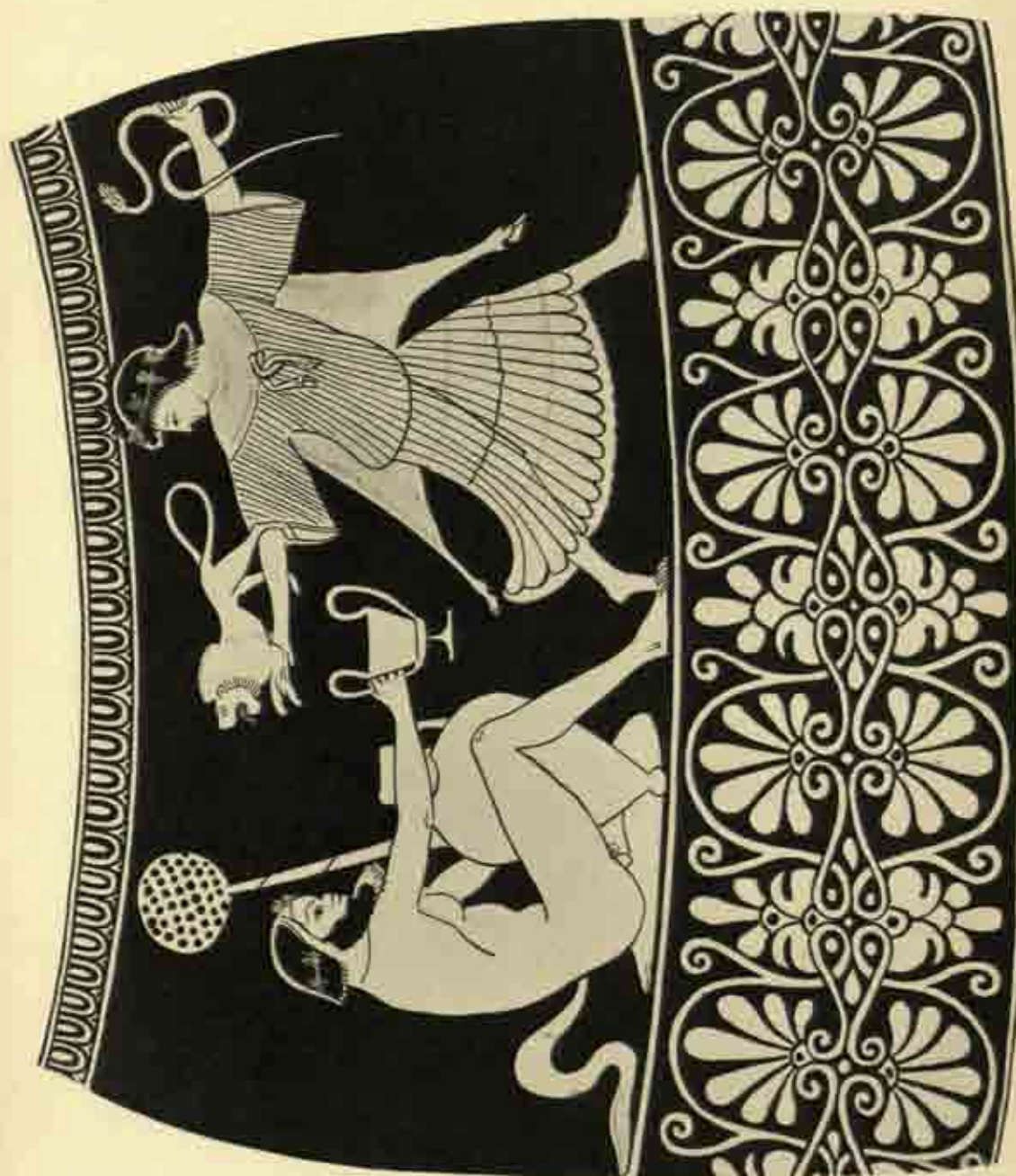


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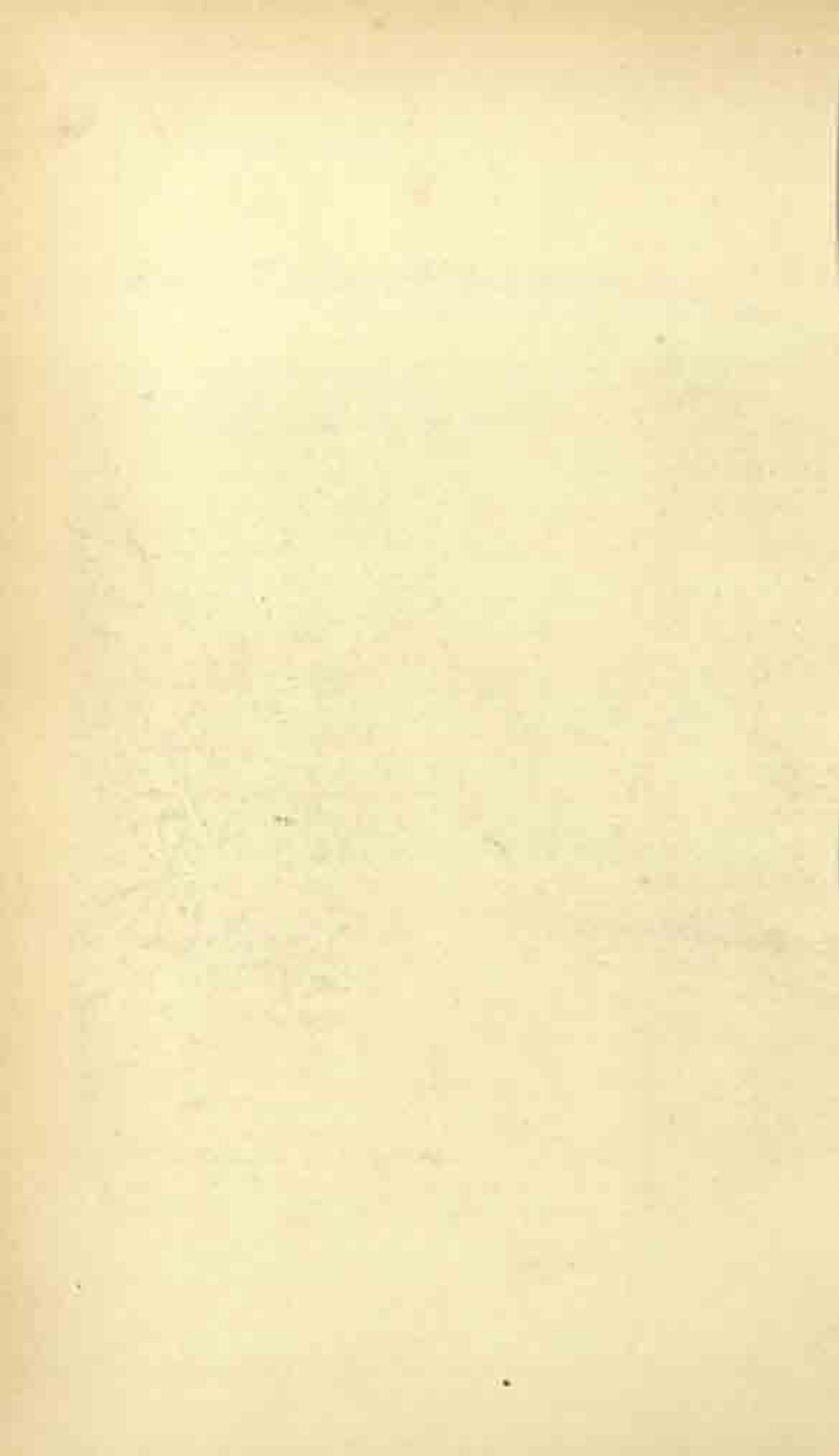


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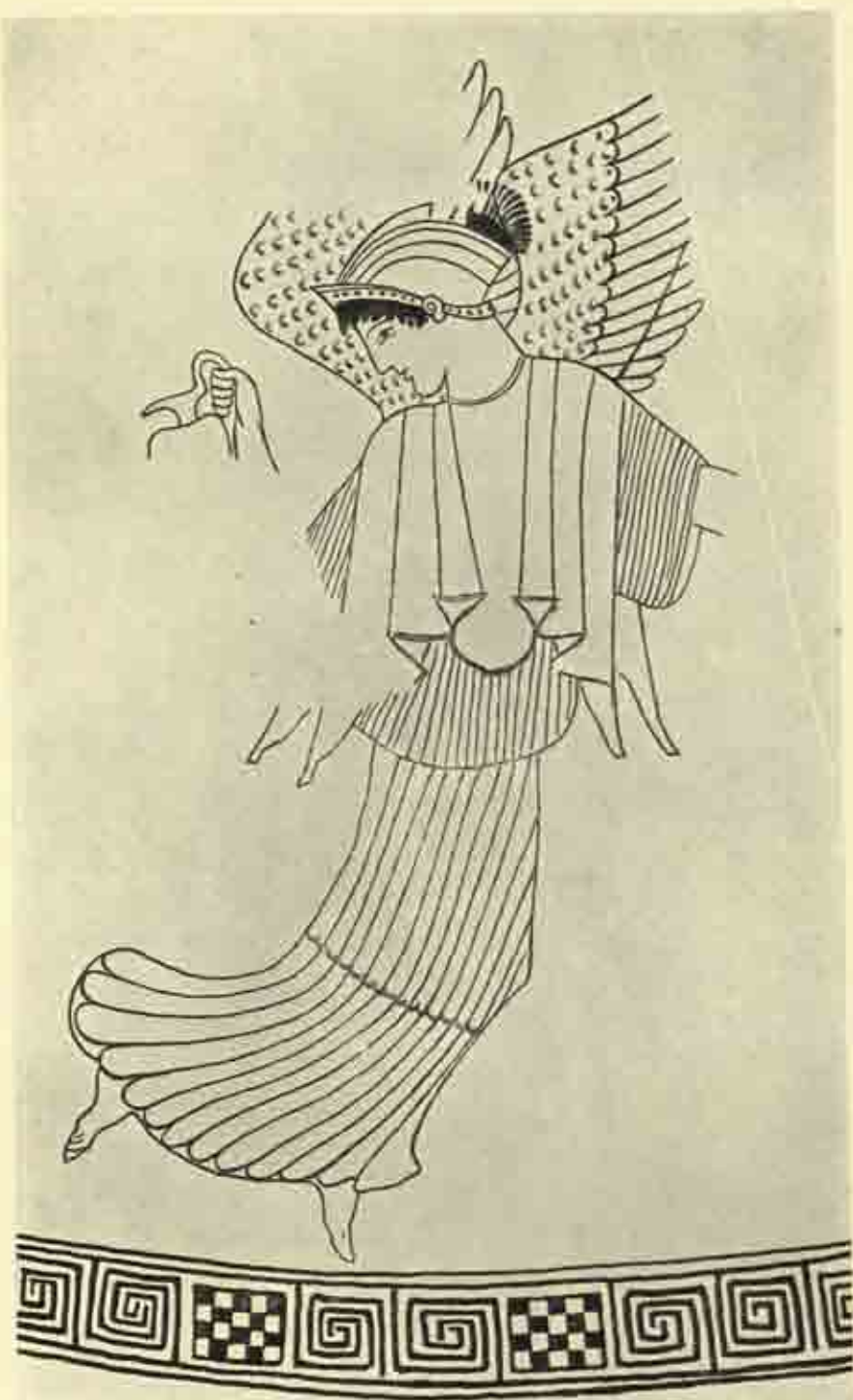




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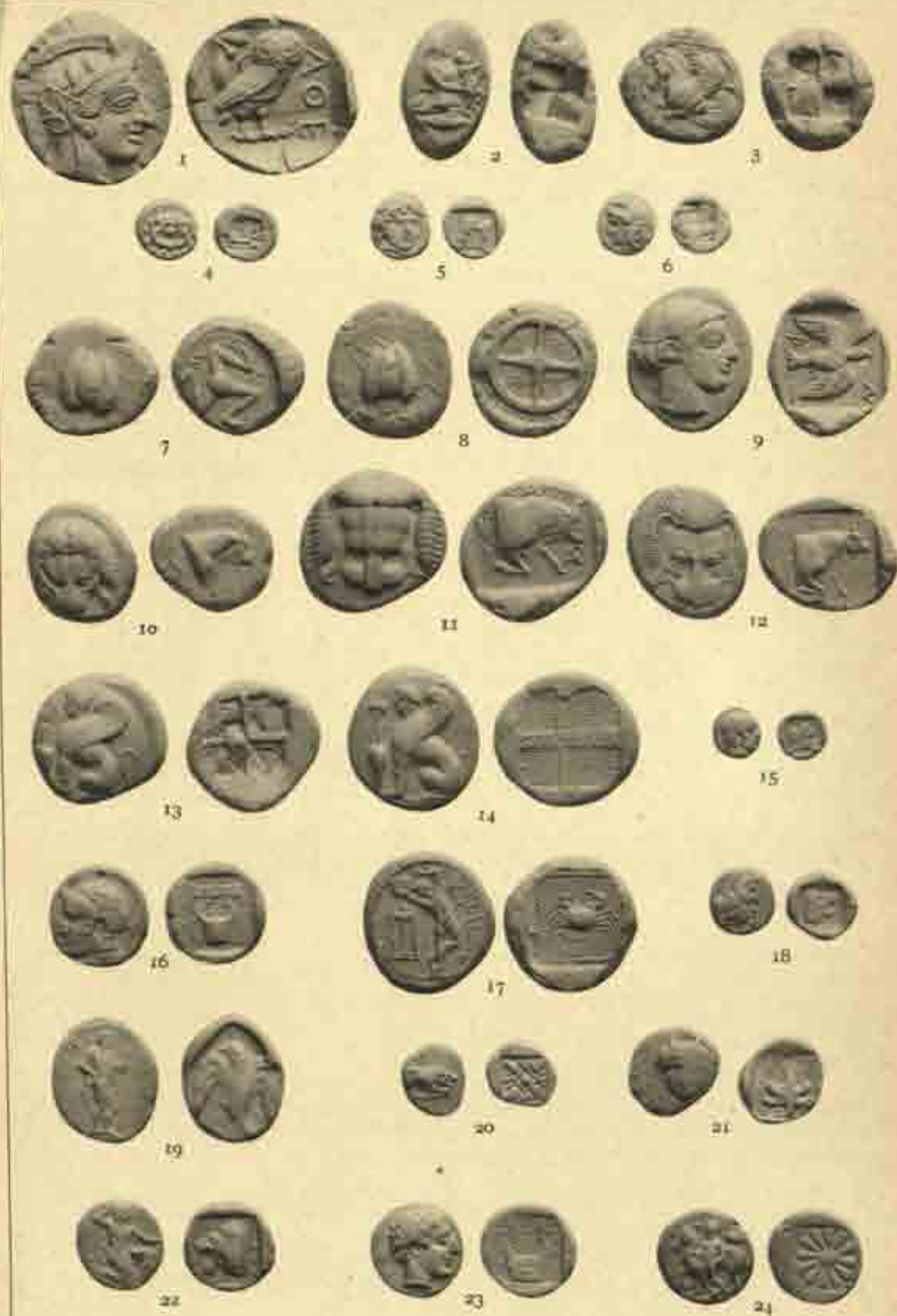


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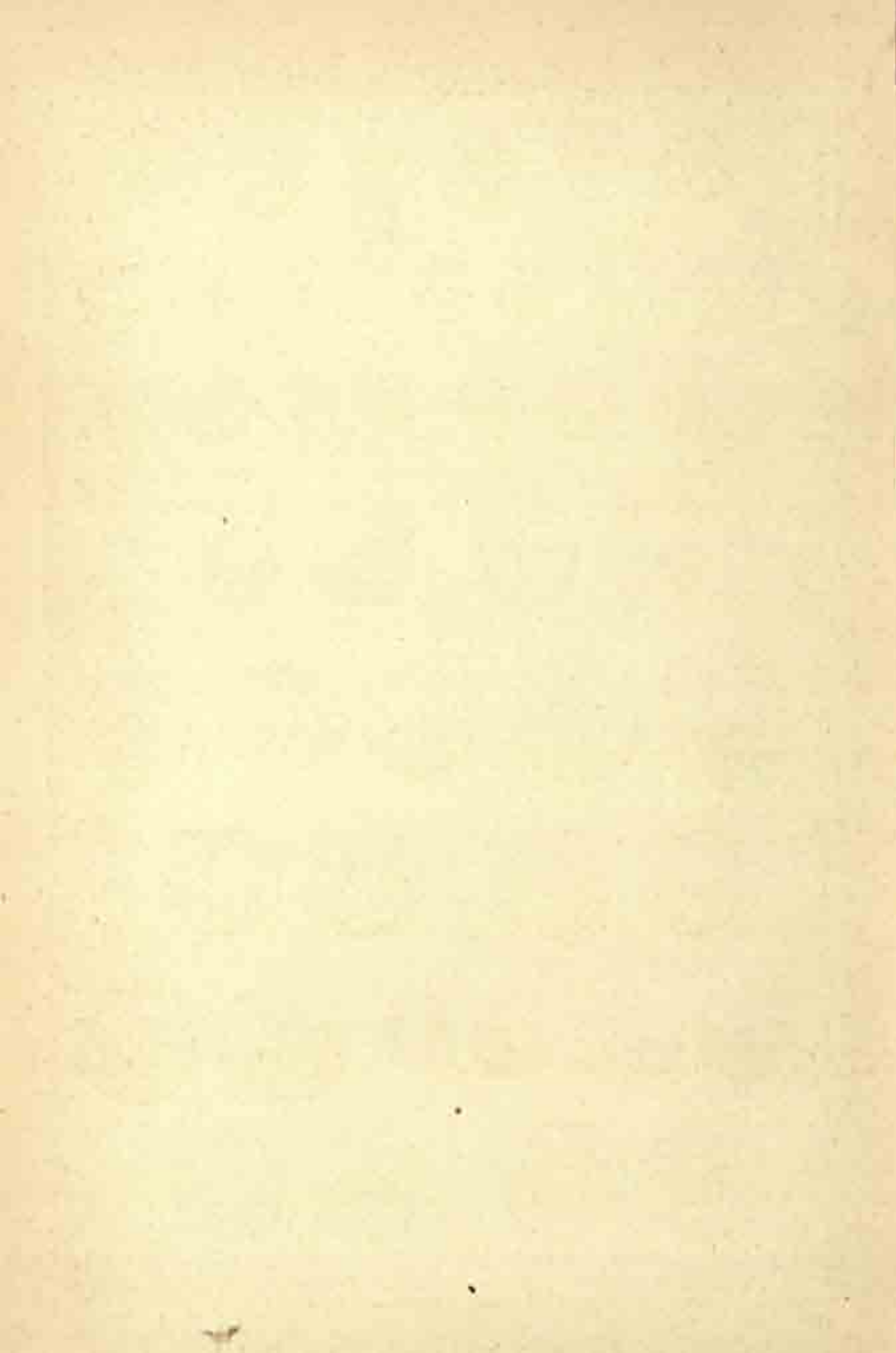


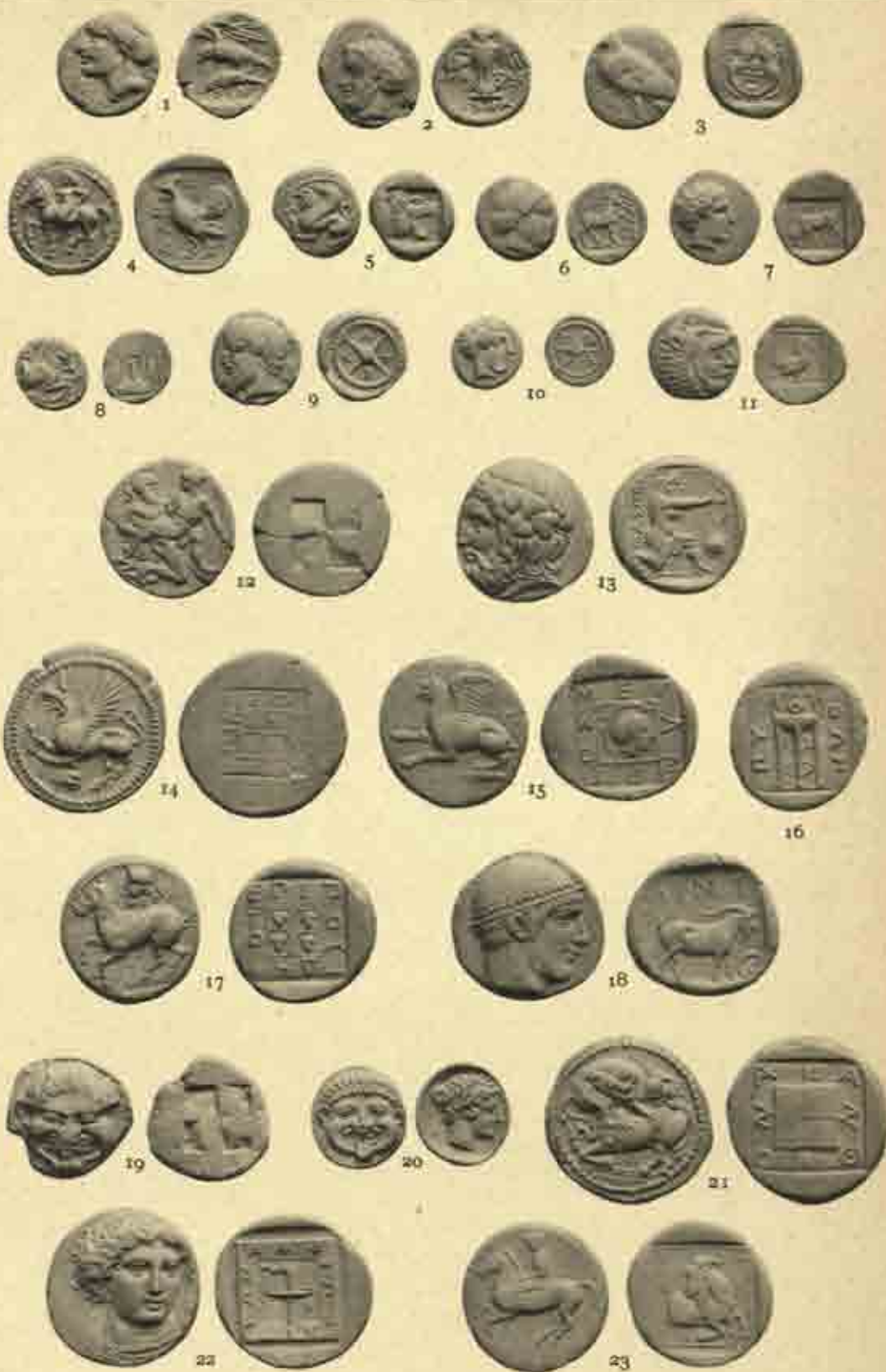
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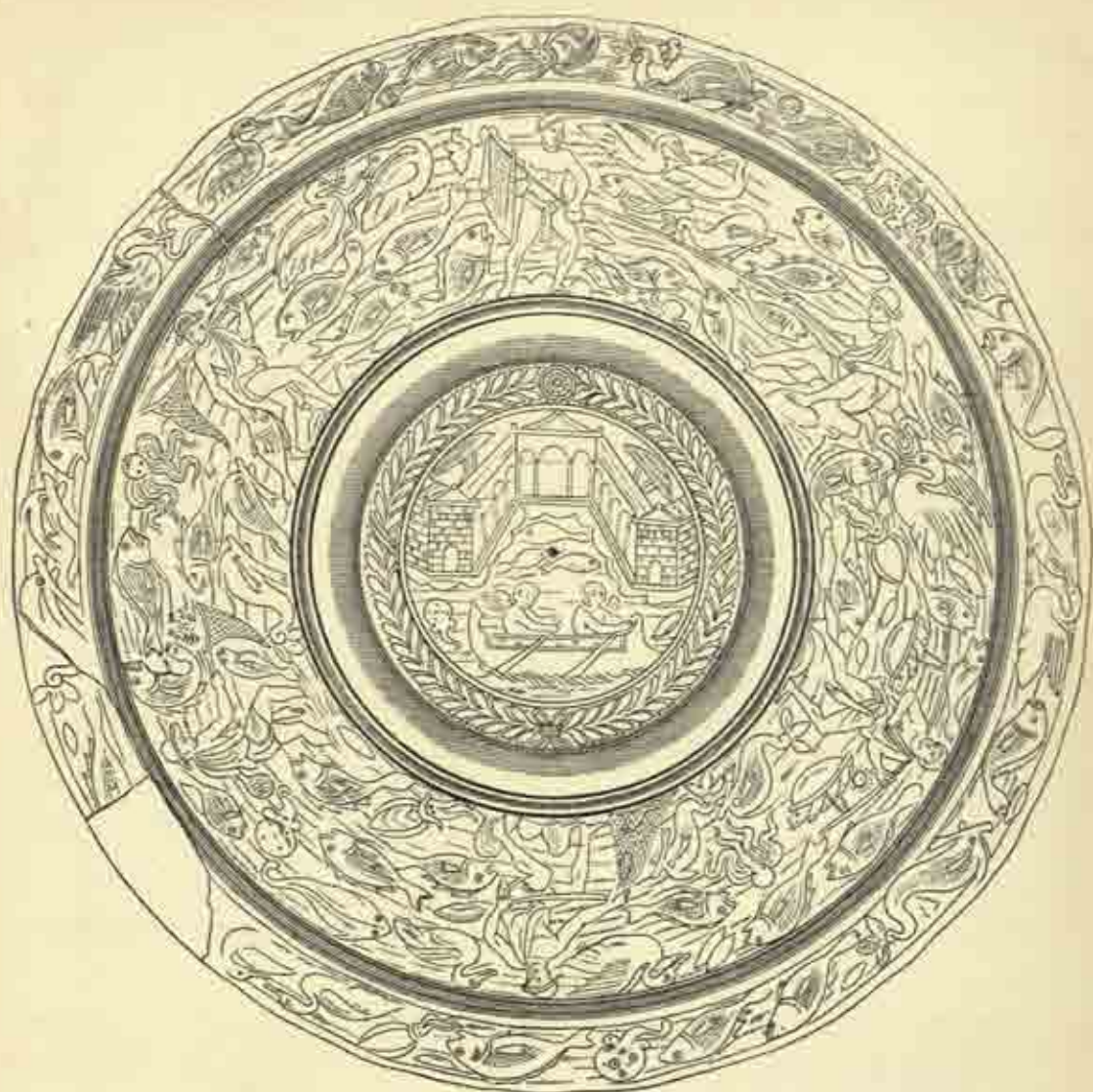
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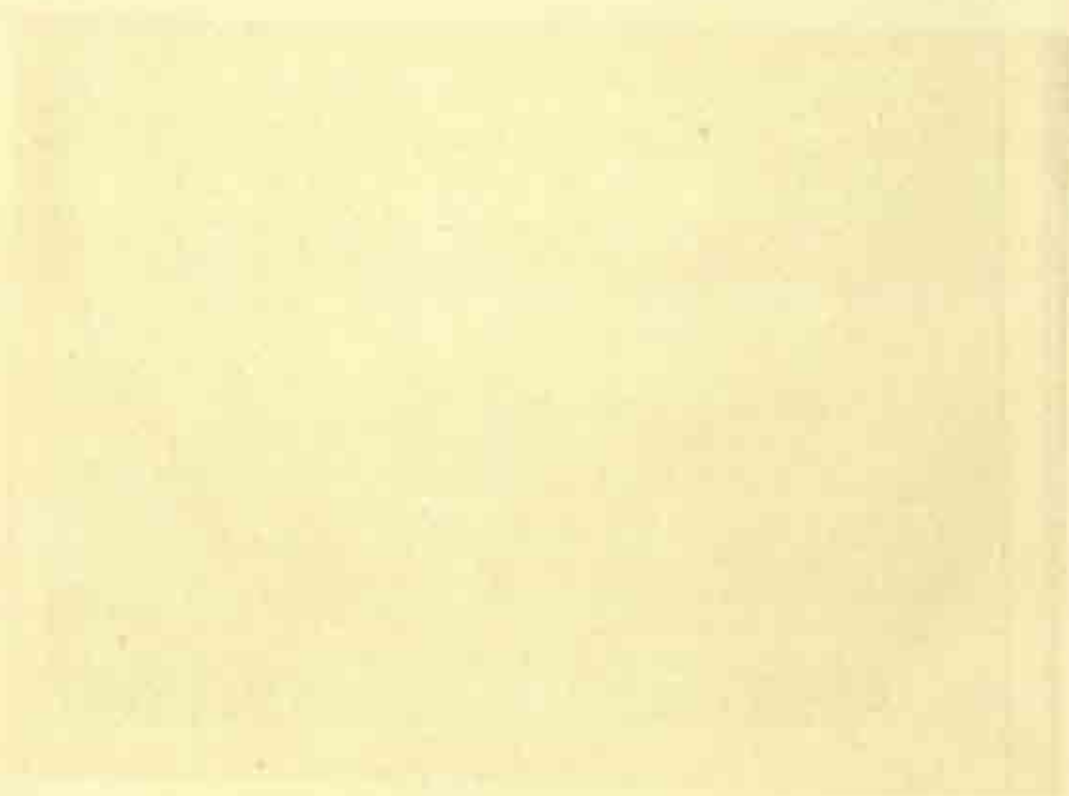
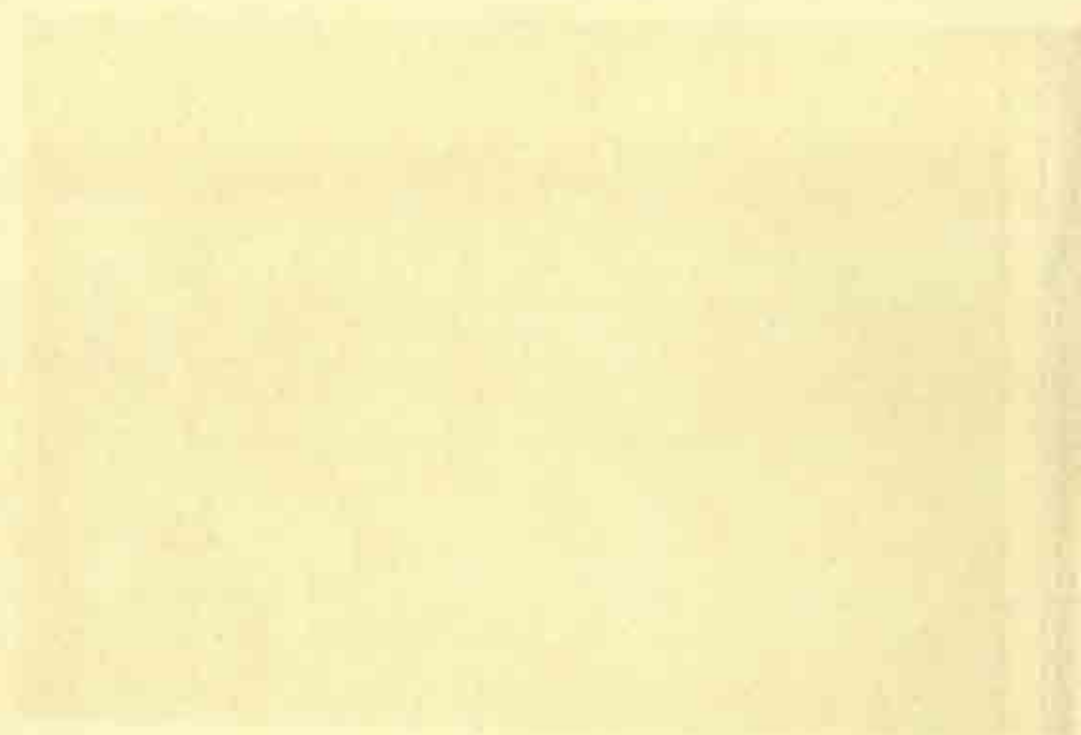
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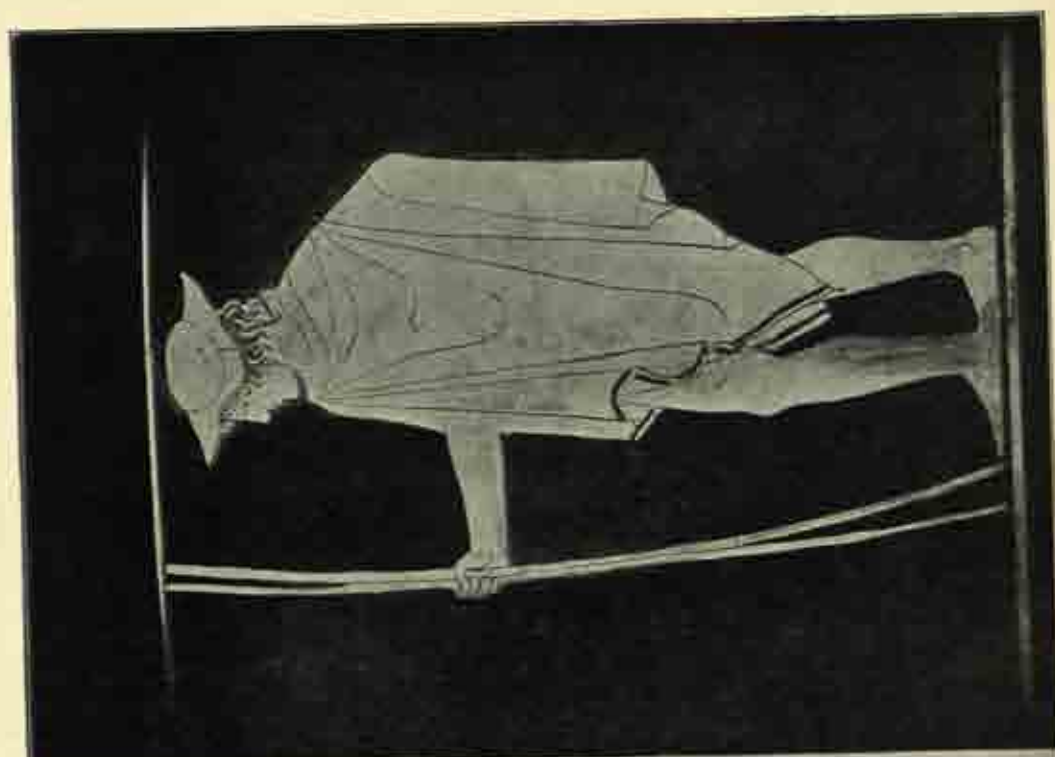
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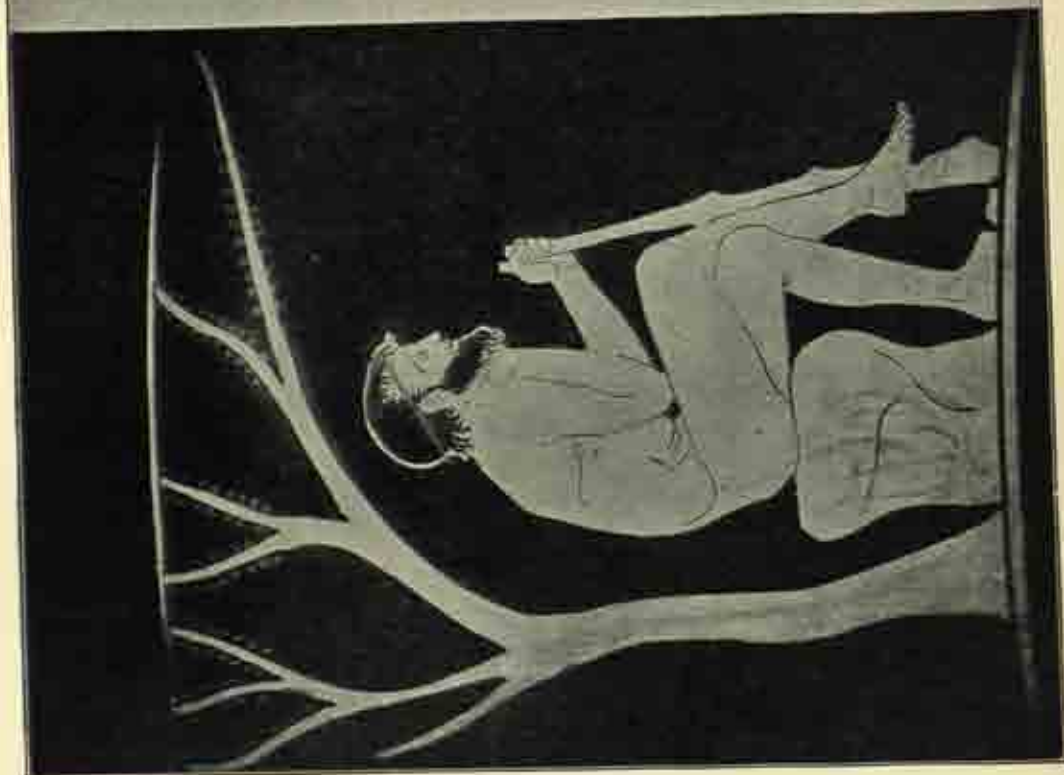


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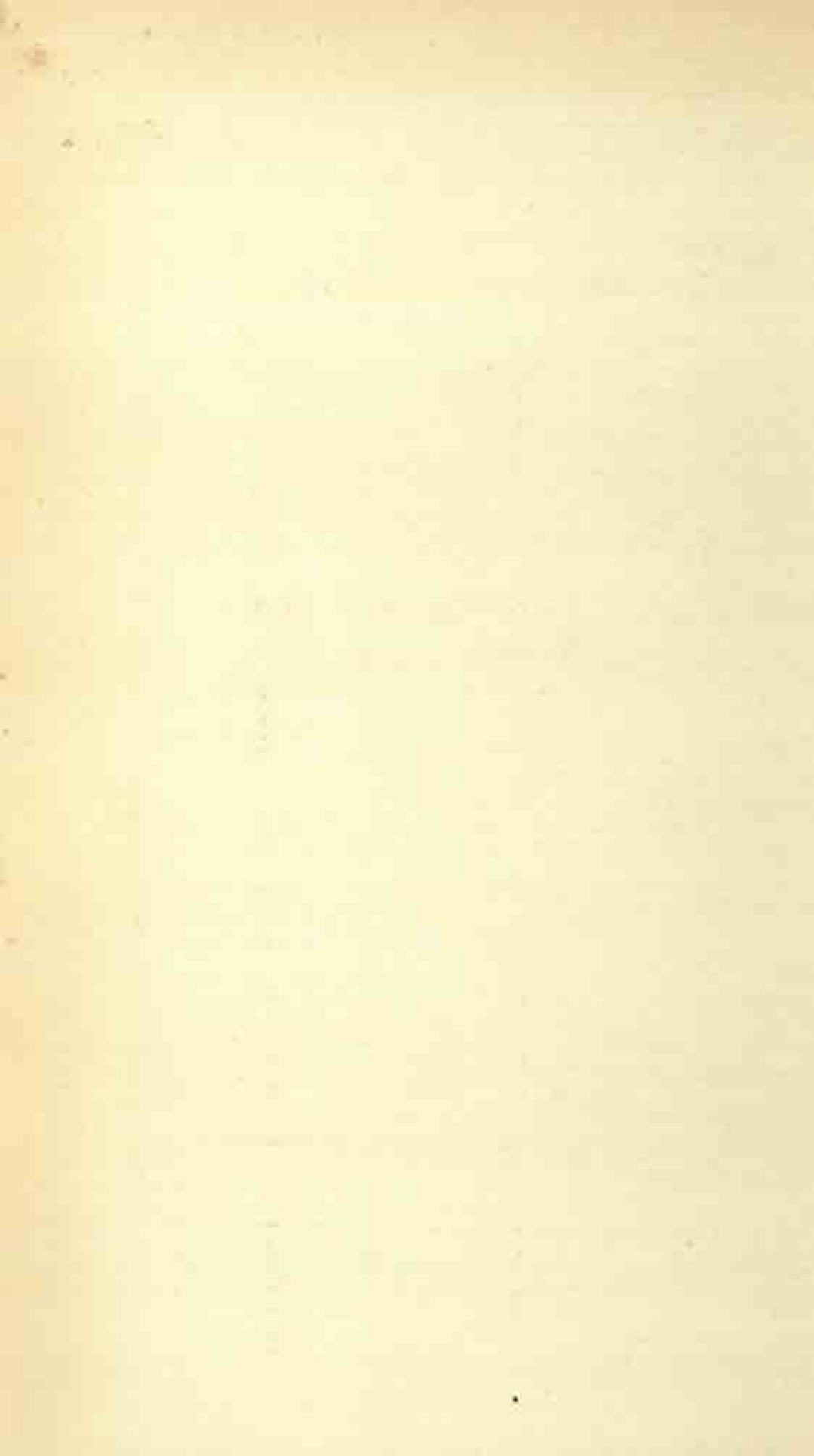
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A CATALOGUE
OF LANTERN SLIDES

IN THE

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THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC
AND ROMAN STUDIES

PREFACE

THE collection consists of 4,509 slides, of which 3,704 are Hellenic and 805 Roman.¹ The latter will be sensibly increased in the near future, several donations having been received too late for inclusion in this catalogue.

The slides published in the second catalogue, 1904, retain, except in very few instances, the numbers there given them. Since that date 2,476 slides have been added to the collection and, in addition to these, some 125 substitutions have been effected of better slides of subjects already catalogued. Some 350 slides have been removed. These withdrawals have proved one of the most difficult of the compiler's tasks, but, though aware that nobody will be satisfied in every instance, he thinks that as a whole the collection will be considered greatly improved by these removals. The better obsolete slides have been preserved, and may still be ordered under their own old numbers. They are not however included in this catalogue.

The following new features may be noted — With the consent of the Councils of both societies, the charge for hire has been reduced by half, *i.e.* every uncovered slide can now be hired at 1*d.* To achieve this result donors have generously waived their rights to free loans. A few slides, from recent lithographs by Mr. J. Pennell, have, with the consent of the artist, been added to the collection. Some coloured slides, by the new Paget process, have been added, particulars of which will be found on p. 11. The Maps and Plans have been grouped separately; so also has a substantial section on architecture, though, for convenience, these slides will still be found as well in their old places in the large section on Topography and Excavations. The Roman material has been distributed, so far as is possible, in its logical place throughout the catalogue. Vases of the geometrical and orientalizzing periods have been removed from the Prehellenic section and will be found prefixed to black-figured vases. Some of the more important coin portraits are reprinted with the sculptured portraits under the heading of Portraits. The selected sets of slides have been revised and amplified. Particulars of these will be found on pp. 145 *f.* Fully detailed Contents and Indices will be found at the beginning and end of the Catalogue.

Attention may here be drawn to a feature of the collections not strictly germane to the catalogue of slides. The Society now possesses some 1,000 whole-plate photographs, reproductions, and original drawings of similar size, uniformly and lightly mounted, and arranged in boxes with guide-cards describing their contents, each item having particulars and references transcribed on the back. The use of these to students is obvious. To take one instance, there is probably no other organization which offers facility for turning over so large a number of direct photographs and original drawings of early pottery.

The thanks of the Society are due to Prof. J. L. Myers, formerly Hon. Keeper of the Collections and the originator of the scheme on which they are

¹ This distinction is arbitrary and unsatisfactory, being based on ownership. The difficulty is got over by printing all the slides together in as logical an order as possible, the slides belonging to the Roman Society being prefixed with the letter R.

at present maintained. In the compilation of the present catalogue help is gratefully acknowledged to Messrs. E. J. Forsdyke, G. D. Hardinge-Tyler, G. F. Hill, J. H. Hopkinson, H. Mattingly, A. H. Smith, H. B. Walters, A. H. S. Yeames, Mrs. Esdaile and Miss Maud Penoyre. The Trustees of the British Museum have kindly presented the casts from which the coin slides are taken.

The major part of the collection is due to the generous donations of the following:—The Editors of the *Hellenic Journal*, the Committee of the British School at Athens, the late Mr. H. Awdry, Prof. E. A. Gardner, Miss Jane Harrison, Messrs. F. W. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, W. J. Stillman, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong and the Librarian.

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JOHN V. BAKER-PENOYRE

November, 1913.

Note.—Members are particularly desired to order their slides a few days in advance. It is always undesirable and often impossible to hold up the whole work of the Library, in order to send out slides at a moment's notice. There is moreover the danger that the slides may have been booked for other lectures. By far the best method of selecting slides is to inspect the corresponding prints, kept at 19 Bloomsbury Square in the order of the catalogue, and note the numbers.

NOTE.—For Regulations for loan of slides, &c., see inside of wrapper at beginning.

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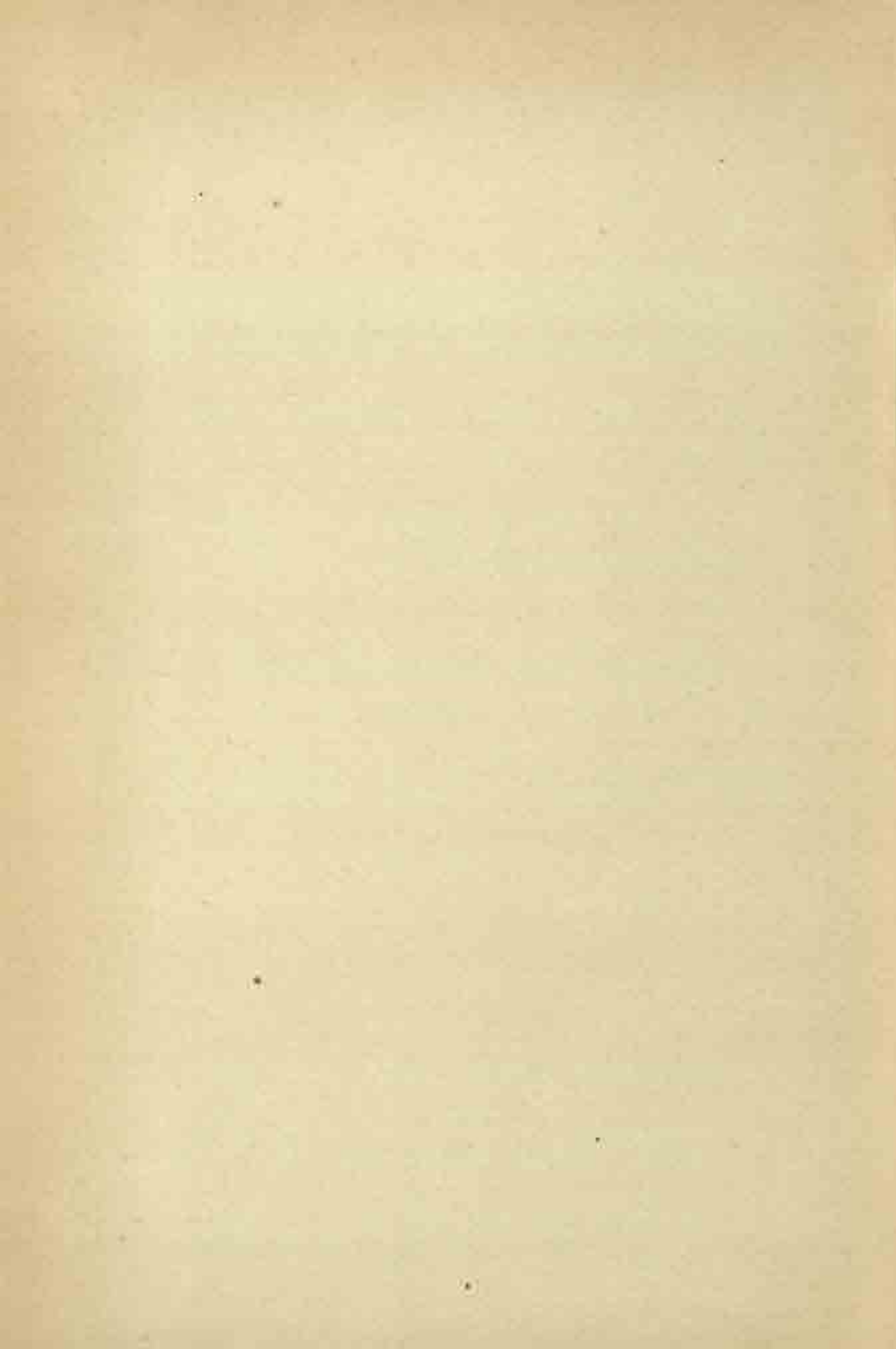
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A CATALOGUE OF LANTERN SLIDES

I.

COLOURED SLIDES.

List of coloured slides taken by the Paget Prize Plate process.

The following slides can be hired at 3d. each, or purchased at 2s. each. A slide by this process can be had of many coloured plates in the library at 4s. each. Members desiring them need only quote the references to the volume and plate in the *Liberarius*. The prices given are special rates for members of the Society.

Lecturers should note that these slides cannot be seen to advantage when standing close to the screen. At a little distance the bright spots of apparently arbitrary colour merge into one another and give the correct colour, in many instances to a remarkable degree.

- A1 Fresco representing facade of Minoan temple. (*J.H.S.* xxi. pl. 6.)
- A2 Early coloured Cretan stone jar. (*Herkul.* pl. 4.)
- A3 Primitive Cretan painted ware. (*J.H.S.* xxi. pl. 7.)
- A13
- A14 Kameiros vases excavated by the British School at Athens, at the Kameiros cave, 1903.
- A15 (From coloured drawings by R. M. Dawkins and J. P. Droop.)
- A16
- A17
- A24 Vase from Phylakopi; native imitation of Cretan L. M. I.
- A26 A burial jar from Machlos Cemetery. L. M. I. period. (*Machlos*, pl. 11.)
- A21 Minoan painted milk-calfs from Psarafa. (*H.S.A.* ix. pl. 6; 9.)
- A3 Triton-Herschel-Typhon pediment, in architectural setting. (Wiegand, pl. 1.)
- A4 " " " (Wiegand, pl. 4.)
- A5 Snake-palladium. (Wiegand, pl. 5.)
- A6 Angle of a Doric ante-temple. (Haumender, *Denk.* pl. 46.)
- A25 Geometrical vase from Rhinona. (*B.S.A.* xiv. pl. 8.)
- A28 Painted terra-cotta from Rhinona: an 600. (*B.S.A.* xiv. pl. 7a.)
- A29 " " " " a classical style. (*B.S.A.* xiv. pl. 7b.)
- A22 Italian Orientalising vase from Polledrara. (*J.H.S.* xiv. pl. 6.)
- A23 Proto-Corinthian vase: the Maennlian Lekythos. (*Cl. J.H.S.* xi. pl. 2.)
- A7 R.F. Vase. Kylix by Nionthous. Original coloured drawing. (*Cl. J.H.S.* vi. pl. 29.)
- A8 Alexander Sarcophagus: both long sides. (*Necropole de Sidon*, pls. 34; 35.)
- A9 " " gable end (id. pl. 37.)
- A10 " " " (id. pl. 38.)
- A11 Painted sarcophagus from Corneto: warrior and Amazon. Florence. (*J.H.S.* iv. pl. 39.)
- A12 Pompeian wall painting, Apollo and Python. Casa del Vett. E.

NOTE:—These slides are also distributed, under these numbers, in their places in the main Catalogue.

II.

MAPS, PLANS, AND SECTIONS.

NOTE.—The following slides are also distributed throughout the section on *Topography and Excavations* (pp. 15-54).

- 7329 **Aegean basin**, map of. (Grimby, *Atlas*, pl. II.)
 8471 " " "
 7101 **Alexander**, sketch map illustrating the march of, to India.
 2172 **Argolis**, map of. (Schuchhardt, *Schömann*, pl. 3.)
 5762 **Asia Minor**, map of. (Physical; no names.)
 7042 " " " and adjoining eastern districts.
 5452 **Assos**, plan of the agora. (*Investigations at Assos*, pl. 21.)
 301 **Athens**, plan of. (Harrison and Verrill, pl. facing p. 1.)
 7909 " " (Tucker, *Ancient Athens*, frontispiece.)
 6369 " plan of central district. (Murray, *Greece*, p. 257.)
 7915 " Acropolis, plan of, before the Persian wars. (Harrison, *Principles Athens*, p. 12.)
 7919 " " (Jahn-Michaelis, *Arch. Athenarum*, p. 7.)
 863 " " " (Harrison and Verrill, p. 343.)
 865 " Propylaea, plan of.
 7035 " Parthenon, plan of.
 5476 " Erechtheum, plan of. (*IAA. Mit.* 1904, pl. 8.)
 228 " " "
 616 " plan of Pre-Persian temple.
 131 " plan of theatre of Dionysus.
 5870 " Asklepieion, plan of.
 2812 " plan of excavations W. of Acropolis.
 9810 " " "
 223 " plan of Agora. (Harrison and Verrill, p. 5.)
 5482 **Attica**, map of. (Fraser, *Paestanica*, pl. 2.)
 6385 **Boeotia**, Attica, and Megara, map of.
 1398 **Budrum Castle**, plan of. (Newton, *Halicarnassus*, &c., pl. 32.)
 7912 **Caria**, S.W., map of. (Kiepert, *Finca. v. 8. Antiqu.* part of pl. 9.)
 6012 **Chaeronea**, plan of battlefield, showing tumulus of the Macedonians.
 1406 **Cnidus**, plan of. (Newton, *Halicarnassus*, &c., pl. 58.)
 1491 " temples of Demeter, plan and section. (Newton, *Halicarnassus*, &c., pl. 58.)
 3828 **Cnossos**, palace plan, 1901-2. (*B.S.A.* vii. frontispiece.)
 8368 " " 1904.
 7904 " plan and section of the shrine of the double axes. (*B.S.A.* viii. fig. 35.)
 7905 " royal villa, plan and section. (*B.S.A.* ix. pl. 1.)
 4 **Constantinople**, plan of. (Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 19.)
 3920 **Cox**, the Asklepieion, plan of the site. (After Herzog.)
 5200 **Crete**, map of. (Orographical; no names.)
 7998 " outline map of. (Barrow, *Crete*, pl. 2.)
 6729 **Cyprus**, map of.
 5489 **Delphi**, plan of the whole site, restored. (*Delphi*, ii. pl. 6.)
 351 **Eleusis**, plan of.

- 5405 **Eliu**, map of. (Fraser, *Pausanias*, map 6.)
 98 **Ephesus**, map of. (B.M. *Ephesus*, folded plate, central portion.)
 1040 **Epidaurus**, plan of Nicom.
 388 " plan of theatre.
 818 **Gba**, plan of the fortress. (Theodor and Mauat, p. 376.)
 5491 **Greece**, map of. (Fraser, *Pausanias*, map 1.)
 5481 " orographical map of (no names).
 7916 " and the Aegean, outline map of. (Marden, *Greece*, frontispiece.)
 9896 **Hagia Triada**, plan of. (Mey. *East. Lomb. Cl. d. Lettere* xxi. pl. 1.)
 1987 **Halicarnassus**, plan of. (Newton, *Halicarnassus*, etc., pl. 1.)
 1368 " Bodrum Castle, plan of. (Newton, pl. 32.)
 2175 **Italy**, map of central, in the Fourth century A.D.
 7251 **Laconia**, map of.
 9811 **Mantinea**, plan of. (Cl. *Fraser*, *Mantinea*, pl. 8.)
 7324 **Marathon**, plan of. (Grundy, *Atlas*, pl. 13b.)
 9812 **Megalopolis**, plan of. (*Megalopolis*, part of pl. 1.)
 1064 " plan of the theatre and Thermen.
 5465 **Mesaznia**, map of. (Fraser, *Pausanias*, map 5.)
 478 **Mycenae**, ground plan. (Schuchhardt, *Mykenae*, p. 298.)
 2565 " " of houses and stairs. (Perrot et Chipiez, vi. fig. 114.)
 3803 " " treasury of Atreus, ground plan.
 3903 " " " longitudinal section.
 7327 **Mykale**, plan of the battle. (Grundy, *Atlas*, pl. 13b.)
 2171 **Nauplia**, gulf of. (Admiralty chart.)
 2646 **Olympia**, map of Eliu. (*Olympia*, Mappes 1.)
 2847 " and neighbourhood, map of. (*Ol.* Mappes II.)
 4488 " map of, after excavation, showing all periods together. (Blumhoffer, 26.)
 2618 " " Hellenic period, ca. 800 A.D. (*Ol.* Mappes III.)
 2619 " " Roman period, ca. 200 A.D. (*Ol.* Mappes IV.)
 2620 " " Byzantine period, in two slides. (*Ol.* Mappes V. & 6.)
 2622 " plan of Heraeum, stairs, Motenon. (*Ol.* Mappes VI. a.)
 2623 " " south portion, orientation, temple of Zeus. (*Ol.* Mappes VI. c.)
 2624 " " Echo portion, treasury, stadium. (*Ol.* Mappes VI. d.)
 2626 " " section, diagonally through Heraeum, Pelopion, temple of Zeus. (*Ol.* pl. 125.)
 2627 " " " " Leonidaeum and temple of Zeus (at right angles to preceding). (*Ol.* pl. 126.)
 2628 " " the same continued: temple of Zeus, Echo portion; S.E. building and house of Nero. (*Ol.* pl. 127.)
 2629 " " through the treasury, longitudinal and across. (*Ol.* pl. 128.)
 2630 " temple of Zeus: ground plan. (*Ol.* pl. 9.)
 2631 " " " " cross section. (*Ol.* pl. 10.)
 2632 " " palaestra ground plan.
 1451 **Palaiokastro**, plan of excavations. (Cl. *H.S.A.* ix. pl. 6.)
 1578 **Peloponnesus**, map of.
 5738 " " " " (Orographical, no names.)
 735 **Pergamon**, plan of.
 9901 " map of the region round. (*Pergamon*, p. 2.)
 9902 " general plan of the Acropolis and Agora, present state. (*Pergamon*, pl. 4.)
 9914 " restored plan of the Acropolis and Agora. (*Pergamon*, pl. 11.)
 9915 " plan of the library. (*Pergamon*, 137.)
 8184 " " house of Attalus. (*Ath. Mitt.* xxxii. pl. 14.)
 5185 " " section from Agora to the house of Attalus. (*Ath. Mitt.* xxxii. p. 136.)
 9904 " restored plan of the great altar. (*Pergamon*, pl. 5.)
 48 **Phaistos**, plan of. (*Ath. Mitt.* xxx. pl. 19.)
 5470 **Phocis**, map of. (Fraser, *Pausanias*, map 18.)
 7150 **Phoenicia**, map of. (B.M. *Cat. of Coins*, *Phoenicia*, p. 211.)
 7372 **Piraeus and neighbourhood**. Plans and elevations of several groups. (Cholsey, *L'Archéologie grecque*, pl. 1, 2.)

- 7573 **Piræus** and neighbourhood. Plans and elevations of arsenal. (Tholey, *Épigraphes grecques*, pl. 1, 2.)
- 7575 **Plataea**, plan of the battlefield. (Grundy, *Atlas*, pl. 12, 1.)
- 9401 **Prisene**, map of. (Wiegand and Schrader, *Prisene*, pl. 2.)
- 9802 " the Ekklesiastion, restored plan. (Wiegand and Schrader, *Prisene*, fig. 211.)
- 3455 **Pylos** and environs, map of. Present state. (*J.H.S.* xvi. pl. 3.)
- 3921 " map of, from original drawing. (*Cl. J.H.S.* xvi. pl. 5.)
- 4485 " " illustrating Mr. Grundy's theory of the operations. (*J.H.S.* xvi. pl. 2.)
- 4486 " plan of the *salamis* *Ipseus* on Sphacteria. (*J.H.S.* p. 152, fig. 1.)
- B3797 **Rome** in the fourth century. Model and plan by P. Bigot. (*Cl. J.H.S.* vol. 1, pl. 1.)
- B3797a " Model of Rome in the fourth century. (As above.)
- B3797b " Plan " " " " "
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- B3828 " " " " Basilica Aemilia.
- B3829 " " " " S. Maria Antiqua.
- B3830 " " " " Atrium Vestae.
- B3831 " " " " Horrea.
- B3832 " " " " N. side of Palatinus.
- 3464 **Salamis**, map of the straits.
- 6333 " map of.
- 6337 **Sparta**, map shewing the whole enceinte of the walls.
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- 6802 " the shrine of Artemis Orthia. Plan of the excavation in 1906. (*B.S.A.* xii. pl. 8.)
- 6894 " " " " " The foregoing slide (6802) slightly altered.
- 6891 " " " " " Section along trench A. (*B.S.A.* xii. pl. 8.)
- 6830 " " " " " Plan of the excavation in 1907. (*B.S.A.* xiii. pl. 2.)
- 6829 " " " " " Sections of the excavations, 1907. (*B.S.A.* xiii. pl. 8.)
- 6828 " " " " " Part of the section of the excavations, 1907, on a larger scale. (*B.S.A.* xiii. pl. 8.)
- 6835 " " " " " Plan showing the results of the excavations of 1908.
- 6834 " " " " " Section showing the results of the excavations in 1908.
- 7974 " the Monachium; plan and elevations. (*B.S.A.* xv. pl. 5.)
- 7977 " " " sections. (*B.S.A.* xv. pl. 5.)
- 349 **Syracuse**, plan of.
- 2581 **Thasos**, map of the island. (*J.H.S.* xxix. pl. 12.)
- 2582 " plan of Limnaea. (*ibid.* pl. 14.)
- 2579 " Limnaea, plan of the Acropolis. (*ibid.* p. 208.)
- 2578 " shrine of Pan, plan and sections. (*ibid.* p. 217.)
- 2580 " map of Alike and neighbourhood. (*ibid.* pl. 16.)
- 2568-3 **Thera**, plans of houses. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi., figs. 29, 30.)
- 7248 **Thermopylae**, plan of the pass. (Grundy, *Atlas*, pl. 13.)
- 402 **Tiryns**, ground plan of.
- 2715 " " compared with Mycenae. (*J.H.S.* xx. p. 131.)
- 400 " " of Megaron.
- 4038 " restored section of Megaron. (*J.H.S.* vii. p. 165, fig. 6.)
- 6540 **Troad**, map of the. (Dörpfeld, *Troja*, pl. 1.)
- 5971 **Troy**, plan of. (Dörpfeld, *Troja*, pl. 3.)
- 7947 " section showing different strata. (Dörpfeld, *Troja*, p. 52, fig. 6.)
- 7948 " 2nd city, plan of gateway. (Dörpfeld, *Troja*, p. 52, fig. 10.)
- 2569 " plan of houses. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi., fig. 48.)
- 6831 **Zerelia**, map of the neighbourhood (from Vale to Isphail).
- 6830 " plan of the site.
- 6833 " section of the site.

III.

TOPOGRAPHY AND EXCAVATIONS.

FURTHER EAST

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| 7101 | | Sketch map illustrating the march of Alexander to India. |
| 1661 | Abn, | Jain temple at Devalwara : columns and shrines. |
| 1662 | " " | " " " hall of elephants. |
| 1663 | Balloor, | near Bangalore : Indian temple. |
| 5800 | Euphrates | at Khalfat. |
| 5780-3 | " " | Roman Bridge near Kishkin. |
| 5800 | " " | above Melitene. |
| 5784 | " " | Roman Bridge on Severus' road to Melitene at Kenur. |
| 5897 | " " | near Kelan Maden. |
| 5808 | " " | below Samosata. |
| 4696 | Khorsabad, | Palace of Sargon : restoration. (Perrot and Chipiez, II. pl. 5.) |
| 1694 | Khyber Pass, | rise of. |
| 1047 | Persepolis, | palace of Darius, portico. (Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, v. fig. 202. |
| 1651 | " " | royal tomb. (Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, v. pl. I.) |
| 1655 | " " | temples of Xerxes. (Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, v. pl. I.) |

SYRIA.

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| 7150 | Map of Phoenicia (B.M. Cat. of Coins, <i>Phoenicia</i> , p. xlii.). |
| 5732 | Baalbek , fore court of great temple. |
| 193 | " " smaller temple, doorway with key-stone raised. |
| 5751 | " " " detail of doorway. |
| 5790 | " " " capitals. |
| 5722 | " " " detail of doorway. |
| 5721 | " " octagonal temple ('Temple of Venus'). |
| 197 | " " detail of the ceiling of the best preserved temple. |
| 1061 | Damascus , view of the alleged 'street which is called Straight.' |
| 5776 | Diocæsarea , temple near. |
| 1672 | Gaza , Arab shepherd near. |
| 1062 | Lebanon , cedars on Mount. |
| 1002 | Palmyra , triumphal arch showing key-stone in danger. (Cf. Wood, <i>Palmyra</i> , pl. 26.) |
| 1014 | " " the greater altar looking S.E. (Cf. <i>id.</i> , pl. 33.) |
| 1024 | " " temple of the Sun, outer peristyle. (Cf. <i>id.</i> , pl. 21.) |
| 1029 | " " " " " " " " " " " " |
| 1008 | " " " " " " " " " " " " |
| 1031 | " " " " " " " " " " " " |

ASIA MINOR continued.

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| 4121 | Cyzicus, general view looking E. |
| 4149 | " the amphitheatre. |
| 4186 | " gate in N. wall near amphitheatre. |
| 4233 | " district, hill of S. Sincon, near Artaki. |
| 4234 | " " Marmara: coibelled gateway in Hellenic wall. |
| 4608 | " " church of S. Nicolas at Palatia in Marmara. (<i>J.H.S.</i> xxix, pl. 8.) |
| 4610 | " " blessing the ants at Prastoe in Marmara. |
| 3743 | Didyma, temple of Apollo; decorated column base. |
| 3744 | " " " " panelled base of column. |
| 3745 | " " " " Gorgoneion forming part of entablature. |
| 7648 | " " " " " " |
| 5304 | Egirdir, Lake of. |
| 60 | Ephesus, insp. of. (B.M. <i>Ephesus</i> , central portion of folded plate.) |
| 3117 | " general view looking N. from Mount Priou. |
| 3100 | " " " W., showing the aqueduct. |
| 4160 | " " " from the theatre. |
| 7275 | " temple of Artemis, restoration. (B.M. Cat. of Sculpture, II. fig. 3.) |
| 4023 | " " " during excavations showing sculptures <i>in situ</i> . |
| 3115 | " " " view towards large mosque. |
| 297 | " " " Ionic capital as formerly reconstructed. B.M. |
| 298 | } " " " views of a fragment, identified 1913; now inserted. |
| 299 | |
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| 3125 | " theatre before excavations. |
| 5593 | " " relief of bulls' heads. |
| 5587 | " " the substructure of the stage. |
| 3209 | " " the proscenium. |
| 3212 | " " the continuation of the proceeding. |
| 7480 | " street leading to library. |
| 4170 | " the library. |
| 3135 | " gymnasium. |
| 4266 | " round building restored (Beudorf, <i>Forsch. in Eph.</i> pl. 5). |
| 3128 | " Coressian arch. |
| 3112 | " 'gate of persecution.' |
| 3133 | " 'prison of S. Paul.' |
| 3130 | " remains of 'tomb of S. Luke.' |
| 3114 | " W. entrance of large mosque. |
| 9442 | Granicus, Roman bridge, at Ak Kupra. |
| 1397 | Halicarnassus, plan (Newton, <i>Halicarnassus</i> , etc. pl. 1). |
| 4670 | " gateway on N. side. |
| 1388 | " Bodrum Castle, plan. (Newton, pl. 32.) |
| 1390 | " " view. (Newton, pl. 33.) |
| 3921 | " " general view of the bay and castle. |
| 7646 | " " general view from the sea. |
| 4671 | " " detail of interior wall sheving court of arms. |
| 7169 | " " general view of the interior. |
| 5272 | " " relief of S. George and the Dragon. |
| <i>See also the Section on the Mausoleum in the Sculpture series, pp. 90 f.</i> | |
| 7164 | Hierapolis (Phrygia) Gymnasium from S.W. |
| 7109 | " " cascades looking down valley. |
| 3154 | " " from theatre looking W. |
| 3753 | Iasos, type of built tomb. |

ASIA MINOR, *continued*.

- 2303 **Philadelphia** (Alashehr), distant view of town from N. wall.
 3158 " " from top of hill.
 6254 **Phocaea**, the larger harbour.
 6253 " " loading salt in the lesser harbour.
 6256 " " houses on the peninsula.
 6267 " " later tower outside the town.
 6437 " " inscription of Dorino Gattelusio. (*R.S.A.* xv. p. 259, Fig. 9.)
 4343 **Philoia** (Savremat) : thrashing with oxen.
 2801 **Prione**, map of. (Wiegand and Schneider, *Prione*, plate 2.)
 2802 " " the Ekklesion, restored plan (*ib.*, fig. 211).
 2804 " " " " interior from N. (*ib.*, fig. 212).
 6303 " " reconstruction of house No. xxviii. (*ib.*, fig. 229).
 2237 **Rangarius** river : bridge of Justinian, general view.
 2316 " " " " " " from E.
 2652 " " " " " " " " exodra.
 3160 **Sardia**, temple of Cybele.
 3161 " " ruins of Christian church.
 5779 **Seiencis** (Ciliclar), 'pirate' tower near.
 2940 **Silyon**, gate of Acropolis.
 3102 **Smyrna**, church of S. Elias, S. Anne's Valley.
 3103 " " ancient aqueduct, S. Anne's Valley.
 2574 " " Roman bridge.
 2575 " " mouth of the Meles.
 5798 **Taurus** from Sia.
 5777 **Taurus** district. Kaslu Kavak, Roman milestone.
 5803 " " " " " " " " Manish.
 5811 " " " " " " " " gorge of Pyramus.
 4368 " " " " " " " " pass between Phlurnas and Adana. N. side.
 4371 " " " " " " " " " " S. side.
 4366 " " " " " " " " collecting folk tales (R.M.D.).
 4360 " " " " " " " " Mithraic inscription.
 7177 **Termeasus** (Pisiblas) theatre from S.
 7178 **Termeasus**, see Makri.
 7175 " " " " " " " " theatre, proscenium wall from N.W.
 7176 " " " " " " " " ancient fountain on road leading up to Termeasus.
 2957 **Thyatira**, an arabah at.
 6546 **Troad**, map of the (Dörpfeld, *Troja*, pl. 1).
 5971 **Troy**, plan. (Dörpfeld, *Troja*, pl. 3).
 7947 " " section showing different strata (Dörpfeld, *Troja*, p. 32, fig. 6).
 7948 " " 2nd city, plan of gateway (*ib.*, p. 32, fig. 10).
 2569 " " plan of houses. (Parrot and Chipiez, vi. fig. 48.)
 5607 " " 1st city, traces of.
 5599 " " 2nd city, great ramp.
 5600 " " " " walls of adobe.
 5601 " " 6th city, walls of building on the S. side.
 5602 " " " " another view of preceding.
 5603 " " " " blocked gate leading to wall.
 1485 " " " " the great N.E. tower (with the walls and steps of the 8th city).
 5602 " " " " ascent to the palace.
 1485 " " 8th city, N.E. walls and stairway (with the tower of the 6th city).
 5604 " " 9th city, the Roman theatre, orchestra and auditorium from stage.
 For objects discovered at Troy see the *Prehellenic section*, pp. 59, 63.
- 1445 **Trojan Plain**, oxen ploughing.
 1073 " " " " " " " " " " " "

ASIA MINOR, *continued.*

- 1446 **Trojan Plain** (*continued*), a canal train.
 1447 " " a stork's nest.
 5605 " " bridge over the Scamander.

472 **Xanthos**, 'Harpy tomb' in situ.

3244 An excavator in quarantine. (D.G.H.)

Hittite Monuments.

- 880 **Arsilan Tash**, lion st.
 5768 **Arsilan Tepe**, near Miletus, relief from (in Constantinople).
 5764 **Bor**, stone from (now in Constantinople).
 886 **Praktin**, rock sculpture st.
 5766 **Izghin**, obelisk from (in Constantinople).
 8298 **Kalkhane** (near Konia), lions in courtyard of Khau.
 5765 **Kolibolu Yaila**, stone st.
 881 **Palanka Chiftlik**, lion st.
 5767 " " statue st.

Phrygian Monuments.

- 6398 **Arsilan Kaya**, Phrygian monument st.
 6399 **Bakshish**, Phrygian monument st.
 6400 **Demirli**, Phrygian monument st.
 8922 " lion tomb (drawing by A. C. Blunt).
 2034 **Gelembe**, rock-cut tomb st.
 9923 **Vasili-Kaya**, 'Tomb of Midas' (drawing by A. C. Blunt).

Byzantine Monuments.

- 2007 **Afium Kara Hisar**, the citadel.
 4308 **Ak Kale**, exterior of cruciform from W. (*Rev. Arch.* vii. p. 292, fig. 6.)
 4303 **Anazarbus**, Basilica No. 1, fragment of cornice. (*id.* vii. p. 15, fig. 11.)
 4304 " " " lintel of door. (*id.* p. 16, fig. 12.)
 4306 " " " acanthus bracket. (*id.* p. 17, fig. 13.)
 4306 " " " detail. (*id.* p. 18, fig. 14.)
 4307 " " " No. 3, S. door. (*id.* p. 23, fig. 21.)
 2129 **Ancyra** (Angora), Church of S. Clement, detail of the vaulting of the dome.
 4328 **Bimbirkilise**, No. 8, mouldings. (*Rev. Arch.* viii. p. 400, fig. 11.)
 1398 **Budrum Castle**, plan. (Newton, pl. 32.)
 1399 " " view. (Newton, pl. 33.)
 8021 " " general view of the bay and castle.
 7848 " " general view from the sea.
 4671 " " detail of interior wall showing coat of arms.
 7160 " " general view of the interior.
 5272 " " relief of S. George and the Dragon.
 4301 " Northern Basilica, exterior of apse. (*Rev. Arch.* vii. p. 5, fig. 2.)
 4302 " " capital outside apse. (*id.* p. 5, fig. 4.)
 4319 **Daoulah**, church No. 1, nave and S. aisle. (*id.* viii. p. 294, fig. 6.)
 4320 " " detail of arches of nave. (*id.* p. 295, fig. 7.)
 4321 " " 3, interior of apse. (*id.* p. 240, fig. 11.)
 4322 " " 6, " " (*id.* p. 244, fig. 18.)
 4324 " " 13, door and niche in one of the parallel chambers. (*id.* p. 393, fig. 3.)
 4325 " " 14, W. façade of chamber A. (*id.* p. 308, fig. 8.)
 4326 " " " C. (*id.* p. 399, fig. 6.)
 4327 " " carved lintel. (*id.* p. 393, fig. 10.)

ASIA MINOR. *continued.*

- 4329 **Dauileh** (*continues*), church 13, E. facade. (*Rev. Arch.* ix. p. 19, fig. 13.)
4333 " tomb. (*id.*, viii. p. 259, fig. 26.)
4333 **Eregli** and **Nigle**, Khan between (a view of the Cappadocian plain).
4347 **Fortek**, house of patio type.
5801 **Iris** River.
5799 " " Tokat.
5800 " " Turkhal (Gashira).
3785 **Kalycadnus River**, Byzantine Bridge near Mnt.
3787-91 " " monastery at Keja Kalesi. (*Cl. J.H.S. Supp.* II. figs. 1, 3, 4, 7.)
4399 **Kanytelidets**, Basilica No. 1, interior of apse. (*Rev. Arch.* vii. p. 389, fig. 14.)
4310 " " " engaged capitals and prothesis. (*id.*, p. 409, fig. 15.)
4311 " " " No. 4, interior of apse. (*id.*, p. 409, fig. 25.)
4312 " " " engaged capital in narthex. (*id.*, p. 411, fig. 26.)
5809 **Karaman**, general view.
5810 " the castle.
2135 " "
9625 **Kalolimno**, pavement of church of H. Soter. (*R.S.A.* xiii. p. 296.)
9636 **Kermasti**, mosque of Lala Shakhin: pierced stone grill.
2599 **Konia**, near: monastery of S. Chariton.
4313 **Korghos**, Basilica No. 1, engaged column in W. wall. (*Rev. Arch.* viii. p. 11, fig. 4.)
4314 " " " window in N.E. apse. (*id.*, p. 14, fig. 7.)
4315 " " " No. 2, doorway. (*id.*, p. 18, fig. 11.)
4316 " " " interior looking N. (*id.*, p. 19, fig. 12.)
4317 " " " No. 3, engaged capital in central apse. (*id.*, p. 27, fig. 13.)
5756 **Koroplasma**, early church at.
4331 **Miraa**, S. Kustathini from the S.E. (*Rev. Arch.* ix. p. 26, fig. 23.)
4352 **Matchan**, rock-cut dwellings.
9257 **Phocaea**, later tower outside the town.
4337 " inscription of Dorino Gattelusio. (*R.S.A.* xv. p. 259, fig. 9.)
5134 **Silleh** (near Konia), street view. (*Rev. Arch.* ix. p. 38, fig. 18.)
4339 " S. Michael's from the N.W.
5138 **Sinases**: rock-cut church between Sinases and Urgub, general view.
5137 " " " " " master view of doorway.
5141 " " " " " valley of S. Nicolas.
5143 " " " " " with Urgub in distance.
5151 " " " " " view in the town.
5152 " " " " " valley between Sinases and Urgub.
5158 **Soghanlu**, rock-cut dwellings.
5162 " " " " "
2000 **Trebizond**, view of the walls.
2002 " church of S. Sophia.
2003 " " " " "
6230 **Triglia** (Bithynia), colonnade of mosque with Byzantine capitals.
9619 " " " S.E. capital of dome of mosque. (*R.S.A.* xiii. p. 286, No. 2.)
9620 " " " N.E. capital supporting dome.
4355 **Tahukuri**, loom with single beam.
4359 **Utch Hissar**, rock-cut dwellings.

Schult. Monum. 412.

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| 2918 | Adalia, Seljuk doorway. | | | | |
| 2991 | Caesarea Mazaca, Seljuk tomb and Mt. Argama. | | | | |
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CYRENE.

- 3776 **Cyrene**, road from Apollonia on the first ascent.
 3777 " the N.E. cemetery.
 3778 " fountain of Apollo.
 3779 " N.W. tower.

CYPRUS.

- 5729 Map of Cyprus.

Plates, Excavations, &c.

- 5737 **Amargetti**, view from above village of.
 5738 **Aschella**, gorge near.
 813 **Curium**, Acropolis and site of excavations, 1895.
 815 " staff and workmen, 1895.
 811 **Episcopi** from W.
 5731 **Kuklia**, valley W. of.
 5730 " valley N.E. of, with effluve of Susklu.
 5734 " village.
 5733 " threshing-floor.
 1394 **Paphos excavations**, monoliths by the sea.
 5739 " " S.W. angle blocks, S. wing, temple of Aphrodite.
 5740 " " part of S. wing.
 5741 " " S. wing from S. porch.
 5742 " " digging in S. wing.
 5744 " " clearing S. porch.
 5745 " " S. porch, W. end.
 5746 " " S. porch, S.E. angle.
 5747 " " S. porch from S.E. angle.
 5748 " " N. wall, W. end.
 5749 " " Oenola's N.W. angle block.
 5750 " " S. chamber from E.
 5752 " " E. entrance from N.
 4417 " " " and chambers from N.

Lycantine and Goleto.

- 1395 **Aschella** baldachin.
 5761 " roof, etc.
 1799 **Bellapais**, the abbey.
 1789 **Colossi**, castle of Knights Templars.
 5756 **Pamagusta**, cathedral.
 3482 " " from S.E.
 1804 " " another view.
 5757 " " front.
 5758 " " E. end.
 5759 " " S. side.
 1805 " " chantry door.
 3481 " " entrance to the castle.
 3483 " " church of S. George of the Latins.
 5755 **Leonardi**, Venetian, Crusaders' fortress from S.
 1788 **Limasol**, S. Nicholas, C. Gatta.
 1808 **Nikosi**, S. Sophia.
 810 " " interior.
 5754 " " desecrated church.

CRETE.

For objects of art, sculpture, &c., from Crete, cf. "PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES" (pp. 58-63).

- 7999 Crete, outline map of. (*Burrows, Crete*, pl. 2.)
 5900 Map of Crete (topographical).
 9303 **Arkadi**, facade of church.
 9306 **Axos**, polygonal wall.
 9307 **Bisari**, view of the village, plain and mountains.
 5508 **Candia**, Venetian galley slip.
 5510 " Venetian fountain in square.
 5847 " interior of museum showing Cretan frescoes, stone jars, etc.
 3828 **Cnossos**, palace plan 1901-2. (*B.S.A.* vii. frontispiece.)
 9054 " " 1906. (*Lagrange, Crete Ancienne*, pl. 1.)
 5292 " general view from E.
 7381 " general view from E., 1905.
 5517 " " from road to Candia, looking towards Mt. Juktas.
 5295 " view across W. court to Mt. Juktas.
 3897 " " looking S. across magazines and W. court.
 3511 " W. court from S.W. portico.
 3899 " the S.W. court from W. court.
 8311 " theatral area.
 5514 " " "
 7382 " " (*B.S.A.* ix. fig. 69.)
 6354 " Minoan paved way looking towards theatral area. (*B.S.A.* x. p. 46, fig. 15.)
 3814 " throne-room: antechamber from N. entrance.
 3615 " " from antechamber.
 3816 " the tank from N.W.
 844 " in course of excavation.
 3892 " nearer view of the throne.
 7139 " another view of preceding.
 1492 " with figures showing scale.
 4603 " the throne and adjoining seats.
 8312 " fresco of Souchant-bust and fillet.
 3812 " magazine with pilae.
 5523 " " "
 4864 " " "
 7383 " " "
 1495 " " "
 3812 " " large pilae.
 1496 " large pilae with decoration in form of rings of rope.
 5211 " northern portion and entrance to passage.
 5210 " E. bastion and quadruple walls. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 115, fig. 66.)
 5246 " batts on E. slope restored. (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 111.)
 607 " upper portion of one of the stairways.
 5515 " quadruple staircase.
 5214 " view looking W. from upper E.W. corridor. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 35, fig. 17.)
 5216 " in lower E.W. corridor, looking E. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 35, fig. 16.)
 5292 " half of colonnade, restored section. (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 108.)

CRETE, continued

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| 5229 | Chiosos (continued), hall of the double axes, cross-section looking W. |
| 7382 | " " " " from the tower. |
| 9269 | " " " " eastern part. (<i>B.S.A.</i> viii. p. 43, fig. 22.) |
| 5220 | " view from S.E. corner of 'Queen's' Megaron. (<i>B.S.A.</i> viii. p. 46, fig. 23.) |
| 7904 | " plan and section of the shrine of the double axes. (<i>B.S.A.</i> viii. fig. 35.) |
| 5203 | " room of stone bench. (<i>B.S.A.</i> viii. p. 79, fig. 44.) |
| 5519 | " wall with <i>sistrum</i> or distaff marks. |
| 1494 | " pillar showing double axes marks. |
| 5522 | " " drainpipes. |
| 5521 | " " drainage system. |
| 5518 | " " " " |
| 1472 | " " system of rainwater drainage. |
| 8240 | " " terracotta bath. |
| 7905 | " " royal villa, plan and section. (<i>B.S.A.</i> ix. pl. I.) |
| 7906 | " " " view of the thronos-room. (<i>B.S.A.</i> ix. fig. 26.) |
| 8318 | " " royal villa. |
| 7801 | " " Venetian aqueduct near Chiosos. |
| | <i>For objects discovered at Chiosos see the section on PAPHLAGIAN ANTIQUITIES.</i> |
| 7392 | Gortyna , temple of Pythian Apollo. |
| 5846 | Gournia , Minoan street. |
| 9806 | Haris Triada , plan. (<i>Moss, Inst. Lomb. Cl. d. Lettere</i> xxi. pl. I.) |
| 7388 | " " general view of site from E.N.E. |
| 7389 | " " N.E. angle of later palace from N. |
| 9311 | " " the main staircase. |
| 7390 | " " stair to upper floor to S. of 'Men's Megaron' from W. |
| 7391 | " " 'Men's Megaron' from E. |
| 5299 | " " " " " |
| 5843 | " " drainage system. |
| 5845 | " " view of late Minoan foundations appearing above middle Minoan. |
| 5844 | " " palace-room. |
| 5298 | " " staircase and room 7 on plan in <i>Monumenti</i> . |
| 5582 | Ida , mountains adjoining from the sea. |
| 5583 | " " from the sea. |
| 5581 | " " N.W. headland of. |
| 9974 | Kamarea Cave , plan. |
| 9977 | " " view seawards. |
| 9970 | " " mouth of cave from without. |
| 9961 | " " vestibule of cave A on plan. |
| 9975 | " " excavators' camp. |
| 9312 | " " " " " |
| 9963 | " " rocks for holding birds. (<i>E.M.D.</i>) |
| 5854 | Pachyammos (near Hierapytna) with distant view of sub-Mycenaean settlement of Karouni. |
| 1421 | Palaiokastro , plan of excavations. (<i>Cl. B.S.A.</i> ix. pl. 6.) |
| 6010 | " " general view of site and Acropolis. |
| 6423 | " " general view across plain to Acropolis. |
| 7076 | " " the plain from the sea. |
| 7089 | " " main street, block A on right. |
| 7087 | " " entrance of later palace in block A. |
| 1457 | " " side street (Σ). |
| 7093 | " " block Z. |
| 1456 | " " view of cross-roads. |

AEGEAN ISLANDS, *continued.*

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|-----------|---|
| 8315 | Cos (<i>continued</i>), the Asklepion, fountain basin against wall of middle temple. |
| 7651 | " the agon below the Asklepion. |
| 7652 | " " another view. |
| 9140 | " the second terrace. |
| 6175 | " passage to the spring. |
| 2297 | " castle of Antimachia, N. wall. |
| 7874 | Delos , bird's-eye view of precinct restored (outline drawing). |
| 1753 | " general view towards Rheneia. |
| 7614 | " the theatre, with Blencis in the distance. |
| 627 | " view from the cave-shrine towards Rheneia. |
| 3538 | " the lake of Leto and Mt. Cynthus. |
| 3539 | " cave-temple of Apollo, rock-cut approach. |
| 4635 | " " " from without. |
| 1445 | " " " from within. |
| 4634 | " the Colossus, upper half, side view. |
| 5545 | " " " " back view. |
| 5546 | " " " " base, showing inscription. |
| 4639 | " statue base with primitive Gorgoneion. |
| 5547 | " " " " showing inscription. |
| 5543 | " Hellenistic house. |
| 2158 | " " " " female. (<i>Mon. Piot.</i> xiv. pl. 12.) |
| 4638 | " " " " detail: frieze of meaborses (from original). |
| 4937 | " " " " amphora, palm-branch, wreath. |
| 1477, 630 | " the archaic lions (two slides). |
| 8314 | " archaic lion. |
| 5544 | " two 'bull-triglyphs'. |
| 2215 | " a 'bull-triglyph,' as re-erected in the entablature. |
| 633 | " phallic monument. |
| 2951 | Lemnos , general view of Kastro. |
| 2949 | Leros , the port from the castle. |
| 3970 | " the village and castle hill. |
| 6151 | Lesbos , Mytilene from the site of the theatre. |
| 6152 | " " " " chair of Potamon. |
| 4051 | Melos , Martia, the terrace (possibly stadium). |
| 4069 | " Phylakopi, general view from S.E. |
| 2226 | " " " " from land side. |
| 2227 | " " " " from S.W. angle. |
| 4113 | " " " " from the S. |
| 40786 | " " " " from the N. |
| 4068a | " " " " from the E. |
| 5902 | " " " " S.W. angle and bastion of great wall. (<i>Phylakopi</i> , fig. 4.) |
| 4112 | " " " " the walls of the citadel. |
| 5903 | " " " " the wall mouth. (<i>Phylakopi</i> , fig. 10.) |
| 2280 | " " " " thrashing with mules and oxen. |
| 2283 | " " " " the bathing place of the excavators (1911). |
| 4090 | " Transylia, stadion, retaining wall. |
| 4059 | " " " " mosaic, general view. (<i>J.H.S.</i> xviii. p. 1.2.) |
| 4067 | " " " " detail (birds). |
| 2223 | " " " " obsidian re-stn. |
| 3254 | Naxos , from the sea. |
| 3256 | " " " " doorway on islet. |
| 3258 | " " " " the colossus. |
| 5554 | Patmos , pantheon. |
| 3965 | " " " " the port. |
| 7335 | " " " " " " |
| 7336 | " " " " town and monastery. |

AEGEAN ISLANDS, *continued*.

2426	Thasos (<i>continued</i>), Limna, Acropolis, S. W. angle.
2431	" " " " Hellenic sub-structure of S. W. tower.
2442	" " " " subterranean passage at W. end.
2449	" " " " temple basin, N. W. angle.
2452	" " " " entrance to ancient mines.
2478	" " " " shrine of Pan, plan and section.
2454	" " " " " " general view.
2456	" " " " cave of Pan.
2417	" " " " city wall, apotropaion from wall of Parthenon.
2418	" " " " Parthenon inscription.
2419	" " " " masons' marks on wall of Parthenon.
2422	" " " " S. E. angle gateway from outside.
2542	" " Mariata, view of village from W.
2467	" " Panagia, lower spring.
2517	" " Theologos, castle of Komphokastro.
2566-8	Thera : plans of houses: (Perrot and Chipiez vi. figs. 29, 30.)
5548	" " Bird's-eye view during eruption (from a drawing after Lyell).
3973	" " Mavrosighi, view of.
3974	" " " " " "
3985	" " Perissa, church at.
3986	" " " " " "
3987	" " " " " "
3971	" " Plaka, the Scala.
3273	" " " " the cliffs.
7654	" " " " landing-place.
7655	" " " " face of cliff, showing caves.
7657	" " " " coast view.
6130	" " " " view from heights.
3953	" " " " castle of Saron and Therasia.
3975	" " " " ancient town, main street.
3976	" " " " side street and entrance to theatre.
3977	" " " " rock-cut inscription (I.G. <i>Des.</i> 1411-12).
3978	" " " " " " " " 1447.
3979	" " " " terrace wall of temple of Apollo.
6126	" " " " excavations.
6127	" " " " " "
6131	" " " " " "
3981	" " church of S. Nicholas Makrarias.
3982	" " " " " " doorway.

NORTHERN AND CENTRAL GREECE.

Maps.

5461	Map of Greece (Frazer, <i>Pausanias</i> , Map 1).
5581	Orographic Map of Greece.
7916	Outline map of Greece and the Aegean (Marden, <i>Greece</i> , frontispiece.)
6385	Map of Boeotia, Attica, and Megaris.
5470	" " Phocis (Frazer, <i>Pausanias</i> , Map 16).

Preliminary Sites.

2358	Dimini (Thessaly), doorway of beehive tomb.
318	Gha : Plan of the fortress. (Thomson and Manatt, p. 376.)
5856	Orchomenos , Treasury of Minyas, gate from without.
5849	" " " " " " within.

NORTHERN AND CENTRAL GREECE. *continued*

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| 4514 | Megara (<i>continued</i>), the Easter dances. |
| 4571 | " (near), Hellenic tower. |
| 7494 | New Plenron (Avetolia), the cisterns from the N W. |
| 7491 | Oenidae (Acanthia), sheds for ships, from W. |
| 4435 | " " polygonal wall and arch. |
| 6114 | Parnassus , view from Chaeroneia. |
| 7604 | " " " |
| 7440 | Pellion Mt. ? a Thessalian stone hut. |
| 9328 | Pindus , near the top of a pass. |
| 7325 | Plataea , plan of the battlefield. (Grundy, <i>Atlas</i> , pl. 181.) |
| 3466 | " " from N. |
| 2101 | Scironian Cliffs . |
| 4480 | " " another view. |
| 5630 | Tempe , view of the valley. |
| 5610 | " " " |
| 3623 | " " " |
| 4986 | " " " |
| 8087 | " " " |
| 1117 | Thebes , view of the town showing the fountain of Dirke. |
| 7329 | Thermopylae , plan of the pass (Grundy, <i>Atlas</i> , pl. 181.) |
| 5616 | " " hot springs. |
| 5617 | " " the Phocian wall looking N. |
| 5613 | " " junction of Sperchois and Asopus. |

Decorative Monuments on the Malabar Coast

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|------|--|
| 9426 | Aenos, panorama from S. |
| 9430 | " the main gate. |
| 9429 | " N. walls and mouth of the Maritza. |
| 9427 | " the mills and citadel. |
| 9439 | " W. porch of mosque (S. Constantine). |
| 9439 | " inscription of Palamedes (Gatteaudo). (<i>B.S.A.</i> xv. p. 251, fig. 3.) |
| 9434 | " Genoese inscription. (<i>B.S.A.</i> xv. p. 253, fig. 6.) |
| 9430 | " " " (<i>B.S.A.</i> xv. p. 256, fig. 8.) |
| 9814 | Arta, the bridge. |
| 9316 | " church of Άγιος Παναγιώτης. |
| 9317 | " " Άγιος Βασίλειος. |
| 8521 | Athos, the peak from the N. |
| 9672 | Chilandari Monastery: general view. |
| 9674 | " " " staircase to great-rooms. |
| 8551 | " " " the great tower. |
| 8552 | " " " well-house and church. |
| 8550 | " " " gateway from within. |
| 9695 | " " " staircase to guest-rooms. |
| 9408 | " " " detail of the church. |
| 8560 | Dionysiou Monastery: general view from W. |
| 9418 | " " " from S. |
| 8544 | Docheiariou Monastery: refectory (exterior). |
| 8545 | " " " S.E. (apsidal) and central domes of church. |
| 8579 | " " " church from E. |
| 8555 | Epiphaniou Monastery: a general view from landward (S.) side. |
| 8561 | Gregorion Monastery: view from sea. |
| 8524 | Iviron Monastery: general view. |
| 8556 | Karakallon Monastery: E. range and clock tower. |
| 8548 | Kastanunton Monastery: entrance. |
| 8530 | Koukoumounou Monastery: cloister and N. side of church. |

NORTHERN AND CENTRAL GREECE, *continued.*

7683	Salonika	<i>continued</i>	S. Sophia.	} mosaic of the dome is four consecutive segments.
7684	"	"	"	
7685	"	"	"	
7686	"	"	"	
7687	"	"	"	} mosaic of the dome: central figure.*
7688	"	"	"	
7689	"	"	"	} one segment* (drawing of slide No. 7684, above).
7690	"	"	"	
7691	"	"	"	acceding and 'windblown acanthus' capitals.
7692	"	"	"	Turkish pulpit.

* From drawings lent by the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund. The rest are from the originals.

9329	Scutari	street scene.
9330	"	a market.
1586	Stiris	distant view of Monastery, Patmos in background.
436	"	Monastery of S. Luke, Helicon in distance.
457	"	Courtyard.
488	"	the churches.
489	"	N. wall of church.
1581	"	the church, S. side.
1580	"	the church, W. front.
440	"	pendentive of church.
2848	Theotokou	Byzantine capitals.
2845	"	carved slabs from apse.
9331	Tran	Porta Marina.
5821	Via	carnival, the Kalogeros. (<i>J.H.S.</i> xvi, p. 194, Fig. 3.)
5823	"	the Kastrouloi. (<i>Cl. id.</i> , p. 198.)
5825	"	the flaying scene. (<i>Cl. id.</i> , p. 199.)
5827	"	the ploughing scene. (<i>Cl. id.</i> , p. 201.)
5828	"	masqueraders from Seyros for comparison. (<i>Cl. id.</i> , p. 201.)
5829	"	} other views of the anniversary day.
5830	"	

Island Sites.

1249	Cephalonia	view looking towards Ithaca from Sami.
7969	Corcyra	temple of Menestros.
7970	"	church of S. Corcyra, columns, architrave, and inscription.
5169	"	excavation of the Doric temple (1912).
8224	Euboea	Erpina, view of the strait and bridge from the mainland.
6109	"	Chalcis, the Venetian walls.
6225	"	the tower.
6122	"	Venetian lion on fortifications.
5453	"	Eretria, the theatre. Passage leading from orchestra to Skene.
1249	Ithaca	from Cephalonia.
3589	"	'Castle of Odysseus,' from sea.
3570	"	maritime view.
4283	"	"

ATHENS.

General Plans.

801	Plan of Athens.	(Harrison and Verroli, plate facing p. 1.)
7969	Plan showing ancient sites.	(Tucker, <i>Ancient Athens</i> , frontispiece.)
5320	Plan of Athens, central district.	(Murray, <i>Greece</i> , p. 267.)

ATHENS, *continued*.

- 8300 **Parthenon** (*continued*), The Parthenon restored. (Williams, *Views in Greece*.)
- 752 " print (A.D. 1687). Acropolis bombarded. (Oumont, *Views d'Athènes*, pl. 57.)
- 753 " proof. The explosion of A.D. 1687 (from Facelli.)
- 755 " print. W. end in 1749. (Duffen.)
- 754 " print. S.E. in 1755. (Le Roy.)
- 756 " print. The W. end in 1817. (Williams, *Views in Greece*.)
- 1151 " print. View in Turkish times.
- 3002 " from N.W.
- 5856 " from N.W.
- 5814 " from N.E.
- 3001 " from N.E.
- 1717 " from S.E.
- 3005 " interior looking S.E.
- 3007 " " N.E.
- 3006 " " W.
- 3012 " W. door from interior.
- 410 " outer wall of cella and northern colonnade.
- 3012 " corner of W. colonnade.
- 1929 " architectural details, substructure, E. end of S. side, exposed.
- 4546 " " " substructure now showing above ground.
- 7905 " " " N. side. Curvature of stylobate.
- 1928 " " " steps on N. side, showing curvature.
- 4807 " " " a capital (in B. M.).
- 4872 " " " a capital on the Acropolis.
- 1931 " " " unfinished drum on the Acropolis.
- 4887 " " " drums showing method of superimposition.
- 4673 " " " a triglyph on the Acropolis.
- 4674 " " " a block of the architrave on the Acropolis.
- 1930 " " " one of the 'sitting-out marks.'
- For Sculptures from the Parthenon, see Facelli and the Parthenon (pp. 80 f.) in the Sculpture series.*
- 5476 **Erechtheum**, plan (*Arch. Mus.* 1904. Pl. vi.)
- 928 " plan.
- 893 " print. (Stuart and Revett.)
- 1710 " and pro-Porcia temple. View from top of Parthenon.
- 3013 " general view from S.
- 1489 " " from W., showing reconstruction (1908).
- 1932 " " from N.W.
- 1933 " N. porch, before restoration.
- 7606 " " 1905.
- 639 " " W. side, as now re-erected.
- 4541 " " floor of, showing opening.
- 643 " " lower portion of pillars.
- 645 " " the ceiling.
- 1980 " " N. door.
- 3940 " " detail of decoration of listel.
- 1904 " " mouldings.
- 4685 " " upper capital of.
- 4686 " " lacunaria, detail of.
- 949 " engaged columns of W. end, before reconstruction.
- 304 " porch of the Maidens from S.E.

ATHENS, *continued.*

7129	Erechtheum (<i>continued</i>), porch of the Maidens from S.E.			
4463	"	"	"	from S.W.
3015	"	"	"	"
3026	"	"	"	one of the Maidens in situ.

616	Pre-Persian Temple , plan.			
1719	"	"	"	view from top of Parthenon.
4469	Ge Karpophoros , inscription.			
4536	Rome and Augustus Temple , relief from.			
178	Walls of Acropolis , with old columns.			
5925	"	"	"	detail of N. wall, possible Persian secret.
6101	"	"	"	carve of Pan.

Buildings on the S. Side of the Acropolis.

131	Theatre of Dionysus , plan.			
1911	"	"	"	from Acropolis.
3026	"	"	"	general view looking W.
3025	"	"	"	general view towards Acropolis.
396	"	"	"	principal chair, front view.
1915	"	"	"	principal chairs, side view.
2128	"	"	"	principal chairs, front view.
4494	"	"	"	chair dedicated to M. Ulpia.
1891	"	"	"	passage in front of principal chairs.
4554	"	"	"	one of the gangways.
1613	"	"	"	stage from E.
4676	"	"	"	old Orchestra circle from above.
3039	"	"	"	satyr supporting the stage of Thæodora.
2553	"	"	"	satyrs from stage-buildings.
4553	"	"	"	the altar in the <i>temenos</i> .
3181	"	"	"	pillars with Corinthian capitals near Acropolis wall.
888	"	"	"	monument of Thrasylus (present state).
869	"	"	"	" print. (Stuart and Revett.)
4555	"	"	"	Corinthian capitals.
5870	Aasklepeion , plan.			
3034	"	"	"	general view, looking E.
4556	"	"	"	looking W. in main building.
300	"	"	"	boundary stone.
1657	"	"	"	Greek and Hymettian blocks in
1812	"	"	"	gate of wall.
4559	"	"	"	Corinthian capital near gate of wall.
4472	"	"	"	interior of well-house (from sketches).
7313	"	"	"	sacrificial pit.
4580	Stoa of Eumenes , junction with Odeum of Herodes.			
4535	Odeum of Herodes , interior, looking S.W.			
4548	"	"	"	stage buildings, looking W.

Monuments W. of Acropolis.

2812	Excavations W. of Acropolis , plan.			
2810	"	"	"	"
3454	"	"	"	general view.
3456	"	"	"	altar of Dionysus. (<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxi. pl. 9, fig. 1.
895	"	"	"	ancient Greek winepress.
3952	"	"	"	'the pipes of Enneakrounos.'
4451	Areopagus and Thæseum .			
4454	"	"	"	from the gate of the Acropolis.

ATHENS, *continued.*

- 4458 **Areopagus** (*continued*) and grotto of Emmenides.
 8831 " " " "
 7812 " " grotto of Emmenides.
 7827 **The Pnyx**, general view.
 3411 " " " " " " " "
 4572 " " retaining wall.
 8036 " " rock-cut houses and tombs, S. of Pnyx.
 153 **Philopappus** monument.
 4455 **Nymphæum** (=observatory hill).
 1216 **Theseum**, distant view from prison of Socrates.
 4463 " " " " " " " "
 4466 " " another view.
 4571 " " " " " " " "
 7607 " " S. colonnade.
 889 **'Tower of the Winds.'**
 4578 " " " " " " " "
 152 " " " " " " " "
 4582 **Stoa of Hadrian**, E. end.
 3939 " " " " " " " "
 228 **Agora**, plan (Harrison and Verrill, p. 5.)
 413 " " " " " " " "
 3937 **Dipylon**, wall of Konon with *Opis Kεραυνοῦ in centre and wall of Lycurgus in front.
 3938 " " the inscription *Opis Kεραυνοῦ in situ.
 4575 " " wall of Themistokles.

Monuments east of Acropolis.

- 3834 **Cerameus**, shewing the Bull monument and the Molossian lion.
 3835 " " shewing monuments of Hagese, Korobee, &c.
 1601 **Olympieum**, from Acropolis (distant view to shew position).
 682 " " " " " " " "
 3936 " " " " " " " "
 2184 " " evening (lithograph by J. Pennell).
 4567 " " fallen capital.
 4568 " " " " " " " "
 688 " " " " " " " "
 9257 **Arch of Hadrian** and Olympieum.
 4952 **Stadion**, after restoration.
 5156 **Lysicrates**, choragic monument of.
 5899 " " " " " " " "
 4512 " " " " " " " "
 6105 **Stoa of the Giants**
 1417 **Ilseus**, bed of.
 863 **Callirrhoe**.
 4577 **Roman bath**, remains of, in palace gardens.
 5073 **Kynosarges**, view shewing the progress of the excavations.
 5074 " " " " " " " "
 653 " " " " " " " "

Byzantine and later Monuments.

- 1942 Small metropolitan church, S. side.
 1946 " " " " " " " "
 1940 " " " " " " " "
 1959 " " " " " " " "
 1518 " " " " " " " "

ATHENS, *continued*.

- 1321 Kapnikarea from the E.
 2486 Church of Holy Apostles.
 1421 Church of H. Soter on N. slope of Acropolis.
 2029 S. Theodore.
 2491 Ruined church of S. Thomas.
 4582 Semetane mosque near Stoa of Hadrian.
 414 " " "
 3038 Byzantine fragments on the Acropolis.
 5029 **British School at Athens** (taken in 1902.)
 5977 " " " architect's drawing showing new Penrose Library.
 1905 " " " another view of preceding.
 8241 " " " Penrose Library, exterior.
 8339 " " " " interior.
 6310 " " " " " showing inscription.

ATTICA.

Views and Sites including the Environs of Athens and Aegina.

- 5462 Map of Attica (Frazer, *Procurator*, pl. 2).
 3429 **Aegina**, distant view of the island from Old Phalerum.
 720 " general view of temple from W., after Copley Fielding (*Wordsworth, Greece*, p. 199).
 1809 " distant view of temple.
 423 " temple from N.W.
 7634 " " from N.E.
 1953 " " from S.E.
 8972 " " "
 5171 " " interior view showing blocks grooved for lifting.
 1734 **Colonus and the Cephissus**.
 351 **Eleusis**, plan.
 1386 " panorama taken from N.W. angle of Sekos. (1) looking S.E.
 1535 " " " (2) looking E.
 3969 " general view looking S. across the Stoa of Philo.
 3968 " the greater Propylaea.
 1533 " Sekos, view of N.W. angle.
 1549 " " substructure.
 1539 " precincts of Pluto from N.
 1588 " " from S.
 1744 " details of Appian Palace's Gate and Capital.
 4580 " Ionic capital.
 4586 " niches in the sacred way near Daphni.
 3246 **Eleutherae**, N. wall and pass.
 3984 " wall with towers on E. side.
 1563 " wall and two towers.
 1903 **Hymettus** from the American School at Athens.
 1950 **Icaria**, Dionysos, the cave.
 2241 **Lycabettus** from the garden of the British School at Athens.
 7326 **Marathon**, plan of (Grandy, *Atlas*, pl. 136).
 6392 " the plain. (*Williams, Views in Greece*.)
 5621 " the Soros, plain, and mountains looking N.
 1016 " from N.E., from Pentelion.
 3979 " from Vrana.
 4476 " from the S. Road.
 4478 " from the Soros.

ATTICA, *continued*.

- 3941 **Marathon** (continued), the Soron.
 4585 " olive trees at Pikermi on the road to Marathon.
 2317 **Oropus**, the Amphiarceum, theatre and proscenium.
 1553 " " theatre from N.W. (before proscenium was thrown down).
 2318 " " chair in theatre.
 3310 " " details of seats in stoa.
 2321 " " semi-circular seats round altar.
 1998 **Parnes** from Pentelicon.
 3942 **Pentelicon**, distant view, from the West.
 1992 " " from near the British School at Athens.
 673 " " from the church at Daou.
 2024 " the marble quarries.
 1559 **Phyle**, entrance to fortress.
 3426 " " " "
 3425 " E. Tower.
 1995 " fortress walls.
 1500 " view over Attica from.
 1952 **Piræus** and neighbourhood, distant view of Piræus from the sea.
 3417 " " panorama 1.
 3416 " " " 2.
 3415 " " " 3.
 8909 " " Zea, Piræus, and Salamis.
 8964 " " " "
 1012 " " circular tower at Ecdamea.
 5928 " " Munychia harbour.
 5929 " " galley slips at Munychia.
 8967 " " Phalerum from Munychia.
 3421 " " Phalerum from the road to Athens.
 7372 " " } plans and elevations of arsenal. (Choisy,
 7373 " " } *L'architecture grecque*, pl. 1, 2.)
 3943 " " remains of arsenal, *in situ*.
 4614 **Rhamnus**, stylobate of the temple of Nemesis.
 6983 **Salamis**, Map of.
 3464 " map of the straits.
 3418 " view looking W. down the straits (with topographical annotations).
 4457 " view looking W. from Munychia hill.
 5994 " narrowed part of straits, at entrance of bay of Eleusis.
 230 **Sunium**, general view of promontory and temple from the sea.
 1543 " temple from N.E.
 6271 " " " " summer view.
 1545 " " from the N.
 1542 " " " " "

Byzantine.

- 673 **Daou**, general view of church with Pentelicon behind. (*H.S.A.* ix, pl. 14.)
 676 " detail of ikonostasis.
 1523 **Daphni**, court of the convent.
 7619 " " " "
 1527-32 " mosaics in the convent: a series of six slabs.
 4586 " mosaic in dome of convent.
 1750 **Icaria**, ruined church.
 1751 " ruined church pulled down.
 1951 " acroterion from Byzantine church.
 2036 **Potissia**, Eumorphia Ekklesia.
 1524 " " from the S.
 2242 **S. John the Hunter**, monastery of.

PELOPONNESUS.

Maps.

- 5738 Map of the Peloponnesus (topographical).
 1078 " "
 3172 " of Argolis. (Schubhardt, *Schiffmann*, pl. 3.)
 7251 " Laconia.
 5463 " Messenia. (Fraser, *Peloponnesos*, Map 5.)
 5466 " Elis. (" " " 6.)

Places and Sites (Classical.)

- 7815 Argos, the Heraeum, terraces of the older temple.
 7821 " " the later temple.
 8077 Corinth, general view: old temple in middle distance.
 5714 " " old temple and Acrocorinthian looking E.
 1565 " " from N.E.
 1880 " " group of capitals *in situ*.
 2185 " " view looking seaward (lithograph by J. Pennell).
 498 " Acrocorinthus.
 4492 " " mediaeval fortifications.
 4491 " " view from, looking S.W. towards the mountains of the Peloponnesus.
 429 " " view from, looking W. along the coast.
 5577 " the American excavations, looking towards Acrocorinthus.
 5578 " " the large fountain.
 6178 " " the entrance to the fourth century fountain.
 4499 " " paved way and staircase.
 3557 " the Canal, Eastern entrance, looking W.
 3558 " view in Canal, looking W.
 6301 " view across the isthmus of. (Williams, *Views in Greece*).

 1040 Epidaurus, plan of Hieron.
 2189 " ascending ramp.
 4439 " temple of Asklepios (restored section).
 4015 " Asklepieion, showing ascent to upper story.

 1892 " tholos of Polykleitos, present state.
 1957 " " capital from.
 8373 " " lion-headed corner from.

 308 " theatre, plan.
 1254 " " distant view.
 5884 " " general view from E.
 1818 " " the orchestra circle from the cavea.
 1700 " " E. parodos from W.
 1955 " " the W. parodos from the E.
 1590 " " the cavea from the orchestra.
 1950 " " the orchestra and cavea from the stage.
 4516 " " detail of upper portion of seating.
 2164 " stadium, from behind the apse.
 5151 " " the apse.
 1218 " Cyclopean bridge, near.

 6204 Epidaurus Limera, detail of tower.
 2259 Gortys (Arcadia), views from walls looking N.E.
 1966 Gytheum from the sea.
 9811 Mantinea, plan. (Cl. Fougères, *Mantinea*, pl. 8.)
 4023 " the plain looking N.
 4024 " Skope looking N.

PELOPONNESUS, *continued.*

- 9312 **Megalopolis**, plan. (*Megalopolis* part of pl. 1.)
 1264 " plan of the theatre and Thersilion.
 1685 " the theatre from the Thersilion.
 1682 " theatre, general view before closing of Thersilion.
 1175 " general view from theatre after Thersilion was cleared.
 1684 " foundations of stage looking W.
 1683 " continuation of preceding.
 5560 **Messene**, view near Arcadian gate, showing circular wall between gate.
 1489 " the Arcadian gate.
 5562 " loopholes in the tower on the E. wall from without.
 5561 " the same loopholes from within.
 5545 " circular tower.
 4281 " (Ithome) monastery on site of temple of Zena Ithomatas: general view.
 1429 " entrance to the monastery.
 478 **Mycenae**, ground plan (Schuchhardt).
 7195 " general view from 'Treasury of Atreus.'
 4600 " Lion gate.
 3914 " " nearer view.
 2905 " " from within.
 3428 " wall and tower below Lion gate.
 3565 " postern in the N. wall of citadel.

- 3429 " Palace, staircase.
 1484 " " megaron and hearth, present state.
 6542 " " restoration (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. pl. 41).

- 6174 " Circle and shaft-graves, entrance.
 6163 " " " general view.
 4414 " " " nearer view.
 2967 " " " from within.
 2165 " " " with the Lion gate in distance.
 2565 " ground plan of houses near circle. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. fig. 114.)

For objects of art from Mycenae, cf. 'PÉLOPONNÈSE ANTIQUITÉS,' pp. 24-25.

- 3904 " 'Treasury of Atreus,' ground plan.
 3909 " " " longitudinal section.
 2980 " " " drums and façade.
 5718 " " " water view of façade.
 2543 " " " restoration of façade. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. pl. 5.)
 6565 " " " doorway, present state.
 6566 " " " " as reconstructed in B.M.
 6567 " " " capital in B.M.
 884 " " " capital restored. (Pashatzin, *Jonische Cap.* Fig. 42.)
 6450 " " " decoration of the façade. Ath. Nat. Mus.
 6453 " " " detail. Ath. Nat. Mus.
 1325 " " " Mycenaean and Doric profiles. (*J.H.S.* vii. p. 163.)
 1677 " " " interior.
 3274 " " " " roof seen from below.
 2560 " " " " restored (Perrot and Chipiez, vii. pl. 7).

- 1680 " Mmo. Schliemann's Treasury, the façade.
 2042 " " " interior.
 7199 " " " detail of the interior of.
 1434 " lintel of roofless Treasury.
 2171 **Nauplia**, plan of the gulf. (Admiralty chart.)

PELOPONNESUS, *continued.*

- 1962 **Nauplia** (*continued*), distant view from Tiryns.
 1963 " general view of, from the sea.
 1945 " view of Palamidi from the sea.
 1964 " harbour and island.
 435 " modern town and fortress.

- 3946 **Nemea**, view of the temple.

Olympia.*Maps, General Plans, and Sections.*

- 2646 Map of site (*Olympia*, *Mappe I.*)
 2647 " Olympia and neighbourhood. (*Ol. Mappe II.*)
 4488 " " after excavation showing all periods together. (Baumeister, pl. 26.)
 2648 " " Hellenic period, ca. 300 B.C. (*Ol. Mappe III.*)
 2649 " " Roman period, ca. 200 A.D. (*Ol. Mappe IV.*)
 2650-1 " " Byzantine period in two slides. (*Ol. Mappe V. A. B.*)
 2652 Plan of Heraeum, exedra, Metroon. (*Ol. Mappe VI. a.*)
 2653 " south portico, boeotasterion, temple of Zeus. (*Ol. Mappe VI. c.*)
 2654 " Echo portico, treasures, stadium. (*Ol. Mappe VI. e.*)
 2676 Section: diagonally through Heraeum, Pelopion, Temple of Zeus. (*Ol. pl. 126.*)
 2677 " diagonally through Isoldaeum and temple of Zeus (at right angles to preceding). (*Ol. pl. 126.*)
 2678 " the same continued: temple of Zeus, Echo portico, S.E. building and house of Nero. (*Ol. pl. 127.*)
 2679 " through the treasures, longitudinal and across. (*Ol. pl. 128.*)

General Views.

- 3501-3 Panorama (in three slides) from the S.
 6001-2 " (in two slides) from Mt. Cronion.
 3901 General View before excavation (from a print).
 4697 " " "
 4181 " from the hill of Kronion (lithograph by J. Pennell).

The Monuments in Detail.

- 2665 Temple of Zeus: ground plan. (*Ol. pl. 9.*)
 2666 " " (a) east front; (b) cross-section. (*Ol. pl. 10.*)
 1075 " view from N.E. (near Heraeum).
 3504 " " N. (near Pelopion).
 3505 " " S.E.
 2794 " " S.W. (*Ol. pl. 24.*)
 1329 " restored.
 2638 " another restoration. (*Ol. pl. 132.*)
 7183 " restoration of interior.
 2656 " interior, present state. (*Ol. pl. 28.*)
 4022 " fallen capital at E. end.
 4618 " shattered column on S. side.
 4019 " site of the statue of Olympian Zeus.
 7200 " detail of pavement.
 3506 Heraeum from S.
 3947 " from S.E.
 4614 " N.E. angle.
 3948 " " "
 3279 " the W. end.
 2668 " columns restored. (*Ol. pl. 21.*)
 2667 " " (*Ol. pl. 20.*)

PELOPONNESUS, continued.

- 2680 **Æolus and Heraeum**: restored. (*Ol.* pl. 129.)
 2672 " " east front and elevation: restored. (*Ol.* pl. 84.)
 1976 **Treasuries**: retaining wall behind terrace.
 2659 " of Gela and Megara, looking S.W. (*Ol.* pl. 3a.)
 2675 " " painted terracotta facades. (*Ol.* pl. 117.)
 2664 " of Sellinus and Metapontum. (*Ol.* pl. 7b.)
 2681 " of Sikyon, with Metroon restored. (*Ol.* pl. 131.)
 2673 " restored corner of a treasury, showing colouring. (*Ol.* pl. 112.)
 2674 " various fragments of marble showing painted ornamentation. (*Ol.* pl. 113.)
 2000 **South West Gate of Altis**: from N.E. (*Ol.* pl. 5b.)
 1981 **Leontideum**: cornice.
 3179 " " as reconstructed.
 2670 **Palæstra**, ground plan.
 2657 " and Theokoleon, general view. (*Ol.* pl. 4a.)
 2682 " **Philippæum, Gymnasium, Heraeum, and Prytæneum**, restored. (*Ol.* pl. 131.)
 4613 **Philippæum**, present state.
 2671 " elevation restored. (*Ol.* pl. 89.)
 4612 **Heroon**, present state.
 2641 **Base of Nike of Paionius**.
 4618 **Triglyphed retaining wall** of ashen altar.
 4615 **Bases of 'Zapes'** near entrance to Stadium.
 2659 **Stadium**, elevation: cross-section: plan of goal lines.
 2658 " entrance from Altis. (*Ol.* pl. 4b.)
 2652 **Nero's house**. (*Ol.* pl. 6b.)
 2663 **Byzantine Church**, looking S. (*Ol.* pl. 7a.)
 2661 " " interior. (*Ol.* pl. 6a.)

For the *Sculptures from Olympia*, cf. '*Sculptures from Olympia*,' p. 89, and '*Proskates*,' p. 94.

- 4629 **Orchomeus**, general view of Acropolis from S.
 4499 **Patras**, from the sea.
 3981 **Phigaleia (Bassar)**, Temple of Apollo, general view from N.W.
 1969 " " " " from N.W. (taken at slightly lower altitude).
 3980 " " " " from the N. end.
 1970 " " " " water view of the N. end.
 1972 " " " " interior looking S.
 1971 " " " " interior of the cella looking S.E.
 1885 " " " " another view of the interior.
 6300 " " " " distant view (Williams, *Views in Greece*).

Pylos and Sphacteria.

- 3455 **Map of Pylos and environs**, present state. (*J.H.S.* xvi. pl. 3.)
 9923 **Map of Pylos from original drawing**. (*cf. J.H.S.* xvi. pl. 3.)
 4485 **Map to illustrate Mr. C. R. Grundy's theory of the operations**. (*J.H.S.* xvi. pl. 3.)
 4486 **Plan of the *καλαὶς ἱερὰς* on Sphacteria**. (*J.H.S.* p. 152, fig. 10.)
 4289 **Panoxenus looking N.**, Spartans' main camp in foreground.
 1481 **View looking N.**, cliffs sealed by Messenians.
 5715 **Cliffs looking N.**, Panagia landing place in foreground.
 3458 **Landing place of Bysidus**.
 5068 **Natural breast-work of rocks** as landing place.
 9069 **Pylos from Sphacteria**.
 5970 **Voldio-Kifis from Pylos**.
 3950 **View looking S. from N.E. corner of Pylos**.

- 2208 **Samikó**, E. angle of the walls from W.
 4916 **Sicyon**, the theatre.

PELOPONNESUS, *continued.*

Sparta.

Maps.

- 6827 Map showing the whole *acrotate* of the walls.
 6905 Map of the right bank of the Eurotas from the Artemisium to the modern bridge.

General Views.

- 8014 General view looking towards Taygetus.
 4467 " " " " "
 1067 " " " " "
 6718 " " " " " from the acropolis.

The Shrine of Artemis Orthia, Plans and Sections.

- 8808 Plan from the *Exposition Scientifique* with the sixth century temple added. (E.S.A. xii. p. 309.)
 8802 Plan of the excavation in 1906. (E.S.A. xii. pl. 8.)
 8804 = the foregoing slide (8802) slightly altered.
 8801 Section along trench A. (E.S.A. xii. pl. 8.)
 8830 Plan of the excavation in 1907. (E.S.A. xiii. pl. 2.)
 8829 Sections of the excavations, 1907. (E.S.A. xiii. pl. 3.)
 8828 Part of the section of the excavations, 1907, on a larger scale. (E.S.A. xiii. pl. 3.)
 8835 Plan showing the results of the excavations of 1908.
 6834 Section showing the results of the excavations in 1908.

The Shrine of Artemis Orthia, Views.

- 6901 General view from high ground on S., 1906.
 6907 Bank of Eurotas before excavation.
 4906 Workmen digging out ivories from early stratum.
 2325 The arena in process of excavation.
 7830 " " "
 7825 " " "
 7840 Existing air inscribed base.
 7826 Women washing the earth in the Eurotas for finds.
 2323 The temple, stylobate.
 6904 Bases of piers of outer colonnade of amphitheatre.
 4800 Greek houses found under the Roman amphitheatre.
 6912 The primitive temple.
 6911 " "
 6728 The great drain.

Other Sites.

- 6965 Site of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos.
 7976 The Menelaëum, plan and elevations. (E.S.A. xv. pl. 5.)
 7977 " sections. (E.S.A. xv. pl. 5.)
 6712 " distant view.
 6711 " nearer view.
 6720 " ramp on N. side.
 6709 " the Eurotas from.
 6808 Stereobate of supposed temple near modern bridge.
 6809 " " " after excavation.
 6908 Roman fortification wall, best preserved portion.
 6702 " " " showing marble built in.
 6492 Town wall by the river.

- 6915 Group of excavations. (R.M.D., A.J.B.W., R.C.B.)

For objects discovered at Sparta, see the sections on SCULPTURE, BRONZES, TERRACOTTAS, VASES, IVORIES, LEAD, &c.

PELOPONNESUS, *continued*.

- 3270 **Styx**, Mt. Chelicos, above the source of the.
- 452 **Tiryns**, ground plan.
- 2715 " " " compared with Mycenae. (*J.H.S.* xz, p. 131.)
- 400 " " " of Megaron.
- 6183 " restoration of citadel.
- 6544 " " of E. side of façade of fortress. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. pl. 8.)
- 867 " " of Alseosa squares.
- 8683 " restored section of Megaron. (*J.H.S.* vii, p. 165, fig. 4.)
- 1262 " general view from N. showing N. wall, upper citadel, Nauplia in background.
- 3430 " " taken from northern flanking tower.
- 2166 " general view of whole mound.
- 3951 " " E. side.
- 2167 " approach to the E. gateway.
- 1672 " the E. gateway from within.
- 4005 " view from E. gateway.
- 4606 " great E. gateway.
- 904 " N. wall and postern from without.
- 1679 " the same postern from within.
- 3432 " staircase in W. wall.
- 1673 " staircase in W. wall and salient.
- 3963 " transverse section through S. wall.
- 4510 " S. gallery, looking E.
- 2168 " view of the 'bathroom.'
- 3556 " masonry, detail, from inside.
- 4607 " detail of the masonry of the exterior of E. wall.
- 1674 " anti-bass, from the great propylaea, showing saw-marks.
- 6205 **Zarax**, general view of harbour.
- 6211 " walls.
- 6212 " vaulted passage in Acropolis walls.
- Argentina and Later.*
- 6219 **Geraki** (Geranthron), church of S. Athanasios.
- 2390 " S. George, the shrine.
- 6249 " church of S. Nicolas.
- 2848 " H. Parastoma, shrine.
- 2265 **Karytasna**, general view looking E. from Andritsenos road.
- 1687 " Frankish bridge from E.
- 2265 " Frankish bridge from above.
- 7612 **Ligourio**, church of S. Nicolas.
- 2320 **Loukou**, courtyard of monastery.
- 2332 **Magoula**, bridge over stream of.
- 6243 **Malea**, the cape from the sea.
- 4281 **Messene** (Ithome), monastery, general view.
- 1499 " " entrance.
- 1592 **Mistra**, the castle.
- 5725 " church of Pantanassa, general view.
- 1594 " " the tower.
- 1593 " view from the church of the Pantanassa.
- 2334 " Authentiko monastery, exterior.
- 2336 " Evangelistria monastery, exterior.
- 2338 " Peribleptos monastery, detail of ikonostasis.
- 2340 " view from the Castro southwards over Eurotas valley.
- 2341 " bridge over the stream at.
- 2079 **Modon**, the walls from the mole.
- 6239 " view of the walls on the sea-shore.
- 6240 " " showing the standing column.
- 2083 " capital of the column of S. Mark.

GREEK REMAINS IN ITALY AND SICILY, *continued*.

2353	Selinus (<i>continned</i>), Temple D, drum at E. end, showing plaques.
2354	" " " E, capital at W. end.
4191	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2355	" " " F, capital at W. end.
4189	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2356	" " " G, capital at E. end.
4187	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2357	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2358	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2359	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2360	" " " " " " " " " " " "
4192	" " " " " " " " " " " "
845	Syracuse , plan
1482	" " general view from Euryalus.
5976	" " last camp of the Athenians and mouth of harbour.
1490	" " quarries or Latomæ.
1488	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1200	" " " " " " " " " " " "
7465	" " angle of wall of Dionysus on flats S. of Epipolæ.
7637	" " " " " " " " " " " "
7464	" " Epipolæ : ramp round cliff at centre of N. side.
3952	" " Euryalus, the entrance.
7466	" " " " " " " " " " " "
4284	" " theatre.
5948	" " amphitheatre.
5972	" " cathedral, formerly temple of Artemis.
5104	" " Gothic doorway.
6172	Taormina , from the sea.
B26	" " the theatre.
2363	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2364	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2362	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2365	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2366	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2367	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2372	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2373	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2374	" " " " " " " " " " " "
2375	" " " " " " " " " " " "
8450	Cyclops rocks .

ROME

- B8797. Rome in the 4th century. Model and plan by P. Bigot (*Cl. J.R.S.* Vol. I pl. 11).
 B8797a Model of Rome in the 4th century (as above).
 B8797b Plan " " " " " "

The following twelve slides are photographed from the plates in *Atlas des Peint. Antiques de Rome*, 1873:—

- B4234 Forum, Temple of Faustina and Antoninus; Temple of Romulus.
 B4235 " Basilica of Constantine.
 B4237 " Temples of Saturn and Vespasian.
 B4231 " Arch of Constantine.
 B4238 " Arch of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.
 B4232 Forum of Nerva (Forum Transitorium).
 B4235 Column of Trajan.

ROME, continued.

- B4220 Column of Marcus Aurelius and Hadrianum.
 B4221 Septimium of Septimius Severus.
 B4222 Baths of Diocletian.
 B4223 Mausoleum of Augustus.
 B4224 Aventine and Tiber.

The Forum.

- B2645 Plan of Forum, 1901.
 B2644 " " (Not. d. Scavi).
 B2627 " " region near arch of Septimius Severus.
 B2628 " " Basilica Aemilia.
 B2629 " " S. Maria Antiqua.
 B2630 " " Atrium Vestae.
 B2631 " " Horrea.
 B2632 Plan of N. side of Palatine.
 B2601 The Forum, looking towards Palatine (1902).
 B2602 " " from Capitol (1902).
 B2603 " " " " " "
 B24 " " in 1902.
 B25 " " " "
 B26 " " in 1905.
 B19 " " showing depth of excavations.
 B2631 " " view in snow.
 B9001 Lapis Niger, general view.
 B2604 " " " "
 B2605 " " marble slab and bases.
 B2632 " " seen from above.
 B2633 " " " "
 B2637 " " near view from above.
 B2602 Inscribed stone found below the Lapis Niger.
 B2603 Well of Juturna.
 B2608 " " " "
 B2609 " " altar and shrine.
 B2638 " " view from above.
 B2643 " " sections (Not. d. Scavi).
 B2604 Temple of Castor and Pollux.
 B2630 " " S.E. side, with Tabularium in background.
 B2642 " " foundations, N.W.
 B2605 House of the Vestals.
 B124 " " statues of vestal virgins.
 B2607 Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.
 B115 " " " " cella wall and floor.
 B2623 Curia and column of Phocas.
 B2608 Column of Phocas.
 B17 Milliarum Aureum.
 B2627 'Rostra Vetera,' N. end.
 B2626 " " S. end cut by Arch of Tiberius.
 B2609 Rostra, Relief of Trajan founding an orphanage.
 B2610 " Relief of Trajan cancelling debts to the Treasury.
 B2611 " Relief of animals garlanded for Suovetaurilia.
 B117 " " " "
 B2606 Basilica Aemilia.
 B2621 " " looking E. from Basilica Julia.
 B2641 " " " "
 B2620 " " and Arch of Septimius Severus.
 B2629 " " window-jamb from clerestory.

ROME continued

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| B9807 | Templem Divi Julii. |
| B2634 | " " |
| B9810 | S. Maria Antiqua. |
| B2659 | Curia, front view. |
| B2610 | " " view taken during flood. |
| B2635 | Drum under steps of Temple of Saturn. |
| B2640 | Drains in front of Temple of Concord. |
| B2622 | Shrine of Venus Cloacina. |
| B1624 | 'Pozzi ritual' (Headless Julia). |
| B2625 | Early Sacra Via and Pozzi ritual. |
| B2628 | " " " " course of Cloaca Maxima. |
| B9045 | Arch of Constantine, general view, looking S. |
| B9044 | " " " " " " looking N. |
| B116 | " " " " " " |

For the Sculptures of the Arch of Constantine, and also the Sculpture of the Arch of Titus, and the Column of Trajan, see the sections on Sculpture, p. 104 f.

- B9311. The Via Sacra, looking towards arch of Titus.
B9312 " " general view.
B2636 " " near Basilica of Constantine.

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| B9313 | The Capitol, statue of Aurelius, front view | behind, Palazzo dei Senatori |
| B9314 | " | " " back view, |
| B9315 | " | " " side view |

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| B9035 | Arch of Dolabella. |
| B9036 | " " Drusus. |
| B9037 | " " Gallienus. |
| B9038 | " " the Argiletarii. |
| B9039 | " " Septimius Severus, from the forum. |
| B9040 | " " " " " " from the Capitol. |
| B9041 | " " Titus, general view showing ambulatory slab. |

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| B9044 | Column of Marcus Aurelius | | |
| B9044 | | 71 | 71 |
| B9045 | Trajan, general view | | |
| B9042 | | 71 | 71 |
| B9311 | | 71 | 71 |

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| B9046 | Colossium seen through arch of Titus |
| B9047 | from S. Francesco Romana |
| B9048 | detail of |
| B113 | interior |

The Palace

- | | |
|-------|--|
| B121 | Palatine = wall of Remina. |
| B122 | " house of Livia, central room. |
| B123 | " patium of Calpurnia. |
| B9048 | " house of Domitian. |
| B9012 | " " " |
| B9050 | " " " smaller hall. |
| B9051 | " " " peristyle. |
| B9052 | " " " stadium. |
| B2376 | " " " peristyle, view seen through main gateway. |
| B2377 | " " " view inside. |
| B2378 | " " " architrave of. |

ROME, *continued.*

- B2579 Palatine (*continued*): paedagogium, entrance to one of the chambers.
 B2380 " " " interior of chamber with names scrawled on plaster.
 B2381 " " " mural decoration of one of the chambers.
 B9059 Pantheon.
 B7666 Church of SS. Apostoli, exterior.
 B7665 Palazzo Odescalchi, exterior.
 B7670 British School Library.
 B7672 " " "

The Walls.

- B9053 Wall near Porta San Paolo.
 B9054 Porta Maggiore.
 B9317 " "
 B9324 " San Lorenzo.
 B9055 Mausoleum of Augustus, exterior.
 B9056 Tomb of Cecilia Metella.
 B9057 Pyramid of C. Cestius and gate of San Paolo.
 B21 Walls outside Porta San Paolo.
 B118 Porta S. Lorenzo and Arch of Aqua Marcia.
 B119 Amphitheatrum castrorum.

Miscellaneous Topographical.

- B9058 Janus Quadrifrons.
 B9006 Temple of Vesta and Fortuna Virilis.
 B22 " "
 B2382 Fortino of Octavia.
 B9318 So-called Temple of Minerva Medica.
 B5294 The Mausoleum of Hadrian.
 B120 Ponte S. Angelo.
 B114 Church of Ars Coeli and Capitoline Museum.
 B18 Cloister of the Museo delle Terme.

Roads to Rome.

- B6632 Brick tomb on the Via Appia Nuova.
 B6629 Via Praenestina, Ponte Amato. (*P.B.S.R.L.* p. 269, fig. 17.)
 B6630 Via Praenestina beyond Gabbie. (*P.B.S.R.L.* p. 200, fig. 15.)
 B6631 Tomb on the Via Veientana.

Aqueducts near Rome.

- B111 Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus.
 B152 " " "
 B137 " near Castel Malatino.
 B122 " crossing the Fosso Mauro.
 B133 " " "
 B155 " " Valle d'Empiglione.
 B136 " S. of Colle Castello, plan and sections of double channel.
 B150 " near Laghetto della Pallavicina.
 B149 Anio Novus at Fosso di Biscione.
 B151 " crossing Marcia Terentia and Julia.
 B134 " Valle d'Empiglione.
 B137 " " " N. side.
 B135 " Ponte degli Arci near Tivoli.
 B130 " " " "
 B140 " Ponte S. Antonio, plans and elevations.
 B141 " " " from the S.
 B6628 " Puteus near Ponti delle Forme Rotte.

TOPOGRAPHY AND EXCAVATIONS

51

ROME, continued.

- B125 Ania Vetna near Tivoli.
- B6625 " near Galliano.
- B143 " "
- B142 " Ponte della Moia di S. Gregorio; detail.
- B144 Ponte Tarpe, Canina's plan.
- B145 " plan.
- B146 " elevations.
- B147 " view looking E.
- B143 Aqua Marcia, Ponte S. Pietro.
- B6632 Aqueduct of the Villa of the Quintili.

ITALY OTHER THAN ROME

- B9319 Albano.
- B103 " scarping of rock at Palazzuolo.
- B9333 " "
- B9320 " and Aricia.
- B102 " " general view across valley.
- B6662 " " substructure of Via Appia at Aricia (*Quart. Liv.* 1913.)
- B9321 " " showing viaduct.
- B100 Aletrium, Porta Grande, gateway.
- B6263 Ancona, the harbour with arch of Hadrian.
- B106 Ardea, walls of.
- B9329 Balae, Roman temple.
- B6621 Cavo, Monte, from Tuscolana. (*P.B.S.B.* v. pl. 31; fig. 2.)
- B112 Cervara, quarries of.
- B107 Cori, early city wall.
- B105 Gabii, temple of Juno.
- B6635 " huts on edge of lake: rock-cutting to left.
- B9322 Grottaferrata: S. Nilo.
- B116 Ostia, street in.
- B9101 Pompeii, the forum.
- B9103 " the Basilica.
- B9103 " the Amphitheatre, interior looking N.W.
- B9104 " the small theatre.
- B9105 " the large theatre.
- B9106 " temple of Isis.
- B9107 " Fortuna Augusta.
- B9108 " Vespasian (= 'Temple of Mercury').
- B9109 " baths near the forum, the caldarium.
- B9112 " interior of men's *tejedatium*.
- B9110 " Stabian baths, *apodyterium*, and ante-room leading to Palaestra.
- B9111 " Palaestra, mural decoration of S.W. angle.
- B9113 " theatre colonnade used as barracks for gladiators.
- B9114 " house of Cornelius Rufus, view through the tablinum into the peristyle.
- B9271 " " "
- B9115 " " "the balcony," fountain surmounted by Cupid.
- B9116 " " "Tragic Port," view from the Atrium through the tablinum towards shrine in peristyle.
- B9117 " " Marcus Hileonius, the peristyle.
- B9118 " the Vettii, the peristyle, looking S.
- B9119 " " " " " " W.
- B108 Signia, Porta Saracinesca, gateway.
- B104 Soracte, Civita Castellana (Etruscan-Falerii) Soracte in background.
- B9034 Sutri, rock-cut tomb at.
- B9323 Tivoli, the round temple from the viaduct.

ROMAN BRITAIN

- | | |
|-------|--|
| B0503 | Borcovicus , plan of |
| B0526 | " from the east wall. |
| B0527 | " west gateway. |
| B0529 | Caerleon , inscription referring to building of barracks. |
| B1-3 | Chedworth , views of the Roman villa. |
| B007 | Chester , ordnance plan of Roman area. |
| B0528 | Corstopotum , portions of granaries. |
| B0529 | " E. granary. |
| B0530 | " fountain and E. granary. |
| B0531 | " channel for carrying water to fountain. |
| B0532 | " the lion. |
| B0533 | " relief showing wild boar, legionary badge. |
| B0534 | " statue. |
| B0535 | " relief showing two goddesses. |
| B0536 | " relief relief (so-called Bellerophon). |
| B0537 | " cast from mould: local god with club and shield. |
| B0538 | " Samian pottery, 1st century. |
| B0539 | " " " form 30. |
| B0540 | " " " form 37. |
| B0541 | " group of Samian pottery. |
| B0542 | " face-urn. |
| B008 | Cwmbrwyn , plan. (<i>Arch. Cambrensis</i> , ser. 6, viii. 2.) |
| B011 | Gellygaer , plan of fort. (J. Ward, <i>The Roman fort of Gellygaer</i> .) |
| B10 | Lynae , inside N. wall looking E. |
| B11 | Reculver . |
| B12 | " from E. |
| B0543 | Ribchester , ends of the two granaries at. |
| B0544 | " " " " (another view). |
| B0545 | " two capitals found in wall of principia. |
| B5 | Richborough , N. Wall. |
| B13 | " St. Augustine's Cross, looking S.W. |
| B14 | " S.W. wall, outside. |
| B15 | " entrance. |
| B16 | " N. wall, inside. |
| B0521 | Roman Wall , map of the. |
| B0523 | " wall and Hill Castle near Canfields. |
| B0525 | " wall at Cuddy's Crag. |
| B0524 | " Vallum, Stanley Plantation. |
| B009 | " Barr Hill, plan of early fort. |
| B005 | " Rough Castle 'Hill' pits. (<i>Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.</i>) |
| B6 | Silchester , outside entrenchment. |
| B2512 | " altar from. |
| B7-0 | Stutfall Castle , views of. |

MALTA

(The references are to the *Papere of the British School at Bonn* and to Mayr's works, *Vergewisslichte Denkwürdigkeiten*, and *Prochotario Mullia*.)

- B3191 Carradino, S. building: (F.B.S.R. vi. pl. 6.)
 B3192 " " plan of (F.B.S.R. vi. pl. 5.)
 B671 Haglar Kim, general view.
 B3402 " niche outside C.
 B3403 " " "
 B3404 " " excavation under floor of W.
 B3188 Minalda, plan of (F.B.S.R. vi. pl. 20.)
 B3103 " " niche in E. restored.

MALTA, continued.

- B8407 **Musaltra** (continued), "table leg" in G.
 B8408 " main entrance into E.
 B8409 " H. I. restored.
 B8410 " " "
 B8412 " terracotta found during excavations.
 B8413 " " " " "
 B8414 " " " " "
 B8420 " view into A before restoration.
 B8417 " view from A.
 B8418 " " " "
 B8420 " subsidiary building.
 B8421 " coast near.
 B8190 **Santa Verna**, plan of (*P.B.S.E.* vi. pl. 28.)
 B8422 **Torre Tal Wilgja**, exterior.
 B8423 " " interior.
 B8424 **Torre Tal Janhar**.

SARDINIA

- B8182 **Aiga**, Nuraghe. (*P.B.S.E.* v. p. 97.)
 B8501 **Abbasanta**, the Nuraghi of Lusa.
 B8502 " entrance to one of the outer towers.
 B8503 **Ardara**, Pisan church, exterior.
 B8504 " " " interior.
 B8505 **Cagliari**, the citadel from the Bastione di S. Caterina.
 B8506 " the Bastione di S. Caterina.
 B8507 " the amphitheatre.
 B8508 " Pisan lion in the cathedral.
 B8509 " " " "
 B8510 " " " "
 B8511 **Fordungianus**, the thermal.
 B8185 **Madrone** and **Oreto** Nuraghes. (*Europ. Rev.* xiv. 214, 2-4.)
 B8184 **Mulas** and **Nur-Lusa** Nuraghes. (*Europ. Rev.* xiv. 214, 1-2.)
 B8512 **Nora**, view of the coast with stylobate emerging from sea.
 B8513 " church of Sant' Eusebio (interior).
 B8514 **Sant' Antioco**, Pisan church near.
 B8515 " " inscription in early Jewish characters.
 B8183 **Brigidano**, 'Giant's tomb.' (*P.B.S.E.* v. p. 119.)
 B8186 **Ves**, Nuraghe plans and sections. (*P.B.S.E.* p. 92.)

IV.

INSCRIPTIONS.

In this series the arrangement adopted in E. R. Roberts' *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, vol. I., has been followed and the references throughout have been given to that work only. The slides however have been made, where possible, from facsimile reproductions.

* = reproduced from a photograph of the original.

† = reproduced from facsimile reproduction of the lettering.

Where no sign is added the slides have been made from the conventional type.

The main Catalogue affords abundance of material for supplementing this series by views and other slides bearing on the inscriptions. A few such supplementary slides have been here inserted.

ISLANDS.

- 6601 Roberts, 1a, *v. l. m.* Thera, ca. 650 B.C. Selection of short archaic inscriptions found on rocks and tombs.*
- 6602 Roberts, 7. Melos: first period, ca. 600-550 B.C. Metrical inscription on column of Parian marble.
- 6603 Roberts, 8a, b, c, d. Melos: second period, ca. 550-500. Selection of tomb inscriptions.*
- 6604 Roberts, 8f, *aa.* Melos: third period, ca. 490-415. Selection of tomb inscriptions.*
- 6605 Roberts, 8g, d. Melos: fourth period, shortly after the Peloponnesian war. Selection of tomb inscriptions.*
- 6606 Roberts, 9a. Gortyn: ca. 600. First discovered slab of the longest archaic inscription yet found.* *Louvre.*
- 6607 Roberts, 13. Eremopolis (=ancient Itanos). Retrograde inscription over the figure of a fish.* *Fitzwilliam Mus., Cambridge.*
- 6608 Roberts, 23. Naxos: probably before 600 B.C. Inscribed on the archaic image dedicated at Delos by Nicandra to Artemis.*
Cl. also 3614, view of the statue.
- 6609 Roberts, 27. Naxos: inscribed on the base of an archaic colossus dedicated at Delos by the Naxians to Apollo.*
*Cl. also 5545, 4634, views of the upper half of the colossus *in situ*; and 5546, view of the base *in situ*.*

ATTICA.

- 6610 Roberts, 34. Oldest extant Attic inscription, probably seventh century. Retrograde, on a Dipylon vase.*
Cl. also 6650, view of this vase. (AM. Mus., VI. pl. 8.)*
- 6611 Roberts, 37. Ca. 600 B.C. Stela of Enyalon.*
- 6612 Roberts, 42. Sigeum marble, probably 600-575 B.C. Stela of Phanodorus: the lower inscription only is Attic. *B.M.**
- 6613 Roberts, 45. Salaminitan decree: 575-525 B.C., oldest extant Attic decrees.*
- 6614 Roberts, 56. Altar dedicated by Philocrates, son of Hippias, 535-510 B.C. (*Cl. Thucyd.* VI. 54, where the altar is mentioned.)
- 6615 Roberts, 65. Fragment of a marble base. Before 500 B.C.*
- 6616 Roberts, 69. List of the fallen in the Thasian War, 456-463 B.C.

ATTICA, *continued*.

- 6617 Roberts, 69. Scintel marble, 460 B.C. (Roberts) or 459-8 B.C. (Bosch). Commemorates members of the tribe of Erechtheis fallen in Egypt, etc. Louvre.
 6618 Roberts, 70. Portion of trilobe list. 446 B.C. Attic alphabet in its latest settled form.
 6619 Roberts, 71. Dedication of Aristocrates. Before the Peloponnesian war. (Cf. Aristoph. *Aves*, 125, 6. Thucyd. viii. 69, 92.)

ARGOS.

- 6620 Roberts, 75. Bronze helmet from Olympia commemorating Argive victory over Corinth. Ca. 536 B.C. B.M.*
 6621 Roberts, 81. Part of a base of Parian marble belonging to a statue by Atoton, from Olympia. Before 450 B.C.*

CORINTH AND ITS COLONIES.

- 6622 Roberts, 85. Tomb inscription of 'Dreimias.' 800-350 B.C. Bosatrophodon.*
 6623 Roberts, 90² & 91². Inscriptions on fragmentary reliefs from Corinth. Berlin.*
 Cf. also 253 for a general view of these tablets.
 Cf. also for the form of the hoppe, 2938, coin of Corinth.
 6624 Roberts, 111. Helmet of Hiero of Syracuse. 474 B.C. B.M. Commemorates victory over Stromas off Cumae.*

IONIAN ALPHABET.

- 6625a and b. Roberts, 120. Abou Symbol. Probably 594-589 B.C. (Psemmestichus II.) rather than 653-617 B.C. (Psemm I.). Inscriptions written by Greek mercenaries on sealed oedonal figures.*
 6626 Roberts, 133. Miletic. Bosatrophodon inscription on a lion. B.M.*
 6627 Roberts, 143. Halicarnassus. Ca. 452 B.C. The Lygdamis inscription. The Ionic alphabet as legally adopted at Athens 403 B.C. B.M.*

WESTERN GROUP.

- 6628 Roberts, 169, 170, 171, 172, 202, 203, 204. Euboea. Schelchun from 100 leaden plates found near Syra.*
 6629 Roberts, 216, A, i. Boeotia.*
 6630 Roberts, 232. Oeanthe. Temp. Peloponnesian war. Bronze tablet containing treaty between Oeanthe and Chalcion.*
 6631 Roberts, 244. Laconia. Stela of Glaukatis. Ath. Nat. Mus.*
 6632 Roberts, 256. Laconia. Dedication of Ptolemy. Sparta Mus. Ca. 500 B.C.*
 6633a and b. Roberts, 257. Laconia. Ca. 475-480 B.C. Bronze plate from Tegen recording a deposit of money by Xanthias.
 6634 Roberts, 259. Laconia. Ca. 479 B.C. Serpent column dedicated after Plataea at Delphi: now in Constantinople.*
 Cf. also 6124. Base of the tripod *in situ* at Delphi.
 6952 Restoration of the tripod. (*Jahrb.* i. p. 169.)
 3225 View of Hippodrome at Constantinople showing serpent column *in situ*.
 7961 Nearer view of the serpent column.
 6635 Roberts, 264. Laconia. Ca. 400 B.C. Stela of Damnon. Sparta Mus.*
 6636 Roberts, 268. Laconia. Geronthras. Ca. 415 B.C. on *de wongay* inscription referring to the battle of Mantinea.*
 6637 Roberts, 267. Laconia. Ca. 403-398 B.C. Part of a decree recording restoration of liberty to Delians by Sparta after Aegeospotami.*
 6638 Roberts, 280. Amadia. Marble base found at Olympia dedicated by Cynheus.*

WESTERN GROUP, *continued.*

- 6639 Roberts, 285. Arcadia. 365-363 B.C. Bronze plate from Olympia (dating probably from the time when the Aradians and Pisians jointly administered the affairs of the temple of Zeus).*
- 6640 Roberts, 291. Elis. Ca. 500 B.C. Bronze plate from Olympia recording 100 years' alliance between Eleans and Hermians. R.M.*
- 6641 Roberts, 297. Elis. Bronze plate from Olympia recording alliance of fifty years between two otherwise unknown communities, the Anasti and Metapti.*
- 6642 Roberts, 300. Elis. Bronze plate from Olympia.*
- 6643 Roberts, 302. Achaea and colonia. Ca. 600 B.C. Sandstone block from Metapontum. Boustrophedon (partially).*

ABECEDARIA

- 6644 Roberts, p. 16. Formello: on a vase found in the tomb at Formello, near Vail. Greek alphabet (given twice) of western group and Chalcidian origin: also an Etruscan inscription.*
- 6645 Roberts, p. 17. Cerv: on a vase found in a tomb at Cerv (Cervetri). Greek alphabet of western group and Chalcidian origin.*
- 6646 Roberts, p. 18. Cella: painted on the wall of a tomb at Cella. Only decipherable as far as O. Western group and Chalcidian origin.*
- 6648 Roberts, p. 19. Cotinli: painted on pottery fragment. Boustrophedon. H-7 only preserved.*

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1914 | Athens , marble discus with funerary inscription. H.M. (J.H.S. cat. p. 103.) |
| 1875 | " inscribed base by Hygieia. (Zsch. Arch. 1895, pl. 6.) |
| 6184 | " osirakon bearing the name of Themistokles. |
| 1330 | Corcyra stole found near tomb of Menecrates. (Holt, I, G, d. 244.) |
| 4383 | Deir el Bahari , Greek graffito from. |
| 8082 | " " " " " " |
| 1302 | Delos , vase inscription to Cyntlian Apollo. |
| 7699 | Ephesus , silver plate possibly referring to Croesus temple. (H.M. Ephesos. pl. 12.) |
| 7700 | " transcription of the above slide (No. 7699) |
| 9337 | Memphis , (Greek signboard) of an interpreter of dreams. Cairo Mus. |
| 5882 | Sparta , Anaxillos inscription * on an archaic relief of a maiden from the Chalkidike. |
| 6869 | " Xenocles inscription * in form of a couple's heads, commemorating a triple victory. |
| 6826 | " two stela * giving dedications of sickles (ritzes) by boy winners. |
| 6808 | " inscribed stairs * Roman period. |
| 6963 | " Damonon inscription, * both halves. |
| 7841 | " honorary inscription to Ptolemae from his six colleagues *. |
| 7842 | " two Romanika inscriptions *. |
| 7843 | " Romanika inscription *. |
| 7844 | " " " " " " |
| 7761 | " lower part of funerary relief *'s seated figures and serpent, inscribed I A O N. |
| 8672 | " inscribed pithucles. |

9847 Greek school exercise on an extracou.

Reinhardtia *Reinhardtia*

- B630 Caerleon inscription referring to building of barracks.
B640 Carnarvon, signed inscription.* (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, ser. 6, v. 1.)
B641 Crickleth, copper sake stamps.* (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, ser. 6, xiii. 2.)
B6623 Porto.* (*G.I.L.*, xiv.)
B6627 Roma Vecchia.* (*P.R.S.B.* iv, pl. 3, fig. 1.)

V.

PREHELLENIC ANTIQUITIES.

IMPLEMENTS.

- 8765 Neolithic implements (bone and obsidian) from Palaikastro, Crete.
 7795 Neolithic implements, stone celts, etc., from Tsangli, Thessaly. (*Prehist. Thess.* fig. 68.)
 5140 Obsidian from Melos, Cerigo, &c. (from the Finlay collection).
 2738 Marble bowls, etc., from Amorgos: Ashmolean Mus.
 316 Bronze implements, etc., from Syros and Siphnos. (*Exp. Arch.* 1899, pl. 10, 11.)
 2726 Copper implements from Cyprus
 2725 " " from Central Europe for comparison. (*Mus. Kuppferzell*, 2 pls. 1-14.)
 6722 Minoan bronze daggers, from Palaikastro.
 4817 Votive arms and implements from the Dictaean Cave.
 3707 Swords from Mycenae. (*Troentaa. Mus. Hæll.* pl. 7.)
 455 Axe-head from Mycenae. (*Mus. Hæll.* pl. 7.)
 2708 Spearhead, knife, axe, from Mycenae. (*Mus. Hæll.* pl. 7.)
 5523 Bronze vases, weapons, fibulae, etc. from tombs in lower town at Mycenae.
 2706 Fibulae from Mycenae. (*Troentaa. Mus. Hæll.* pl. 7.)

POTTERY.

Greek Mainland.

- 7780 Plain red ware (neolithic) from Tsangli. (*Prehist. Thess.* fig. 40, a-d.)
 7783 'Red on white' painted bowl from Tsangli: interior. (*id.* fig. 45.)
 8853 " " " " exterior. (*id.* fig. 45.)
 8872 " " cups from Teani Maghula. (*id.* fig. 865.)
 8894 " " vase from Lionokladhi. (*id.* fig. 119.)
 8877 Shards of 'Red on White' ware linear style, from Lionokladhi. (*id.* fig. 118.)
 8895 Mat impression from Lionokladhi. (*id.* fig. 136.)
 6841 'Red on White' ware from Zevolia.
 6842 " " " " later style.
 7790 'Red on White' and 'Three-colour' vases, from Tsangli. (*id.* figs. 42 v, 52.)
 7779 Shards of 'Brown on Buff' ware, from Tsangli. (*id.* fig. 53.)
 7786 'Diminutive Geometric' sherds, from Bakhmani. (*id.* fig. 22.)
 8883 Incised vases, from Bakhmani. (*id.* fig. 9.)
 7782 Later incised and polished wares, from Tsangli. (*id.* fig. 55.)
 8062 Later undecorated vases, from Tsangli. (*id.* figs. 60, 58c.)
 8875 'Lionokladhi Geometric' ware of the Brown Age. (*id.* fig. 115.)
 8885 Minyan goblet. Lionokladhi. (*id.* fig. 115.)

Sicily.

- 2594 Aegean vase shapes found in S. Italy. (*B.S.R. Papers*, iv. p. 412, fig. 2.)
 2595 Ornament motives from Sicily and Thessaly compared. (*B.S.R. Papers*, iv. p. 410.)
 2596 Vases and implements from a tomb at Cava Cana Barbara, near Syracuse. (*id.* pl. 6.)
 2597 Mycenaean and local vases from Matrona e Molocce, near Syracuse. (*Bull. d. Pol. Ital.* ser. 3. ix. pl. 10.)

Malta

- B3187 Santa Verua, pottery from. (*P.B.S.R.* vi, p. 117, fig. 23, p. 119, fig. 24).
B3189 Haglar Kim, pottery from. (*P.B.S.R.* vi, pl. 15.)
B3191 " " (*P.B.S.R.* vi, pls. 16 and 17.)

Asia Minor and Cyprus.

- 29 Troy, anthropomorphic vases. (Dorfield, *Trois*, p. 256.)
32 " beaked jugs, etc. (Dorfield, *Trois*, p. 255.)
9938 Bronze Age painted geometric pottery from Cyprus. (*Cf.* J.H.S., viii, p. 151.)
5102 " " "

Cycladio

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| 5118 | Syros and Siphnos : | Early pottery. (Eph. 1899, pl. 8.) |
| 7040 | Phylakopi | Early Cycladic ware. (Cf. <i>Phylakopi</i> , pl. 4.) |
| 9470 | " | Early Cycladic ware. |
| 7029 | " | " : incised sherds. (Cf. <i>Phylakopi</i> , pl. 5.) |
| 5062 | " | ant. impressions from the bottom of vases. (id. pl. 6.) |
| 9460 | " | jithos with white painted geometric designs. |
| 7014 | " | pre-Mycenaean geometric : designs in lustrous paint. (Cf. id. pl. 7.) |
| 7005 | " | " " beaked jugs. (Cf. id. plates 8, 9.) |
| 5040 | " | " " beaked jugs. (Cf. id. pl. 14.) |
| 7008 | " | various Cycladic vases. (Cf. id., pl. 19.) |
| 7627 | " | local imitation of L.M. I : vase with flowers. (id. pl. 23, 7.) |
| 9480 | " | " " " " jug with flowers. (B.S.A. xvii. pl. 3, No. 142.) |
| A24 | " | " " " " jar with spirals. (B.S.A. xxi. pl. 3, No. 57.) Coloured alide. |
| 7031b | " | " " " " jug with tulip design. (<i>Phylakopi</i> , pl. 23, 3.) |
| 9474 | " | " " " " large jar with spirals. |
| 5654 | " | " " " " jug. (id. pl. 25, 4.) |
| 9458 | " | " " " " later vase. |
| 2561 | These vases with naturalistic painting from. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. pl. 20.) | |

Minoan

- | | |
|------|--|
| 3891 | Cresson, Neolithic incised ware. |
| 7539 | Palaikastro : stone bowls and early incised ware. |
| 1460 | (M.M. I.) Palaikastro : Kamáris vases. (<i>E.S.A. ix. p. 305, fig. 5.</i>) |
| 2795 | " Pottery from Kamáris. (<i>Mariani, Mon. Ant. vi. pl. 6.</i>) |
| 2734 | " Cresson, Kamáris pottery. (<i>J.H.S. xii. pls. 6, 7.</i>) |
| A2 | " " " Coloured alids. |
| A18 | " " " " |
| A14 | (M.M. II.) Kamáris vases (mostly M.M.II.) excavated by the British School at Athens |
| A15 | at the Kamáris cave, 1913. From coloured drawings by R. M. Dawkins |
| A16 | and J. P. Droop. Coloured alids. |
| A18 | " " " " |
| 9941 | " sherd from Kamáris cave. |
| 9983 | " " " " |
| 6346 | " Cresson, Kamáris vase. (<i>J.H.S. ix. p. 120, fig. 75.</i>) |
| 6217 | " " " " |
| 7943 | " " cup. ♀ (<i>J.H.S. xiii. pl. A.</i>) |
| 7396 | " " cup. |
| 6215 | (M.M. III.) " Vases of earliest period of later palace. (<i>B.S.A. viii. p. 91,</i> |
| | fig. 51) |

Minoan, continued.

- 6331 (M.M. III.) Chiosso, vase with lily design. (*B.S.A.* x. p. 7, fig. 1.)
 6332 " " painted store jar. (" " p. 2.)
 5528 " " large jar with papyrus in relief. (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 129.)
 6338 " " knobbed pithos. (*B.S.A.* x. p. 12, fig. 3.)
 9079 (L.M. I.) Shards from Kamara cave.
 A20 " Mochlos burial jar. (*Mochlos*, pl. 11.) Coloured slide.
 5056 " Phylakops, imported Cretan jug with marine design. (*Phylakops*, pl. 31, x.)
 9476 " " flat bowl with marine design.
 9452 " " " " and jug.
 9475 " " Minoan vase.
 3511 " Painted jug: mantis design. Marseilles Mus.
 2556 " " with marine subject. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. fig. 436.)
 5205 " Zakro, pointed vase ('filice') with marine decoration. (*J.H.S.* xvii. pl. 22, 1.)
 9477 (L.M. II.) Phylakops vase, imported Cretan ware.
 1407 " Palaikastro, painted 'gourd vase,' cuttledah design.
 1402-4 " " painted 'fillers.' (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 311.)
 7005 (L.M. I-III.) " pottery, a selection. (*Cl. J.H.S.* xxiv. p. 4iv.)
 1406 (G.M. III.) " painted jug with floral design.
 7290 " " large jar with palmette decorations.
 8784 " " vases, with designs of birds. (*Cl. B.S.A.* x. p. 324.)
 8786 " " Larnax.
 9973 Lids of pithoi from Kamara cave.

Mycenaean.

- 2569 Mycenae: shard with conventionalized plant design. (Perrot and Chipiez vi. pl. 21.)
 6347 " " 'palace' vase. (*J.H.S.* xxiv. pl. xiii.)
 6541 Typical Mycenaean vases. (Walter, *Palace*, pl. 15.)
 891 Mycenaean vases from Karpathos and Kalymnos. (*J.H.S.* xviii. pl. 83.)
 7845 " " Sparta.
 7846 " " " "
 8094 Late Mycenaean vases in Cyprus Museum.
 8091 " " " " " "
 8085 " " " " " "
 8080 " " " " " "
 489 Mycenae: 'warrior vase' : obv. (Schuchhardt, fig. 284.)
 713 " " 'warrior vase' rev. (id. fig. 285.)
 712 " " detail of 'warrior vase.'
 703 Warrior, horse, and dog, fragment from Tiryns.
 2556 Sub-Mycenaean vases from Lapathos in Cyprus. (Oltmanns-Richter, pl. 18, 1.)
 2711 " " vase from Tell-es-Safi in Philistia. (Palestine Exploration Fund, 1899, 324.)

PAINTING.

- 3802 Chiosso, engraver. (*Monthly Review*, March 1901, p. 126, fig. 6.)
 3803 " figure of a girl. (*B.S.A.* vii. fig. 17.)
 831 " facade of a temple. (*J.H.S.* xxi. pl. 5.)
 A " the same. Coloured slide.
 832 " restoration of preceding. (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 193.)
 3825 " fragments illustrating the dress of women.
 9816 " lower part of draped figure.
 7998 " labyrinth pattern from Hall of Double Axes. (*B.S.A.* viii. fig. 62.)
 624 " female bull-fighters.

PAINTING, continued.

- 9815 **Hagia Triada**. Cat and bird fresco.
 9816 " " " " another fragment, with plants.
 9863 " " Sarcophagus, long side, No. 1 (*Fahrekefte*, xii, p. 305).
 9868 " " " " detail.
 9864 " " " " No. 2 (*Fahrekefte*, xii, p. 307).
 9867 " " " " detail.
 9865 " " " " outline drawing of both ends (*Rev. Arch.*, 1908, ii, p. 285).
 7983 **Melos**, The 'fishermen' lampstand.
 7907a " flying fish fresco. (*Phylakopi*, pl. 3.)
 8312 **Mycenae**, figures with asses' heads. (*J.H.S.* xiv, p. 81.)
 8313 " reconstruction of ceiling. (*J.H.S.* xiv, pl. 12.)
 7286 **Praesos**, part of larnax: hind.
 843 **Tiryns**, bull-fighting scene.
 8427 " two ladies driving in forest.
 8428 " head and bust of a woman (*Ath. Mitt.* 80, pl. 8.)
 8429 " completed restoration of the foregoing.
 8430 " bear hunt.
 8431 " painted frieze of shields.
 8432 " painted decoration (cf. Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. 5).
 8433 " painted frieze.

SCULPTURE AND MODELLING.

Stone.

- 2732 Amorgos: Cycladic marble figures, Ashmolean Mus.
 2733 Neolithic figurines from Chios and the Cyclades, outline drawing. (*Mon.* 1901, 140.)
 2579 Kerai: marble figures. *Ath. Nat. Mus.* (*Ath. Mitt.* 1884, pl. 6.)
 5847 View of Candia Museum, showing stone jars, etc.
 7539 Early incised bowl and stone vases from Palaikastro.
 A27 Coloured stone jars. (*Machlos*, pl. 4.) Coloured slide.
 5298 Stone weight from Chios. (*B.S.A.* vii, p. 42.)
 1460 Steatite lampstand from Palaikastro.
 1459 Steatite lamp on stand from Palaikastro.
 5300 'Harvester vase' from Hagia Triada.
 235 Design of frieze of glass-paste and slateware: Tiryns. (*Collignon*, fig. 26.)
 5201 Small porphyry frieze of shield design: Chios. (*B.S.A.* vii, p. 55.)
 1942 Design of the ceiling at Grekomenes. (*Collignon*, fig. 9.)
 344 Stele from 'Shaft-grave': ephebe, chariot and armed man. (*Schmidhardt*, fig. 146.)
 1124 Head of primitive male stone statuette.

Bronze and Lead.

- 2585 2 views of leaden statuette from Campos. (*Treasures*, *Mon.* 1901, pl. 1.)
 5079, 5080. Bronze statuette * from Phylakopi. (*B.S.A.* iii, pl. 3.)

Terracotta.

- 4839 Terracotta seated figure * from the 7th settlement at Zivlia (*Presint. Thessalop.* fig. 119).
 8886 Terracotta statuette, seated male figure from Larissa (*id.* fig. 30).
 8843 Aeolithic figures from Bakhmani (Wace and Thompson, *id.* fig. 25).
 7848 Figurines from Petalidia, front view.
 7849 " " back view.
 7847 " " side view.
 3686 Camirus statuette. B. M. (full face view).
 3685 " " B. M. (profile view).
 7054 Melos: marble and terracotta figurines (cf. *Phylakopi*, pl. 29).
 3741 Votive figurines from Petalofa. Middle Minian. (cf. *B.S.A.* ix, pls. 8-13.)

Terracotta, *continued*.

- A21 Petsofa terracottas. Female figure with large hat; male figure with dagger. (*B.S.A.* ix. pls. 8, 9.) Coloured slide.
 3810 Man wearing apron, from Palakastro.
 3208 Terracotta idols: Cnossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 29, fig. 56.)
 3207 Terracotta 'seals gestatoria': Cnossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 31, fig. 15a.)
 3294 Early shrine, painted terracotta pillars and doves: Cnossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 29, fig. 14.)
 3296 Mycenaean terracotta figurines. (Schliemann, *Troja*, pl. 25.)

Ivory &c.

- 3218 Ivory youth and heads: Cnossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. parts of pls. 2, 3.)
 3805 Ivory draughtboard from Cnossos. (*B.S.A.* vii. fig. 25.)
 3522 Ivory draughtboard from Kakoi, from a drawing. (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 289, 290.)
 3516 Carved wooden disc of Sarobina: Berlin.

Gesso.

- 3804 Upper part of human figure in relief: Cnossos. (*B.S.A.* vii. fig. 6.)
 3806 Head of bull: Cnossos. (*Monthly Rec.* 1901, 126, fig. 7.)

Faience.

- 7300 Cnossos, snake goddess, 2 views. (*B.S.A.* ix. fig. 54.)
 7361 " votary, 2 views. (*B.S.A.* ix. fig. 56.)
 7303 " wild goat in relief. (*B.S.A.* ix. pl. 5.)
 7359 " flying fish. (*B.S.A.* ix. fig. 46.)
 3217 " tablets of porcelain mosaics: houses and towers. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 15, fig. 2.)
 3218 " " " " warriors, animals, &c. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 21, fig. 10.)

GEMS AND SEALS.

- 3510 Designs on Cretan seal-stones and Egyptian scarabs. (Evans, *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 327.)
 3863 Minuan gems, various types.
 3854 " " " "
 2719 " " (*B.M. Cat. of Gems*, pl. 1.)
 3855 " " heraldic animals, &c.
 832 " " male deity and lions. (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 163.)
 5872 " " female deity with lions and male worshipper.
 3615 " " with animal figures. (*J.H.S.* xiv. 106-153.)
 7909 Clay seal impression with minotaur. (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 18, fig. 7a.)
 7902 " " from Zakro with minotaur types. (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 138.)
 7907 " " showing double axes. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 107, figs. 64, 65.)
 3856 Gems illustrating dress and worship.
 200 Engraved gold ring: group of female figures. (Schi. *Mys.* fig. 550.)
 430 " " pillar-worship scene. (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 170.)
 483 " " scenes of fighting and hunting. (Schi. *Mys.* figs. 334, 335.)

DECORATIVE METALWORK AND JEWELLERY.

- 689 Mycenaean, inlaid dagger: cats hunting water birds. Obv. and rev. (*Ath. Mitt.* vii. 8.)
 5891 Part of the obv. of above on a larger scale.
 481 Mycenaean, inlaid dagger: lion-hunt scene. (Cl. Schachhardt, fig. 227.)
 695 " " " " warriors contending with lions: lions hunting deer.
 3958 Collection of Mycenaean daggers restored.
 346 Gold mask from shaft-grave. (Schi. *Mys.* fig. 474.)
 3955 2 human and 1 lion masks, diadem and ox's head with double axes.
 3957 Gold diadem from Mycenaean.

METALWORK, *continued.*

- 2517 Portion of a diadem. (Schuchhardt, fig. 149.)
 245 Diadem. (Schuchhardt, fig. 153.)
 2518 Gold breastplate, outline sketch of spiralle design. (Cf. Schuchhardt, fig. 254.)
 2478 Disc with octopod design. (Schuchhardt, fig. 190.)
 247a " design of wavy band. (Schuchhardt, fig. 189.)
 6557 Gold discs and buttons from Mycenae.
 2912 Small gold shrine and goddess. (Schl. Myc. fig. 423.)
 1079 Mycenae: silver ox's head. (Schl. Myc. fig. 327.)
 2954 " " " from a photograph.
 876 Fragment of a silver bowl with sigae waves. (Eg. *Apex*, 1891, pl. 2, 2.)
 499 Mycenae: alleged 'cup of Nestor.'
 3520 " gold cup with rosettes. (Schl. Myc. fig. 344.)
 3521 " " with fluted ornament. (Schl. Myc. fig. 342.)
 2691 Vaphio: gold cups with bull-catching scenes. (Gardner, fig. 1.)
 2654 " " two views of the cup with the bull decaying.
 2655 " " " showing the bulls being caught in nets.
 2333 Bronze ram-handle: bulls and demigods holding jugs; from Boeotia.
 325 Interior of gold cup with spiral decoration, from Aegina. (J.H.S. ciii, p. 199.)
 6412 Mycenaean jewellery from Aegina. (Cf. J.H.S. xiii.)
 6413 " " " " "
 190 'Priam's Treasure,' from second city of Troy.
 2006 Gold ornaments of Mycenaean style found at Troy. (Schuchhardt, p. 35.)
 216 Trojan jewellery worn by Helen. Schliemann.
 4818 Mochlos: Early Minoan gold ornaments.

WRITING.

- 2818 Cretan seal-stones, prismatic, with pictographic signs.
 5148 Clay tablet with Minoan inscription.
 2885 Clay tablet with linear script, from the original.
 3897 Clay tablets with linear scripts. (E.S.A. vi, pl. 1.)
 7099 Fragment of libation table, Palaikastro, with Minoan inscription.
 2834 The Phaistos disc.

EGYPTIAN CONTACTS.

- 3510 Designs from Cretan seal-stones and Egyptian scarabs compared. (J.H.S. xiv, 327.)
 2740 Argos vases (Kamarris type) from Rahm. (J.H.S. xi, pl. 14.)
 2731 Egyptian statuette, from Chios. (Eg. *Expl. Faad Report*, 1899-1900, p. 40 II.)
 3520 Cartouche of King Khyan, from Onocnos. (E.S.A. vii, fig. 21.)
 2908 Egyptian ivory statuette from Palaikastro.
 5139 Upper part of an ape in relief, with cartouche of Amenhotep II, from Mycenae.
 5138 Vase from Mycenae, with cartouche of Amenhotep III.
 5842 Thebes, tomb of Senmut, fresco of Kefin, ca. 1550 a.o.
 6689 Fresco of Kefin, detail. (Hall, *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, frontispiece.)
 2799 Kefin vases from Rahmarna tomb, outline drawing.
 2534 " single example, outline drawing. (id. 100.)
 3529 Spiral ornament on columns, photographed *in situ*. (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. 10.)
 3530 Nefert-hotep ceiling: drawing. (Prisse d'Arennes, *Hist. de l'art égyptien*, 81.)
 3531 Egyptian spiralle design, outline drawing. (id. 83.)
 3532 Egyptian painted design: spiralle and lotus.
 1010 Gryphes, Egyptian (Aa-hotep) and Mycenaean. (Schuchhardt, fig. 186.)
 834 Egyptian lion and solar disc: outline drawing. (J.H.S. xvi, p. 162.)
 1004 Egyptian fresco painting: bull and lion (unpublished).
 3527 " " " bull. (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. 3.)
 3528 " " " calf. (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. 4.)
 1006 " " " Cat hunting (from original). B.M. No. 176.

VI.

ARCHITECTURE.

NON-HELLENIC.

Egyptian.

- 1045 **Ghizeh**, view of the pyramids during inundation.
 1099 " " " " nearer view.
 2741 **Medinet Habu**, column in temple of Antoninus Pius.

Eastern.

- 1661 **Abu Mt.**, Jain temple at Daulwar: columns and shrine.
 1662 " " " " hall of elephants.
 1663 **Balloor**, near Bangalore, Indian temple.
 4696 **Khorsabad**, palace of Sargon: restoration. (Perrot and Chipiez, II, pl. 3.)
 1047 **Persepolis**, palace of Darius, portico. (Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, v, fig. 302.)
 1951 " " royal tomb. (Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, v, pl. 1.)
 1055 " " propylaea of Xerxes. (Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, v, pl. 2.)

Phrygian.

- 6398 **Aralan Kaya**, Phrygian monument at.
 6399 **Bakabish**, Phrygian monument at.
 6400 **Demirli**, Phrygian monument at.
 9922 " " lion tomb (drawing by A. C. Blunt).
 2034 **Gelembe**, rock-cut tomb at.
 9923 **Yastli-Kaya**, 'Tomb of Midas' (drawing by A. C. Blunt).

Lycian.

- 2990 **Makri** (Telmessos), Lycian rock-cut tomb.
 2951 " " group of Lycian rock-cut tombs.
 2933 " " the large broken Ionic tomb.
 2044 " " cliff and rock-cut tombs.
 2045 " " Lycian rock-cut tomb in Acropolis.
 2046 " " Lycian tomb on shore.
 3760 **Syra**, cliff of tombs above theatre.
 672 **Xanthos**, Lycian tomb and 'Harpy tomb' *in situ*.
 5444 " " Tomb of Payava B.M. Sketch of the tomb *in situ* by Schaefer. (B.M. Cat. Suppl. II, pl. 3.)

PRE-HELLENIC ARCHITECTURE.

- 3828 **Cnossos**, palace-plan 1901-2. (B.S.A. vii. frontispiece.)
 9954 " " 1906. (Lagrange, *Oùs Antiques*, pl. 1.)
 3811 " " W. court from S.W. portico.
 8311 " " theatral area.
 4663 " " the throne and adjoining seats.
 8816 " " the tank from N.W.
 1495 " " imagines.
 5246 " " halls on E. slope restored. (B.S.A. vii. p. 121.)
 607 " " upper portion of one of the stairways.
 5515 " " quadruple staircase.

PREHELLENIC ARCHITECTURE, *continued.*

- 5214 **Cnossos** (contd.), view looking W. from upper E.W. corridor. (*B.S.A.* viii, p. 87, fig. 17.)
 5215 " view in lower E.W. corridor, looking E. (*B.S.A.* viii, p. 88, fig. 18.)
 5232 " hall of colonnades, restored section. (*B.S.A.* vii, p. 106.)
- 5238 " hall of the double axes, cross-section looking W.
 7382 " " " from the tower.
 5269 " " " eastern part. (*B.S.A.* viii, p. 88, fig. 22.)
 7904 " plan and section of the shrine of the double axes. (*B.S.A.* viii, fig. 55.)
 5209 " room of stone bench. (*B.S.A.* viii, p. 77, fig. 44.)
 1194 " pillar showing double axe marks.
- 5522 " " drainage-pipes.
 5521 " drainage system.
 5518 " " "
 1472 " system of rainwater drainage.
 7905 " royal villa, plan and section. (*B.S.A.* ix, pl. 1.)
 7906 " " view of the throne room. (*B.S.A.* ix, fig. 89.)
 6213 " " " " "
- 5559 **Delos**, cave-temple of Apollo, rock-cut approach.
 1035 " " " from without.
 1448 " " " from within.
 827 " view towards Rheneia, showing back of cave-temple.
- 2858 **Dimini** (Thessaly), doorway of beehive tomb.
 1816 **Epidaurus**, Cyclopean bridge, near
 812 **Gha**: plan of the fortress. (Tymnias and Masutt, p. 376.)
- 7389 **Hagia Triada**, N.E. angle of later palace from N.
 9811 " " main staircase.
 7399 " " stairs to upper floor to S. of 'Men's Megaron' from W.
 7391 " " 'Men's Megaron' from E.
 5229 " " "
 5843 " " drainage system.
 5298 " " staircase and room 7 on plan in Monuments.
- 5671 **Kirk Kilisne** (Thrace): tholos tomb. Halls in date, front view.
 5672 " " " " " side view.
- B8192 **Malta**, Carmelino, S. building: plan. (*P.B.S.E.* vi, pl. 5.)
 B8191 " " " view. (*P.B.S.E.* vi, pl. 6.)
 B8171 " Hagiar Kim, general view.
 B8402 " " niche outside C.
 B8403 " " " "
 B8404 " " excavation under floor of W.
 B8388 " Mnajdra, plan. (*P.B.S.E.* vi, pl. 20.)
 B8405 " " niche in E, restored.
 B8407 " " 'table leg' in G.
 B8408 " " main entrance into E. (The references are to Mayr, *Peripichtliche Denkmäler*, and *Prehistoria Malta*.)
 B8409 " " H. L. restored.
 B8410 " " " "
 B8406 " " view into A. before restoration.
 B8417 " " view from A.
 B8418 " " " "
 B8420 " " subsidiary building.
 B8421 " " exact near.
 B8190 " Santa Verna, plan. (*P.B.S.E.* vi, pl. 28.)
 B8422 " Torre Tal Wilgus, exterior.
 B8423 " " interior.
 B8424 " Torre Tal Janhar.
- 478 **Mycense**, ground plan. (Schubhardt.)

PREHELLENIC ARCHITECTURE, *continued.*

- 6888 **Tiryns** (*continued*), restored section of Megaron. (*J.H.S.* v. p. 165, fig. 4.)
 8430 " " " " taken from northern flanking tower.
 2156 " " general view of whole mound.
 3951 " " " " E. side.
 2167 " " approach to the E. gateway.
 1672 " " the E. gateway from within.
 4403 " " view from E. gateway.
 4606 " " great E. gateway.
 1679 " " the same position from within.
 3433 " " staircase in W. wall.
 1678 " " staircase in W. wall and subport.
 3993 " " transverse section through S. wall.
 4510 " " S. gallery, looking E.
 2188 " " view of the ' bathroom.'
 3536 " " masonry, detail, from inside.
 4607 " " detail of the masonry of the exterior of E. wall.
 1670 " " anta base, from the great propylaea, showing saw-marks.
 5071 **Troy**, plan. (Dorpfeld, *Troja*, pl. 3.)
 7947 " " section showing different strata. (Dorpfeld, *Troja*, p. 32, fig. 6.)
 7948 " " 2nd city, plan of gateway (*id.*, p. 22, fig. 15.)
 2569 " " plan of houses. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. fig. 48.)
 5697 " " 1st city, traces of.
 5599 " " 2nd city, great ramp.
 5600 " " " " walls of adobe.
 5601 " " 6th city, walls of building on the S. side.
 5602 " " " " another view of preceding.
 5603 " " " " blocked gate leading to wall.
 1485 " " " " the great N.E. tower (with the walls and steps of the 8th city).
 5562 " " " " ascent to the palace.
 1483 " " 8th city, N.E. walls and stairway (with the tower of the 6th city).

- 831 Frieze from Chios, facade of a Minoan temple. (*J.H.S.* xli. pl. 5.)
 832 " " " " restored (*id.* p. 122.)
 8431 Painted architectural frieze from Tiryns.
 8432 " " " " " "
 8433 " " " " " "
 335 Design of frieze of glass-paste and alabaster from Tiryns. (Collignon, fig. 23.)
 5261 Small porphyry frieze of similar design from Chios. (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 55.)
 5212 Tablets of porcelain mosaics showing houses and towers from Chios. (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 15, fig. 8.)

DORIC ARCHITECTURE.

- 423 **Aegina**, temple from N.W.
 7634 " " " " from N.E.
 1053 " " " " from S.E.
 8972 " " " " " "
 5171 " " " " interior view showing blocks grooved for lifting.
 5187 **Agrirentum**, temple of Castor and Pollux (partly reconstructed).
 5188 " " " " Concord, general view of E. end.
 4180 " " " " W. front.
 7942 " " " " Juno, distant view.
 7944 " " " " W. end.
 7943 " " " " E. end.
 4177 " " " " N. side.
 7162 " " " " substructure, S. side.

DORIC ARCHITECTURE, *continued.*

2672	Olympia (contd.). Exedra and Hieronum: east front and elevation: restored. (Ol. pl. 84.)
2534	" Heraeum seen from S.
2647	" " " from S.E.
4614	" " " N.E. angle.
2248	" " " "
2273	" " " the W. end.
2608	" " " columns restored. (Ol. pl. 21.)
2697	" " " (Ol. pl. 20.)
2665	" temple of Zeus: ground plan. (Ol. pl. 9.)
2666	" " " (a) east front, restored; (b) cross section. (Ol. pl. 10.)
3504	" " " view from N. (near Palepfen.)
1323	" " " restored.
2683	" " " another restoration. (Ol. pl. 132.)
7184	" " " restoration of interior.
2656	" " " anterior, present state. (Ol. pl. 25.)
4622	" " " fallen capital at E. end.
4616	" " " shattered column on E. side.
4619	" " " site of the statue of Olympian Zeus.
7100	" " " detail of pavement.
2659	" Treasuries of Gela and Megara, looking S.W. (Ol. pl. 5a.)
2673	" " painted terracotta E-gable. (Ol. pl. 117.)
2664	" " of Selinus and Metapontum. (Ol. pl. 7b.)
2681	" " of Sicily, with Metroon restored. (Ol. pl. 131.)
2678	" " restored corner of a treasury, showing colouring. (Ol. pl. 112.)
2674	" " various fragments of marble showing painted ornamentation. (Ol. pl. 113.)
2681	Poligaleia (Rhaia). Temple of Apollo, general view from S.W.
1969	" " " " from N.W. (taken at slightly lower altitude)
2680	" " " " from the N. end.
1070	" " " " nearer view of the N. end.
1972	" " " " interior looking S.
1971	" " " " interior of the cella looking S.E.
1885	" " " " another view of the interior.
6309	" " " " distant view. (Williams, <i>Temples in Greece</i> .)
3440	Posidonia (Paestum), temple of Poseidon from S.E. with Basilica behind.
5726	" " " " another view.
5182	" " " " view in colonnade, showing upper storey.
0003-5	" " " " other views.
5186	" the Basilica, general view.
5183	" " " nearer view showing entrance of the columns.
6007	" " " another view.
6009	" " " the temple of Ceres.
4014	Rhamnus , stylobate of the temple of Nemesis.
6321	Segesta , the unfinished temple, near view.
7454	" " " " interior view.
2344	" " " " "
2348	Selinus , Temple A, capital in centre of ruins.
2349	" " " " B, S.W. angle.
4194	" " " " C, capital in centre of ruins.
2350	" " " " " "
2351	" " " " part of entablature as reconstituted on the N. side.
2352	" " " " D, capital at N.W. angle.
4195	" " " " " "
2353	" " " " drum at E. end, showing plaster.
2354	" " " " E, capital at W. end.
4191	" " " " " "

DORIC ARCHITECTURE, *continued.*

2355	Selinus (<i>continued</i>), Temple F, capital at W. end.
4189	" Temple F, capital.
2356	" " G, capital at E. end.
4187	" " " " " "
2357	" " " " in centre of ruins.
2358	" " " " unfluted drums on N. side.
2359	" " " " drums on which the fluting has been begun.
2360	" " " " blocks cut away to lighten structure.
4193	" " " O, capital.
6012	Sparta , traces of the eighth century temple.
6917	" " " " "
1543	Sunium temple from N.E.
8971	" " " " nearer view.
1545	" " " from the N.
1542	" " " " S.
1546	" " " S; coloumnade.
5975	Syracuse , interior of cathedral, formerly temple of Athena, showing Doric columns.

A0	Anta of a Doric Temple. (Barnes, <i>etc.</i> , pl. 49.) Coloured slide.
5290	Diagram of the optical corrections of a Doric temple. (Choisy, <i>Arch.</i> I. p. 407.)
5290	" " " " " " " " p. 406.)

IONIC ARCHITECTURE

8293	Assael (Tchavdyr-Issar), temple from the N.W.
5476	Athens , the Erechtheum, plan. (<i>Arch. Mon.</i> 1904, pl. vi.)
229	" " " plan.
3013	" " " general view from S.
1480	" " " " from W., shewing reconstruction (1903).
1932	" " " " from N.W.
7606	" " " N. porch, 1905.
1933	" " " " before restoration.
639	" " " W. side, as now re-erected.
4541	" " " floor of, shewing opening.
643	" " " lower portion of pillar.
645	" " " the ceiling.
1080	" " " N. door.
3940	" " " detail of decoration of lintel.
1934	" " " mouldings.
4685	" " " corner capital of.
4686	" " " lacunaria, detail of.
949	" " " engaged columns of W. end, before reconstruction.
394	" " " porch of the Maidens from S.E.
7129	" " " " " "
4403	" " " " " from S.W.
3015	" " " " " "
3016	" " " " " one of the Maidens <i>in situ</i> .
3024	" " Nike Apteros Temple, from the Propylaea.
3022	" " " " " looking S.W.
3023	" " " " " establishment <i>in situ</i> .
4544	" " capital by Mnecles in the Propylaea.
658	" " Ionic capital from Kynosarges (cf. <i>B.S.A.</i> III. p. 96).
5491	Delphi , treasury of Chaidon. Restoration of facade. (<i>Delphi</i> , II. pl. 11, a.)
3492	" " " " " Caryatides, upper portions. (<i>Delphi</i> , IV. pl. 20.)
6373	" " " " " as reconstructed in Louvre.

IONIC ARCHITECTURE, *continued.*

3743	Didyma , temple of Apollo, decorated column base.
3744	" " " " pannelled base of column.
3745	" " " " Gorgoneion forming part of acroabulum.
7648	" " " " " " " "
4589	Eleusis , Ionic capital.
7375	Ephesus , temple of Artemis, restoration. (B.M. Cat. of Sculpture, II. fig. 2.)
297	" " " " Ionic capital as formerly reconstructed. B.M.
298	" " " " " " " "
299	" " " " " " " "
7699	" " " " " " " "
7319	Samos , the Heron, detail of the base of a column.
7622	" " " " " " " "
7628	" " " " " " " "
7633	" " " " " " " "
3160	Sardis , temple of Cybele.

6380 The vine as the origin of characteristic forms in Ionic architecture (from a sketch by Scharf.)

CORINTHIAN ARCHITECTURE.

5154	Athens , choragic monument of Lysikrates.
5899	" " " " " " another view.
4312	" " " " " " restored.
682	" " the Olympieum from the N.W.
3936	" " " " " " E.
4567	" " " " " " fallen capital.
4568	" " " " " " abacus of fallen column.
688	" " " " " " base of fallen column.
389	" " 'Tower of the Winds.'
4578	" " " " " " another view.
152	" " " " " " and the Roman agora.
4559	" " Corinthian capital near gate of wall in Asklepieion.
4555	" " " " " " capitals in the theatre of Dionysus.
5732	Baalbek , fore court of great temple.
193	" " smaller temple, doorway with key-stone raised.
5751	" " " " " " detail of doorway.
5760	" " " " " " capitals.
5722	" " " " " " detail of doorway.
5721	" " octagonal temple ('Temple of Venus').
197	" " detail of the ceiling of the best preserved temple.
5776	Diocæsarea , temple near.
1744	Eleusis , capital near Apollo's Temple.
1697	Epidauros , tholos of Polykletus, present state.
1957	" " " " " " capital from.
3575	" " " " " " lion-headed cornice from.
25566	Nîmes , Maison Carrée.
5773	Olbe , temple of Zeus.
5774	" " colonnade.
1981	Olympia the Lemnæum : cornice.
6179	" " " " " " as reconstructed.
4613	" " " " " " Philippæum, present state.
2671	" " " " " " elevation restored. (V. pl. 80.)
1024	Palmyra , temple of the Sun, outer peristyle. (Cl. cat. pl. 21.)
1029	" " " " " " " "
1008	" " " " " " smaller peristyle. (Cl. cat. pl. 21.)

CORINTHIAN ARCHITECTURE, continued.

- B9104 **Pompeii**, temple of *Isis*
 B9107 " " *Fortuna Augusta*
 B9108 " " *Vespasian* (= 'Temple of Mercury')
 B9007 **Rome**, temple of *Antonine and Faustina*
 B115 " " " portico from the side.
 B9001 " " *Castor and Pollux*.
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- 6322 *Acanthus* growth. (*Jahrb.* xl. p. 122, fig. 4.)
 6325 " " (Kernst and Olivier, *Nat. Hist.* vi. p. 772, fig. 494.)

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

Ecclesiastical Architecture

(i) *Asia*, &c.

- 4304 **Ak Kale**, exterior of cruciform from W. (*Rev. Arch.* vii. p. 392, fig. 6.)
 4303 **Anazarbus**, Basilica No. 1, fragment of cornice. (*Id.* p. 13, fig. 11.)
 4304 " " " lintel of door. (*Id.* p. 16, fig. 12.)
 4305 " " " acanthus bracket. (*Id.* p. 17, fig. 13.)
 4306 " " " detail. (*Id.* p. 18, fig. 14.)
 4307 " " " No. 3, S. door. (*Id.* p. 20, fig. 21.)
 2130 **Ancyra** (Angora), Church of S. Clement, detail of the vaulting of the dome.
 4328 **Bimbirkilisse**, No. 3, mouldings. (*Rev. Arch.* viii. p. 400, fig. 11.)
 4301 **Budrum**, Northern Basilica, exterior of apse. (*Id.* vii. p. 3, fig. 2.)
 4302 " " " capital outside apse. (*Id.* p. 7, fig. 4.)
 9804 **Cyzicus**, church of S. Nicolas at Palatia in Marmara. (*J.H.S.* xxix. pl. 3.)
 4319 **Daoulek**, church No. 1, nave and S. aisle. (*Rev. Arch.* viii. p. 294, fig. 6.)
 4320 " " " detail of arcade of nave. (*Id.* p. 296, fig. 7.)
 4321 " " " 3, interior of apse. (*Id.* p. 240, fig. 11.)
 4322 " " " 6, " " (*Id.* p. 244, fig. 15.)
 4324 " " " 13, door and niche in one of the parallel chambers. (*Id.* p. 293, fig. 3.)
 4325 " " " 14, W. facade of chamber A. (*Id.* p. 298, fig. 3.)
 4326 " " " " " C. (*Id.* p. 299, fig. 9.)
 4327 " " " " " carved lintel. (*Id.* p. 299, fig. 10.)
 4329 " " " 15, E. facade. (*Id.* ix. p. 19, fig. 13.)
 4323 " " tomb. (*Id.* viii. p. 250, fig. 38.)
 9825 **Kalolimno**, pavement of church of H. Sahar. (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 298.)
 2757-91 **Kalykadnus River**, monastery at Kaja Kalesi. (*Id.* *J.H.S. Supp.* II. figs. 1, 3, 4, 7.)
 4300 **Kanytelidze**, Basilica No. 1, interior of apse. (*Rev. Arch.* vii. p. 399, fig. 14.)
 4310 " " " engaged capitals and prothesis. (*Id.* p. 400, fig. 15.)
 4311 " " " No. 4, interior of apse. (*Id.* p. 409, fig. 25.)
 4312 " " " engaged capital in narthex. (*Id.* p. 411, fig. 29.)
 9030 **Kermast**, mosque of Lala Shahin: pierced stone grill.
 2599 **Konia**, near: monastery of S. Chariton.
 4313 **Korghos**, Basilica No. 1, engaged column in W. wall. (*Rev. Arch.* viii. p. 11, fig. 4.)
 4314 " " " window in N.E. apse. (*Id.* p. 14, fig. 7.)
 4315 " " " No. 2, doorway. (*Id.* p. 18, fig. 11.)
 4316 " " " interior looking N. (*Id.* p. 19, fig. 12.)
 4317 " " " No. 3, engaged capital in central apse. (*Id.* p. 27, fig. 19.)
 5786 **Koropissus**, early church at.
 4331 **Meram**, S. Eustathios from the S.E. (*Rev. Arch.* ix. p. 26, fig. 23.)
 4330 **Sillash**, S. Michael's from the N.W. (*Id.* p. 23, fig. 18.)
 2902 **Trebisond**, church of S. Sophia
 2903 " " "

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE, *continued.*

- 6230 **Triglitia** (Bithynia), colonnade of mosque with Byzantine capitals.
 9519 " " S.E. capital of dome of mosque. (*B.S.A.*, xiii, p. 286, No. 2.)
 9829 " " N.E. capital supporting dome.

4700 **Sokag** (Egypt), the Red Monastery: entrance to church.

(i) *Islands.*

- 2451 **Astypalaea**, church of Panagia Portaritissa, the screen.
 6274 **Chios**, Pyrgi, church of the Holy Apostles.
 3902 **Patmos**, general view of monastery from the W.
 7335 " " monastery and town.
 7338 " " court-looking S.
 7339 " " " fountain.
 7340 " " terrace above S. side of court.
 5963 " " the battlements.
 7433 " " the courtyard.
 3904 " the convent of the Apocalypse.
 5557 " interior of 'the cave of the Apocalypse.'
 2907 **Skopelos**, church of Metamorphosis, the screen.
 2805 " church of Evangelistria, the screen.
 2803 " church of S. Athanasios, the screen.
 2470 **Thasos**, Aluke, Byzantine capitals formed into stairway.
 2545 " Kakerahti, the screen of the church.
 2883 **Thera**, Perissa, church at.
 3986 " " "
 5937 " " "

(ii) *European.*

- 9317 **Arta** church of 'Ayios Basilaios.
 9315 " church of 'Ayia Nafysaghyia.
 1942 **Athens**, small metropolitan church, S. side.
 1946 " " " " W. end.
 1940 " " " " W. facade, detail of relief.
 1939 " " " " " "
 1518 " " " " interior: door of the narthex.
 1521 " Kapalkassa from the E.
 2486 " church of Holy Apostles.
 1421 " church of H. Soter on N. slope of Acropolis.
 2029 " S. Theodos.
 2491 " ruined church of S. Thomas.
 2242 " S. John the Hunter, monastery of.
 3038 " Byzantine fragments on the Acropolis.
 9672 **Athos**, Chilandari Monastery: general view.
 9674 " " " staircase to guest rooms.
 8551 " " " the great tower.
 8553 " " " well-house and church.
 8550 " " " gateway from within.
 2005 " " " staircase to guest rooms.
 9406 " " " detail of the church.
 8500 " Dionysion Monastery: general view from W.
 9418 " " " from S.
 8544 " Dochiariou Monastery: refectory (exterior).
 9545 " " " S.E. (apsidal) and central domes of church.
 9579 " " " church from E.
 8555 " Ephigmenion Monastery: a general view from landward (S.) side.
 8561 " Gregorion Monastery: view from sea.

LATIN ARCHITECTURE IN THE LEVANT, &c., *continued.*

- 9353 **Chios** (*continnued*), Chora, the *methe*, 'Tombeau Zeno.'
 9354 " Chora, Museum, fragments of Genoese sculpture.
 9355 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9356 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9357 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9358 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9359 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9360 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9361 " " " " " " " " " " " "
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 9363 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9364 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9365 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9366 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9367 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9368 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 9369 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 7891 **Chios**, Venetian aqueduct near.
 2297 **Coe**, methe of Antiochia, N. wall.
 1799 **Cyprus**, Bellapais, the cloister.
 5750 " Famagusta, cathedral.
 5482 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 1894 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 5757 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 5758 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 5759 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 1895 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 2433 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 1898 " Nikosia, S. Sophia.
 310 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 5754 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 6219 **Geraki** (Germethine), church of S. Athanasia.
 2890 " S. George, the shrine.
 6249 " church of S. Nicolas.
 2838 " H. Paraskevi, shrine.
 2262 **Karytaena**, general view looking E. from Andritseni road.
 1687 " Frankish bridge from E.
 2365 " Frankish bridge from above.
 2679 **Modon**, the walls from the mole.
 6239 " view of the walls on the sea-shore.
 6240 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 2083 " capital of the column of S. Mark.
 2893 **Monemvasia**, the walls.
 6246 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 6214 " church of Panagia Crated.
 6130 **Rhodes**, wall and moat.
 7859 " sixteenth-century house in the town.
 2058 " street of the knights.
 2059 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 2063 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 5273 " street view.
 2064 " the gate of S. John.
 2066 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 6135 " S. Catherine's gate.
 7688 " Lindos, the fortress from the harbour.
 6142 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 6147 " " " " " " " " " " " "
 647 " collection of stone cannon balls.

LATIN ARCHITECTURE IN THE LEVANT, &c., *continued*.

- B8503 **Sardinia**, Ardera, Pisan church, exterior.
 B8504 " " " " interior.
 B8508 " Cagliari, Pisan lion in the cathedral.
 B8509 " " " " " "
 B8510 " " " " " "
 B8511 " Nora, church of Sant' Efeso (interior).
 B8514 " Sant' Antioch, Pisan church near.
 5194 **Syracuse**, Gothic doorway.

TOWN PLANNING.

Selected plans, general views, &c.

- 301 **Athens**, plan. (Harrison and Verrill, plate facing p. 1.)
 7909 " " (Tuckey, *Ancient Athens*, frontispiece.)
 6369 " plan of central district. (Murray, *Greece*, p. 257.)
 7910 " " Acropolis. (Jahn-Michaelis, *Arch. Athenensis*, p. 7.)
 4561 " Acropolis restored. (Fletcher, *Architecture*, pl. 1.)
 1100 **Cnidus**, plan. (Newton, *Halicarnassus*, etc., pl. 53.)
 4 **Constantinople**, plan. (Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 12.)
 5490 **Delphi**, plan of the whole site restored. (*Delphi*, ii. pl. 6.)
 5489 " view of the whole site restored. (*Delphi*, ii. pl. 9.)
 6849 " the site after excavation. (*Delphi*, *Album*, pl. 8.)
 351 **Eleusis**, plan.
 96 **Ephesus**, plan. (B.M. Ephesus, central portion of folded map.)
 3117 " general view looking N. from Mount Prion.
 6160 " " from the theatre.
 1397 **Halicarnassus**, plan. (Newton, *Halicarnassus*, etc., pl. 1.)
 9811 **Mantinea**, plan. (Cl. Fougères, *Mantinea*, pl. 8.)
 9812 **Megalopolis**, plan. (*Megalopolis* part of pl. 1.)
 2647 **Olympia and neighbourhood**, map of. (*Ol. Maps* II.)
 4488 " " plan, after excavation, showing all periods together.
 (Ramses, pl. 26.)
 2648 " " Hellenic period, ca. 300 B.C. (*Ol. Maps* III.)
 2649 " " Roman period, ca. 200 A.D. (*Ol. Maps* IV.)
 2650-1 " " Byzantine period in two slides. (*Ol. Maps* V, A, B.)
 9902 **Pergamon**, general plan of the Acropolis and agora, present state. (*Pergamon*, pl. 4.)
 9914 " restored plan of the Acropolis and agora. (*Pergamon*, pl. 11.)
 9801 **Prisae**, map of. (Wiegand and Schrader, *Prisae*, pl. 2.)
 B8797 **Rome in the fourth century**. Model and plan by P. Bigot. (Cf. *J.R.S.* Vol. I, pl. 1.)
 B8797A " model of Rome in the fourth century (as above).
 B8797B " plan " " " "
 6827 **Sparta**, map showing the whole circuit of the walls.
 843 **Syracuse**, plan.
 2582 **Thasos**, plan of Limnaea (*J.H.S.* xxix. pl. 14).

Agorae, fora, &c.

- 5402 **Assos**, the agora, plan. (*Excavations at Assos*, pl. 21.)
 5453 " " restoration. (id. pl. 27.)
 229 **Athens**, the Agora, plan. (Harrison and Verrill, p. 5.)
 B9101 **Pompeii**, the forum.
 B9327 **Rome**, plan of Forum region near arch of Septimius Severus.
 B9328 " " " " Basilica Aemilia.
 B9329 " " " " S. Maria Antiqua.
 B9330 " " " " Atrium Vestae.
 B9331 " " " " Horrea.

TOWN PLANNING, Agorai, fora, &c., continued.

- B9301 Rome, the Forum looking W. (1902).
 B9302 " " from Capitol (1902).
 B9363 " " " "
 B9567 **Thamugadi**, market of Sertius.

Amphitheatres.

- B1473 **Aries**, the amphitheatre, exterior view.
 B8507 **Cagliari** (Sardinia), the amphitheatre.
 B9165 **Pompeii**, the amphitheatre, interior looking S.W.
 B9010 **Rome**, Colosseum seen through arch of Titus.
 B9047 " " from S. Francesco Romano.
 B118 " " interior.
 6830 **Sparta**, Roman amphitheatre enclosing Orthis temple: plan. (*E.S.A.* xiii. pl. 2.)
 6829 " " " " section. (*E.S.A.* xiii. pl. 3.)
 6904 " " " " bases of piers of outer colonnade.
 B048 **Syracuse**, the amphitheatre.

Aqueducts, &c.

- 2971 **Constantinople**, aqueduct of Valens.
 5578 **Corinth**, the large fountain.
 6178 " the entrance to the fourth century fountain.
 B0581 **Coratopitum**, channel for carrying water to fountain.
 3109 **Ephesus**, general view showing the aqueduct.
 B152 **Rome**, Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus.
 B155 " Anio Vetus near Tivoli.
 6536 **Samos**, aqueduct of Polycrates, interior.
 5555 " " " " showing entry to vaulted passage.
 3197 **Smyrna**, the aqueduct in S. Anne's Valley.
 6728 **Sparta**, the great drain in the Orthis site.
 7176 **Termessus**, ancient fountain on road leading up to.

Arches (triumphal), &c.

- 7473 **Adalia**, gate of Hadrian, detail of cornice.
 B0263 **Ancona**, the harbour with arch of Hadrian.
 9257 **Athens**, arch of Hadrian and Olympium.
 5779 **Comana**, Roman portal, richly decorated.
 B9554 **Lambaesta**, ornamental gateway of principia.
 1602 **Palmyra**, triumphal arch showing keystones in danger. (*Cl. Wood, Palmyra*, pl. 28.)
 B9013 **Rome**, arch of Constantine, general view, looking S.
 B9014 " " " " looking N.
 B9035 " " **Dolabella**.
 B9036 " " **Drusus**.
 B9037 " " **Gallienne**.
 B9038 " " **the Argentarii**.
 B9039 " " **Septimius Severus**, from the forum.
 B9040 " " " " from the Capitol.
 B9041 " " **Titus**, general view showing sandstone slab.
 B2382 " **Portico di Ottavia**.
 B9058 " **James Quadrifrons**.
 B9556 **Thamugadi**, arch of Trajan &c.

Arsenals.

- 5929 **Athens**, **Mmrychia**, galley slips.
 7372 " **Piræum**, plans and elevations of arsenal. (*Choisy, L'architecture grecque*,
 7373 " " / pl. 1, 2.)
 8948 " " remains of arsenal, *in situ*.
 7491 **Centadæ** (Aesernia), sheds for ships, from W.

TOWN PLANNING, *continued*

Asklepieia.

- 3870 **Athens**, the Asklepieion, plan.
 3924 " " general view, looking E.
 3920 **Cos**, the Asklepieion, plan of the site (after Herzog).
 3919 " " bird's-eye view of a model of the site.
 6175 " passage to the spring.
 1040 **Epidaurns**, plan of Hieron.
 4015 " Asklepieion, showing ascent to upper story.

Basilicas.

- 3165 **Pergamon**, the Roman Basilica.
 B9102 **Pompeii**, the Basilica.
 B9396 **Rome**, Basilica Aemilia.
 B9310 " S. Maria Antiqua (Early Christian Basilica).

Baths.

- B1476 **Nismes**, the Roman baths.
 1602 **Pergamon**, Roman baths.
 B9109 **Pompeii**, baths near the forum, the caldarium.
 B9112 " " interior of men's tepidarium.
 B9110 " Stalban baths, apodyterium, and ante-room leading to Palaestra.
 B9111 " " Palaestra, mural decoration of S.W. angle.
 B9311 **Sardinia**, Fordungianus, the therman.

Bridges.

- 9644 **Aesopus**, remains of a Roman bridge, general view.
 9645 " " " " view looking up stream. (*E.S.A.* xiii. p. 186.)
 9646 " " " " " " down stream. (*E.S.A.* xiii. p. 186.)
 9647 " " " " " " from W. end. (*E.S.A.* xii. p. 186.)
 9649 " " " " " " secondary arch, W. side. (*E.S.A.* xii. p. 186.)
 9650 " " " " " " abutment. (*E.S.A.* xii. p. 186.)
 6261 **Aesani**, Roman bridge.
 5784 **Euphrates**, Roman bridge at Kemer.
 5789 " " Roman bridge near Kiskhta.
 9642 **Granicus**, Roman bridge at Ak Küpü.
 9640 **Macestus**, Roman bridge at Sultan Chair.
 3479 **Pergamon**, Roman bridge in lower town.
 2170 **Retimo**, Roman bridge on the coast road.
 8257 **Sangarius river**: bridge of Justinian, general view.
 2316 " " " " " " from E.
 2052 " " " " " " exedra.
 2574 **Smyrna**, Roman bridge.

Columns, monumental.

- 2975 **Constantinople**, column of Claudius.
 3494 " column of Marcian, general view.
 3492 " " " " upper portion.
 3495 " " " " lower portion.
 3496 " " " " base.
 4093 " " " " Theodosius, reliefs.
 B9044 **Rome**, column of Marcus Aurelius.
 B9044 " " " " " "
 B9045 " " " " Trajan, general view.
 B9042 " " " " " "
 B9008 " " " " " "

TOWN PLANNING, continued

Granaries, &c.

- B9528 *Coratopitum*, portion of granaries.
B9529 " " E. granary.
B9530 " " fountain and E. granary.
B9542 *Ribchester*, ends of the two granaries at.
B9544 " " " " (another view).
7404 *New Pleuron* (*Aetolia*), the western from the N. W.

Gymnasia, &c.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 7155 | Ephesus, the gymnasium. |
| 7164 | Hierapolis (Phrygia) gymnasium from S.W. |
| 2670 | Olympia, palaestra, ground plan. |
| 1602 | Pergamon, upper gymnasium. |
| 1602 | " lower gymnasium. |
| B2376 | Rome, paedagogium, also seen through main gateway. |
| B2377 | " " " " view inside. |
| B2378 | " " " " architrave of. |
| B2379 | " " " " entrance to one of the chambers. |
| B2380 | " " " " interior of chamber with mosaic scratched on plaster. |
| B2381 | " " " " mural decoration of one of the chambers. |

Houses, Palaces, &c.

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|-------|---|
| 3038 | Athens, rock-cut houses and tombs, S. of Phryx. |
| B9392 | Bulla Regia, peristyle of house from present level. |
| B9393 | " " interior view of peristyle of house from present level. |
| 3543 | Delos, Hellenistic house. |
| 4622 | " " mosaic: glass of anchiroses. |
| 4637 | " " " amphora, palm-branch, wreath. |
| 4659 | Melos, mosaic pavement, general view. (J.H.S. xviii. pl. 1, 2.) |
| 4657 | " " " detail (birds). |
| 2663 | Olympia, Nero's house. (O. pl. 86.) |
| B9114 | Pompeii, house of Cornelius Rufus, view through the tablinum into the peristyle. |
| B9271 | " " " " " " |
| B9113 | " " " " " the latrine, fountain surmounted by Cupid. |
| B9116 | " " " " " Tragic Port, view from the Atrium through the tablinum towards shrine in peristyle. |
| B9117 | " " " " " Marcus Helconius, the peristyle. |
| B9119 | " " " " " the Vestib, the peristyle looking S. |
| B9118 | " " " " " " " " W. |
| 3805 | Priene, reconstruction of house No. xxviii. (cf. fig. 299). |
| B9018 | Rome, Palatine, house of Domitian. |
| B9012 | " " " " " " |
| B9050 | " " " " " smaller hall. |
| B9051 | " " " " " peristyle. |
| B112 | " " " " " Casa Liviae, interior, central room. |
| B9008 | " " " " " House of the Vestals. |
| B6294 | Spalato, facade facing sea. |
| B6295 | " " " " " colonnade facing dunno. |
| 9338 | " " " " " " |
| 9371 | " " " " " pillars of the diaoma. |
| B6297 | " " " " " the Golden Gate. |
| B6298 | " " " " " " |
| 9332 | " " " " " vestibule of the Rotunda. |
| B6296 | " " " " " the doorway of the Rotunda. |
| B6299 | " " " " " doorway of the baptistery. |

TOWN PLANNING, *continued.*

- B9450 **Thugga Trinina**, peristyle of house.
 B9551 " " part of peristyle of house.

Libraries.

- 4176 **Ephesus**, the library.
 6913 **Pergamon**, plan of the library. (*Pergame*, p. 187.)

Rostra, &c.

- 7627 **Athens**, the Pnyx, general view.
 3411 " " bema.
 4572 " " retaining wall.
 6802 **Prisne**, the Ekklesiastion, restored plan (*id.*, fig. 211).
 6804 " " " interior from N. (*id.*, fig. 212).
 B9009 **Rome**, the Rostra: relief of Trajan founding orphanage.
 B9010 " " " cancelling debts to Treasury.
 B9011 " " " animals granted for *Sumvetaurilia*.

Stadia.

- 4952 **Athens**, the stadium, after restoration.
 3926 **Delphi**, the stadion.
 4249 " " general view from E.
 3577 " " the eastern apse.
 3578 " " another view of the eastern apse.
 2164 **Epidauria**, stadion, from behind the apse.
 5151 " " the apse.
 2669 **Olympia**, stadium, elevation: cross-section: plan of goal-lines.
 2658 " " entrance from Altis. (*ib.* pl. 4b.)
 B9052 **Rome**, the stadium on the Palatin.

Stoa.

- 5453 **Asson**, restoration of Agora.
 4582 **Athens**, the Stoa of Hadrian, E. end.
 3929 " " " W. end.
 3934 " the stoa of the Asklepeion.
 1374 **Delphi**, the stoa of the Athenians.
 2319 **Oropus**, details of seats in stoa.
 1814 **Palmyra**, the greater stoa looking S.E. (*ib.* pl. 35.)

Streets.

- 3934 **Athens**, "Street of Tombs".
 3985 " " "
 4499 **Corinth**, paved way and flight of steps.
 7480 **Ephesus**, street leading to library.
 B9311 **Rome**, the Via Sacra.
 B9312 " " "
 B2636 " " "
 3976 **Thera**, side street and entrance to theatre.
 (See also the Minoan streets at Palaikastro and Psemna, pp. 25, 26.)

Temples.

(Circular temples only: for others see Doric, Ionic, Corinthian sections above.)

- 4536 **Athens**, Rome and Augustus temple, reliefs from.
 5721 **Baalbek**, octagonal temple ("Temple of Venus").
 B8329 **Balae**, Roman temple.

TOWN PLANNING, *continued*.

- B9050 **Rome**, Pantheon.
 B9318 " / Minerva Medica.
 B9006 " Temple of Vesta and Fortuna Virilis.
 B9323 **Tivoli**, the round temple from the viaduct.
 B101 " "

Theatres (Greek and Roman).

- B1474 **Aries**, the theatre, general view.
 B1475 " " view of the curtain trench.
 1086 **Aspendos**, the theatre. (Textier and Pullan, pl. 33.)
 2945 " " from Acropolis.
 2951 " " stage buildings inside.
 2953 " " " " " " from outside.
 2469 " " gallery behind upper seats, interior.
 7470 " " " " " " exterior.
 131 **Athens**, Theatre of Dionysus, plan.
 1911 " " " " from Acropolis.
 3020 " " " " general view looking W.
 3025 " " " " general view towards Acropolis.
 306 " " " " principal chair, front view.
 1915 " " " " principal chairs, side view.
 7128 " " " " " " front view.
 4104 " " " " chair dedicated to M. Ulpian.
 1301 " " " " passage in front of principal chairs.
 4554 " " " " one of the gangways.
 1913 " " " " stage from E.
 4676 " " " " old orchestra circle from above.
 3930 " " " " styre supporting the stage of Plautus.
 2585 " " " " styre from stage buildings.
 4553 " " " " the altar in the tent.
 4535 " " Odeum of Herodes, interior, looking S.W.
 4548 " " " " stage buildings, looking W.
 7614 **Delos**, the theatre, with Rheneia in the distance.
 7602 **Delphi**, the theatre, from S. angle, showing diazoma and retaining wall.
 3123 **Ephesus**, theatre before excavations.
 5593 " " relief of bulls' heads.
 5587 " " the substructure of the stage.
 5209 " " the proscenium.
 3212 " " the continuation of the preceding.
 368 **Epidaurus**, theatre, plan.
 1954 " " distant view.
 5684 " " general view from E.
 1818 " " the orchestra circle from the caves.
 1700 " " E. parados from W.
 1955 " " the W. parados from the E.
 1590 " " the caves from the orchestra.
 1956 " " the orchestra and caves from the stage.
 4510 " " detail of upper portion of seating.
 5653 **Eretria**, the theatre. Passage leading from orchestra to skene.
 3147 **Laodicea**, the theatre.
 3148 " the odeum.
 1364 **Megalopolis**, plan of the theatre and Therasium.
 1682 " " theatre, general view before clearing of Therasium.
 1175 " " general view from theatre after Therasium was cleared.
 1684 " " foundations of stage, looking W.
 1683 " " continuation of preceding.
 3750 **Myra**, theatre and plain.

VII.

SCULPTURE.

Note on the Section on Sculpture.

* denotes that the photograph is taken direct from the original or from an adequate photographic reproduction.

† denotes that the photograph is from a cast.

Where, for any reason, the photograph is from a drawing or engraving the fact is noted in the text.

In some cases doubtful attributions of works of art to particular sculptors have been adopted for convenience of cataloguing.

EARLY PERIOD DOWN TO 480 B.C.

Archaic Statues from the Acropolis.

From Pediments.

- 9370 Heracles and Hydra*. Acrop. Mus. 1. Two lions devouring bull,* id. 6.
 9329 Portions of Eastern pediment. Heracles and Hydra pediment. (Wiegand, pl. 8.)
 9321 The snake pediment. Triton—Heracles—Typhon pediment. (Outline drawings.)
 9379 " " " left hand half. (Acrop. Cat., p. 75.)
 9371 " " " right hand half. (Acrop. Cat., p. 75.)
 A3 " " " (Wiegand, pl. 5.) Coloured slide.
 A3 Triton—Heracles—Typhon pediment* in architectural setting. (Wiegand, pl. 1.) Coloured slide.
 A4 " " " " " (Wiegand, pl. 4.) Coloured slide.
 9372 " " " " " Heracles and Triton.*
 3627 " " " Typhon.* (Gardner, fig. 27.)
 320 " " " head of Typhon.*

Development of the Female Figure.

- 3414 'Ariadne' of Delos,* figure dedicated by Nicandra. (Gardner, fig. 14.)
 2000 Archaic terracotta female idol* from Myralissos, see caption.
 3611 'Hera' of Samos.* (Gardner, fig. 11.)
 3613 Nike of Archermus.* (Gardner, fig. 13.)
 6181 " " ? restored.
 5822 Hera of Samos,† Nike of Archermus,† and dedication of Nicandra.†

A chronological arrangement of the Archaic statues is here attempted.

- 3412 Acrop. Mus. No. 677.* with fruit. (Gardner, fig. 12.)
 654 " " 678.* two views. (Rhomboides, pls. 7, 8.)
 1930 " " 671.* (Gl. Collignon, 1, fig. 173.)
 2630 " " 679.* in Doric chiton, full face. (Gardner, fig. 20.)
 4429 " " 679.* " " profile view.
 4951 " " 679.* " " head only.
 741 " " 681.* with insur. of Autenor (outline drawing). (Jahrb., ii, p. 141.)
 9378 " " 681.* " " "

EARLY PERIOD DOWN TO 480 B.C., *continued*

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 9576 | Acrop. Mus. No. | 688 * | figure of a child holding dove. |
| 9628 | " | 682 * | (Gardner, fig. 28.) |
| 669 | " | 682 * | upper portion of preceding, profile view. |
| 9574 | " | 675 * | small figure, profile view. |
| 667 | " | 680 * | (Cl. Collignon, I, fig. 171.) |
| 9829 | " | 670 * | (Gardner, fig. 29.) |
| 9518 | " | 674 * | Acropolis Mus. (Perrot and Chipiez, VIII, pl. 13.) |
| 9697 | " | 688 * | showing Doric influence. (Gardner, fig. 37.) |
| 9899 | " | 686 * | profile view of preceding. |
| 9577 | " | 609 * | typical inscribed basis, probably belonging to above. |
| 9031 | " | 684 * | head, two views. (Gardner, fig. 31.) |
| 9287 | " | 684 * | profile view with bust added (9631=head only.) |
| 9584 | Bronze statuette | of the type of the Acropolis Maidens. | B.M. 192. |

Development of the Male Placenta.

- | | | |
|------|-------|---|
| 3255 | | Colossus * of Naxos, <i>in situ</i> . |
| 4624 | " | * of Delos, <i>in situ</i> , upper half-front view. |
| 5545 | " | " " " the same, back view. |
| 3294 | Early | * Apollon.* Archais male head.* In Ath. Nat. Mus. (J.E.H.C.H. 1886, pl. 5.) |
| 3699 | " | " " " Archais indented head.* Cyprus Mus. |
| 3379 | " | " " " Ambate male bearded head.* Full face. (Cl. Collignon, I, fig. 182.) |
| 3373 | " | " " " " " " " " " profile. |
| 3422 | " | " " " unfinished statue showing technique. (J.H.S. 41, p. 180, fig. 1.) |
| 6332 | " | " " " Argive Apollo* front view. (Delphos, iv, pl. 1.) |
| 4199 | " | " " " " " " " " " " profile and back views. (id., pl. 2.) |
| 3628 | " | " " " Attic Apollo* front and back views. (Exp. Arch. 1902, pl. 3.) |
| 3615 | " | " " " Apollo of Thera.* (Gardner, fig. 15.) |
| 3618 | " | " " " Cretan Statue.* (Gardner, fig. 14.) |
| 3620 | " | " " " Apollo of Teosa.* (Gardner, fig. 26.) |
| 3623 | " | " " " Apollo of Orchomenos.* (Gardner, fig. 23.) |
| 3624 | " | " " " Apollo from Mount Hylos.* in Boeotia. (Gardner, fig. 24.) |
| 3625 | " | " " " Apollo from Mount Ptoon.* showing Augustus influence. (Gardner, fig. 25.) |
| 7121 | " | " " " The Strangford Apollo.* B.M. |

Enfin, l'Épave for completion.

- 2144 Statuette of Apollo* from Thales, three views. (*Mon. Piot.* II, pl. 15.)
 6827 Apollo Piontoso.*
 4259 Statuette of Apollo,* Argimatos style. *Ath. Nat. Mus.* 6145.

Other Monuments in the Acropolis Museum.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 5838 | Head of an aphidion,* three-quarter view to left. Acrop. Mus. 689. (Woodward, fig. 38.) |
| 1791 | " " " " " full face. |
| 5831 | " " " " " Acrop. Mus. No. 699. |
| 619 | Athena, central figure of the Parthenon Temple* in the time of Perseus. |
| 5825 | " " " " " " with additions found later. |
| 5860 | " Persian horseman." Acrop. Mus. No. 606. |
| 5832 | Figure carrying calf." (Gardner, fig. 32.) |

Early Reliefs.

- 6223 **Angelona** (*Lanonia*). bearded worshippers before altar.*
6443 " " " " " " (D.S.A. xi, pl. 3.)
5976 **Assyrian**, relief: Asurbanipal hunting. (Perrot and Chipiez, ii fig. 5.)
3839 **Athena**, stele of Ariston.* (Gardner, fig. 35.)
90 " " " " Stele of Alsaion.*

EARLY PERIOD DOWN TO 480 B.C., *continued*.*The Tyrannicides.*

- 3634 Relief on chair at Broomhall.* (Gardner, fig. 34.)
 3237 Group on the shield of Athena on a Panathenaic Amphora.
 3625 The two figures from Naples* side by side and taken from the front. (Gardner, fig. 35.)
 3636 Aristogiton.* The figure of Naples in profile with the Hellenistic head. (Gardner, fig. 36.)
 * 492 Harmodios.* Naples Mus.
 742 Head of Archais female statue possibly by Antenor compared with Head of Harmodios? (Jahrb. d. pl. 10.)

*Argivean Sculptures.**

- 6678 The pediments restored. (Furtw. *Argos*, pl. 104, 5.)
 5894 The W. Pediment,* central group. (Cl. Furtw. and Ulrichs, *Deutscher*, pl. 2.)
 6662 " " the figures *erectus*.* (id., pl. 96.)
 6661 The E. pediment, the figures *erectus*.* (id., pl. 95.)
 6663 " " three heads, profile and full form.* (id., pl. 97.)
 6665 " " the *erectus* restored.* (id., pl. 107.)
 6288 " " standing warrior.* (Tetrapol.)
 6389 " " kneeling warrior.* (Hercules.)
 3441 " " figure bending forward.* (Gardner, fig. 41.)
 3642 " " dying warrior.* (Gardner, fig. 42.)
 3645 Bronze head* in Argivean style from the Acropolis. (Gardner, fig. 43.)

Unlocated.

- 3608 Seated statue of Charis from Rhindolias.* B.M. 14. (Gardner, fig. 86.)
 7966 Head of Caryatid* from treasury of Cnidians. (Delphi, iv. pl. 18.)
 7967 " " " " " (Delphi, iv. pl. 20.)
 6853 Limestone sphinx and torso* from Syaria.
 6348 Sphinx* dedicated by the Naxians at Delphi. (Delphi, iv. pl. 8.)
 6671 Archaic group of Thesus and Antiope.* Eretria Mus.
 2152 The Elche Head.* (Mon. Pac. v. pl. 14.)

SCULPTURE OF THE FINEST PERIOD.

Fifth Century.

SCULPTURE FROM OLYMPIA.

- 1979 Temple of Zeus. **Metopes.**² general view of 5 metopes.* In Olymp. Mus.
 3648 " " " " " Hercules and Bull.* (Gardner, fig. 48.)
 3649 " " " " " Hercules and Atlas.* (Gardner, fig. 49.)
 1979a " " " " " Hercules and horses of Theomach.*
 1979b " " " " " Hercules and Erymanthian boar.*
 1979c " " " " " Hercules and Argivean Stable.*
 1011 " " " " " Athena from same metope.*
 1979d " " " " " Hercules and Ceryon.*
 1979e " " " " " Hercules and Cerberus.*
 577 " " " " " Hercules and Nemeean lion.*
 1538 " " " " " head of Athena from same metope.*
 5766 " " " " " profile view of preceding.*
 6325 " " " " " Hercules and Stymphalian birds. Figure of Athena.* Louvre.
 4426 " " " " " Hercules and Stymphalian birds. Hercules.* Athens.†

² Of many of these metopes only fragments are preserved.

SCULPTURE OF THE FINEST PERIOD, *continued*

Temple of Zeus. Pediments restored.			
9842			E. Pediment: restored. (Cl. J.H.S. x. pl. 6.)
4494	11	11	3 restorations compared.
9844	11	11	view in Museum.
1977	11	11	head of 'Chalceus.'*
1844	11	11	'aged seen.'* (Gardner, fig. 47.)
8647	11	11	'Storope.'* Figure K.
4495	11	11	figure in left angle.*
4496	11	11	
3645	11	11	W. Pediment: 2 restorations compared.
1978	11	11	view of pediment in museum.*
3646	11	11	Apollo.* (Gardner, fig. 46.)
1238	11	11	head of Apollo, profile.*
1342	11	11	head of Pithulona.* (Cl. Ol. pl. 21, 2.)
1848	11	11	group of Lapith woman and Centaur.* (Cl. Ol. pl. 22)
6312	11	11	torso of a Lapith woman.*
1340	11	11	head of young Lapith attacked by Centaur.* (Cl. Ol. 28, 2.)
1239	11	11	figure in left angle.* (Cl. pl. 23, 1.)
1239	11	11	figure in right angle.*
1341	11	11	a full face view of preceding.*

For the Hermes of Praxiteles cf. 'Praxiteles' below.

5897	Side of Paionius,* full face.		
3880	11	11	another rendering.
6315	11	11	* profile.
1983	11	11	† restored (general view with basis).
6182	11	11	† restored (figure only on larger scale).
5641	11	11	base of the statue, <i>in situ</i> .

PHEIDIAS AND THE PARTHENON.

For views and architecture of the Parthenon cf. pp. 15, 16 in the topographical series.

- 726 Sectional restoration of E. and of Parthenon (Niemann), showing disposition of sculptures.
 909 Diagram, showing positions of sculptures.
 6691 Plan of the Parthenon showing disposition of the sculptures.

The Metopes.

Metope.*	Centaur and Lapith.	(Mich. iii. 26, B.M. 315) earliest style.
4789	11	(Mich. iv. 31, B.M. 320) 11
4268	11	(Mich. iv. 32, B.M. 321) 11
4257	11	(Mich. iii. 8, B.M. 311) middle style.
4255	11	(Mich. iii. 6, B.M. 309) 11
4730a	11	(Mich. iii. 2, B.M. 305) 11
4263	11	(Mich. iv. 29, B.M. 318) 11
4253	11	(Mich. iii. 9, B.M. 312) 11
4781	11	(Mich. iii. 5, B.M. 306) 11
4793	11	(Mich. iv. 22, B.M. 321) 11
4782	11	(Mich. iii. 4, B.M. 307) 11
4254	11	(Mich. iii. 3, B.M. 308) finest style.
4789	11	(Mich. iii. 7, B.M. 310) 11
3657	11	(Mich. iii. 28, B.M. 317) 11
3656	11	(Mich. iii. 27, B.M. 316) 11
7063	11	(Mich. iii. 27) 11

† have casts of some of the heads.

PHEIDIAS AND THE PARTHENON, *continued.**The Pediments.*6596 Sauer's drawings of the pediments of the Parthenon. (*Arch. Mitth.* xvi. pl. 3.)3658 **East Pediment.** Carrey's drawing of whole pediment. (Gardner, fig. 58.)

399	10	38	Centre.	The Madrid Pictorial. (Schneider, <i>Geburt der Athena</i> , pl. 1.)
6394	11	11	R.F. vase.	Birth of Athena (Zeus and Athena only).
2120	11	11	R.F. vase.	Birth of Athena (whole scene).
4987	10	38	R.F. vase.	Zeus, Nike, and Athena; with Sauer's plan of the floor below. (Cf. <i>J.H.S.</i> xxvii. p. 244.)

5817	10	10	North end.	Carrey's drawing.
5818	11	11		Sauer's drawing.
4799	10	10		view in Elgin Room.*
5663	10	47	11	the 'Fates'*. (Gardner, fig. 63.)
4900	10	10	11	Soleus† and horse.*
7122	11	11	11	horse of Soleus.*

1181	11	11	South end.	Carrey's drawing.
6397	11	11		Sauer's drawing.
4797	10	11		view in Elgin Room.*
4866	10	11	11	iris, 'Demeter and Persephone'*
787	10	11	11	'Demeter and Persephone'*
4865	11	11	11	horses of Helios, Thetis.*
3081	11	11	11	'Thetis'*. (Gardner, fig. 61.)
2130	11	11	11	'Thetis' from behind. (B.M. <i>Parth. Sculpt.</i> , fig. 14.)*
201	11	11	11	horses of Helios.*

3659 **West Pediment** Carrey's drawing. (Gardner, fig. 59.)

3659A " " " " " " (from facsimile).

6597 " " " " " " Nörltel anonymous drawing. (*Antike Denkmäler*, pl. 6.)

768 " " " " " " restored by Schwerdt.

316 " " " " " " outline drawing of the figures as originally erected in B.M.

701 " " " " " " general view of the new arrangement (1910).

215 " " " " " " central fragments. (*Arch. Mitth.* xvi. pl. 3.)

4801 " " " " " " " " View taken before rearrangement (1910).

516 " " " " " " " " " " after rearrangement.

7667 " " " " " " " " torso of Athena* with portion of head added.

4958 " " " " " " " " reconstruction based on Kerish case.

6819	10	10	North end.	Carrey's drawing.
4800	10	10		View in Elgin Room.*
707	10	11	11	'Hermes'*, front view.
758	10	11	11	" " " " back view.
4811	10	11	11	Cyclops and daughter†
5167	10	11	11	the same,* from the side. <i>in situ</i> .
5662	11	11	11	Hermes.*
2131	11	11	11	'Hermes' from behind. (B.M. <i>Parth. Sculpt.</i> , fig. 23.)*

4820	11	11	South end.	Carrey's drawing, facsimile.
4802	11	11	11	* View taken before rearrangement (1910).
530	11	11	11	Figure J* (the charioteer) as originally mounted.
531	11	11	11	" " " " as now mounted.
7169	11	11	11	front view.

PHEIDIAS AND THE PARTHENON, *continued.*

818	West Pediment, South end.	Iris, Amphitrite, Leucothea.*
8678	" "	Amphitrite.* Fig. O.
8679	" "	Leucothea* [1]. Fig. Q.
8680	" "	De-Lioborde Head.† (Gardner, fig. 80.)
<i>The Frieze.</i>		
1064	The Frieze,* photographed in situ.	
976	"	diagram showing order of Panathenaic procession.
2132	"	id. (R.M. Parthenon Sculptures, fig. 96.)
9856	East Frieze (to show general arrangement only).	
297	" "	eldest.* (Mich. xiv. 29-31.)
298	" "	Hermes to Ares.* (Mich. xiv. 24-27.)
299	" "	Zeus, Hera, and Iris.* (Mich. xiv. 28-31.)
4707	" "	central group.* (Mich. xiv. 29-35.)
4708	" "	Athena and Hephaestus.* (Mich. xiv. 36, 37.)
8665	" "	Poseidon, Demeter, Demeter.† (Mich. xiv. 38-40.) (Gardner, fig. 65.)
219	" "	Aphrodite, Eros, Eileusa.*† (Mich. xiv. 41-46.)
2183	" "	Artemis and Aphrodite with the added fragments (fig. 102).
4712	" "	maiden.† (Mich. xiv. 49-56.)
2184	North Frieze, diagram illustrating the formation of the horsemen (fig. 118).	
4714	" "	cattle.† (Mich. xii. 3-8.)
4715	" "	sheep.† (Mich. xii. 8-12.)
205	" "	pitchee carriers.† (Mich. xii. 13, 16-19.)
523	" "	chariot group.*† (Mich. xii. 45-47.) (cf. J.H.S. xiii. p. 97, fig. 5.)
4721	" "	" "† (Mich. xii. 54-58.)
4724	" "	horsemen.* (Mich. xii. 119-115.)
206	" "	" " (Mich. xii. 115-118.)
8664	" "	" " (Gardner, fig. 64.)
4728	" "	youths and horses.* (Mich. xiii. 130-134.)
5686	" "	*† (Mich. xxvii. 80-xxviii. 85-87.)
209	West Frieze, horsemen.* (Mich. ix. 2, 3.)	
4743	" "	Youth.† (Mich. ix. 11, 12.)
4745	" "	horse and man.† (Mich. ix. 15.)
4749	" "	Youth.† (Mich. ix. 22-24.)
904	South Frieze, cattle.* (Mich. xxxviii. 106-108.)	
8640	" "	chariot group.* (Mich. xxx. 73, 74.)

OTHER WORKS OF PHEIDIAS.

1314	Athena Parthenos, the Varvakion copy.*	Side view.
8653	" "	" ".* Front view. (Gardner, fig. 52.)
8652	" "	the Lenormant copy.† Profile. (Gardner, fig. 53.)
9286a	" "	Lenormant statue No. 6.* Full face.
486	" "	medallion: head of Athena Parthenos (Hermitage).
489	" "	head of Parthenos on Athenian coin (obverse only).
5316-7	" "	other coins of Athens showing this type.
497	" "	Athena Medon.* Paris, Ecole des Beaux Arts.
9453	" "	" " restored. (Jahresb., 1908, p. 189.)
8881	" "	Replum of Toros Medici* (head ancient) Seville.
8892	" "	" " " ".* head modern.
8862	" "	head, 2 views.* Villa Carpiaga. (Jahresb., 1908, pp. 169, 172.)
8851	" "	head, 2 views. Madrid. (Jahresb., 1908, pp. 194, 5.)
4080	" "	Toros.* Acropolis Mus. 1238.
2149	" "	the Hope, Athens.* Desdèrè Castle. (Mon. Piot., iii. pl. 2.)
7447	" "	the Strangford shield. B.M.
8654	Olympian Zeus, coin of Elis. Seated Zeus Nikephoros.	(Gardner, fig. 54.)

OTHER WORKS OF PHEIDIAS, *continued.*

- 3655 **Olympian Zeus**, coin of Elia. Head of Zeus. (Gardner, fig. 55.)
 3646 " " Pheidias bearded head.* Boston Mus.
 357 **Lemnian Athena**.† Dresden statue with cast of Bologna head. (Furt. *Meist.* pl. 2.)
 323 " " Bologna head of Athena.*
 3377 Amazon after Pheidias. (Gardner, fig. 77.)

CONTEMPORARIES OF PHEIDIAS.

- 5743 **Alcemenes**. Herms.* (Cl. *Arch. Month.* 1904, pl. 18.)
 5752 " head of Herms.* (Cl. *Arch. Month.* 1904, pl. 19.)
 4843 **Calamis** Chuscul-Gouffier Apollo.* B.M.
 5657 " Apollo from the theatre at Athens.* Chuscul-Gouffier type.
 3650 **Myron** Theseus.*† Bronze med. Lancelotti copy. (Cl. Gardner, fig. 56.)
 408 " " " Laurentian copy. Mus. Torino.
 3691 " " " B.M. 250.
 3682 " " " Vat. Mus. No. 618.
 3844 " " "† Bronze med. Head of the Mameini figure.
 3845 " " " Bonaldi head. (Cl. Furtw. *Meist.* pl. 17.)
 2840 " " " head.* Musée Mus.
 3559 " Athens and Marseyas. Restoration of group. (Jahrbuch. xii. p. 157.)
 3651 " Marseyas.* Lateran. (Gardner, fig. 51.)
 1012 " " " B.M. Bronze.
 1337 " Diomedes.*† Munich.
 3673 **Polycleitus** Doryphoros.* Naples. (Gardner, fig. 74.)
 4198 " " " bronze head.* Naples.
 3147 " Diadumenos.* of Delos. Ath. Nat. Mus. (Mon. Piot. iii. pl. 11.)
 3148 " " " " Head.* 2 views. (Mon. Piot. iii. pl. 15.)
 3675 " " " of Vatav. B.M. (Gardner, fig. 75.)
 3388 " " " * Farnese Copy in B.M.
 835 " " " * Madrid. (Furtw. *Meist.* fig. 28.)
 2159 " " " * Madrid. (Mon. Piot. iv. pl. 8.)
 2151 " " " * Madrid - head. (Mon. Piot. iv. pl. 9.)
 3348 " " " Dresden head. 2 views. (Furtw. *Meist.* pls 10, 11.)
 3349 " " " head. B.M.
 3183 " Athlete pouring oil.* Munich.
 1348 " " " head (full face and profile). Munich.
 3299 " " " head (full face).* Dresden.
 3300 " " " head (profile).* Dresden.
 3298 " " " 'Nelson' head.* full face. (J.H.S. xxiv. pl. 11a.)
 3355 " " " 'Nelson' head. 2 views.* (J.H.S. xviii. pl. 11.)
 7432 " Westmacott athlete.* B.M.
 7436 " " " head* of a replica of the. B.M.
 7191 " " " " " " " " * B.M.
 2645 " " " " " " " " * B.M. (J.H.S. xxii. pl. 1.)
 7435 " " " " " " " " *? mounted on cast of the upper portion of Westmacott figure.
 1153 " " 'Hera' head of.* (J.H.S. xxi. pl. 3.)
 3670 " head from Heraeum at Argos.* (Gardner, fig. 79.)
 3676 " Amazon. (Gardner, fig. 78.)
 913 " statue of youthful Pan.* Leyden.

Polycleitus *Bronze.*

- 6338 The Idolino.* Louvre.
 2143 Head of an athlete from Eleusium.* Louvre. (Mon. Piot. i. pl. 16.)
 3658 " " " " " " (Collignon II. frontispiece.)
 6108 Head of a Doryphoros. Naples Museum.*

FOURTE CENTURY SCULPTURE, *continued.*

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|-------|--|
| 876 | Hermes, head of,* another view. |
| C314 | " " " |
| 408 | " " " |
| C311 | " foot of the statue.* |
| 943 | " head of the infant Dionysos.† |
| B684 | Caidian Aphrodite.† Vatican Copy without drapery, full face. [Gardner, fig. 84.] |
| 4964 | " " " + profile. |
| 1337 | " " " the Berlin head.* full face. |
| E194 | " " " the Berlin head.* full face and profile. |
| S193 | " " " the Petworth head.* (3 views.) |
| S193B | " " " full-face view of Petworth head.* (Cf. Part. M&A, pl. 17.) |
| G885 | Young Satyr.* [Gardner, fig. 85.] |
| 6185 | " " torso † in the Louvre. |
| 3792 | Apollo Sankrantonos.* Vatican. |

Works collectively considered under the name of *Pneumatix*.

- 938 Aberdeen Head in B.M.*
7395 Aphrodite of Arles.*
5076 " Marble head. Boston Museum. Full face.*
5081 " " Profile.*
4504 " Pourtales.* Boon's statuette. (B.M.)
8192 " head * from Olympia. (Cl. G., pl. 54.)
888 Apollo. 2 views of a head in the collection Barrocco. (Hefdig 49-59a.)
6323 Apollino.* Florence.
1527 Artemis. Statuette from Cyprus. Vienna (Klein, *Proz.* p. 317.)
9868 Athlete pouring oil.* (Cl. Furber, *Mérel*, fig. 131.)
9383 " " Ath. Nat. Mus. 254.
3681 Eirene and Ploutos of Cephalotes.* (Gardner, fig. 81.)
1740 " " figure of Ploutos (Peiraena).
2300a Eros.* torso of. Naphes, Mus. Berlin. No. 201.
3197 " " * Vat. Mus.
3723 'Eubuleia,* head of,* from Eleusa. (Gardner, fig. 123.)
651 Hermes from Andria.*
4970 " " * head only.
7399 Hermes Polydora,* head of the,
4973 Hermes of Atalanta.* Ath. Nat. Mus. 240.
8300 Youthful male torso* of Praxitelean style. Servile Mus.
6223 Hypnos,† statue of. Madrid Mus. No. 339 (the B.M. bronze head is of the same type).
4505 " bronze head* in B.M. (Murray, *Bronzes*, pl. facing p. 72.)
1508 " " " " " from the original.*
1368 " " " " " placed on east of the Madrid statue, front view.
1350 " " " " " side view to left.
1360 " " " " " side view to right.
5686 Mantinean basia,* slab of Apollo and Mercury. (Gardner, fig. 56.)
568 " " " " " slab of three Moors, one seated on a rock.
569 " " " " " slab of three Moors, one holding lyre in extended arm.
1136 Unknown female head,† Munich Glypt. No. 210. (Reann, *Kl. Sch.* (II) p. 223.)
2632 " female head* mutilated at the top. Boston. (*Huntington Fine Arts Cat.* pl. 62.)
9947 Terracotta flying Eros,* Praxitelean in style. (Cl. J.H.S. xv. pl. 8.)

Scopie, presumably originals.

- 3688 The heads from Tyges.† (Gardner, fig. 49.)
 3570 The fragments from Tyges.†
 578a The unhelmeted head.*
 1821 The helmeted head.*
 578b Head of the bear.*

FOURTH CENTURY SCULPTURE, *continued.*

- 1362 Heroic head * from S. side of Mausoleum. B.M.
 7399 Equestrian figure from the Mausoleum. *

Lysippos.

- 3707 Alexander, head of, * B.M. Full face. (Gardner, fig. 107.)
 7398 " " " B.M. Profile view. (J.H.S. xxv, p. 254.)
 7397 " " " Louvre. Profile view. (J.H.S. xxv, p. 251.)
 3698 Apoxyomenus. * (Gardner, fig. 98.)
 7396 " Head. † Profile view. (J.H.S. xxv, p. 242.)
 411 " " " three-quarter face.
 1306 " " " (Vatican copy) and Alexander (Louvre copy) compared.
 1093 Hegias, statue of. * (B.C.H. 1899, pl. 11.)
 5590 " " " Profile view of the head. (Delphi, iv, pl. 84.)
 4279 Heracles. * Lancelotti House.
 9880 Jason. * (youthful hero adjusting medal) Louvre.
 4062 " " " Munich: Glypt. 287 (head does not belong.)
 334 " Youthful head full face. * Another head of this type. B.M.
 595 " Profile view * of preceding.

- 4061 Lysippean male figure. * Ath. Nat. Mus. 246.
 5259 Youthful heroic figure. * Lysippean in style, modelled almost in the round. (B.M. Cat. Bronzes, 286.)

Sidonian Sarcophagi.

- 940 Alexander Sarcophagus, general view * showing the hunting scene.
 7124 " " " figure of Alexander * in the hunting scene.
 1097 " " " head of Alexander * in the hunting scene.
 7125 " " " another head * in hunting scene.
 7178 " " " general view * showing battle scene.
 3708 " " " battle scene. * (Gardner, fig. 106.)
 5673 " " " left hand portion of preceding on larger scale. *
 5970 " " " views of the two ends. *
 3488 " " " S. end, the sculpture in the gable. *
 9871 " " " selection of heads. * (Necropole Royale, pl. 23.)
 A5 " " " both long sides. * (id. pl. 34, 35.) Coloured slide.
 A9 " " " gable end. * (id. pl. 37.) Coloured slide.
 A10 " " " " (id. pl. 38.) Coloured slide.
 6683 Lycian Sarcophagus, general view. *
 6684 " " " first side. *
 6685 " " " second side. *
 6686 " " " both ends. *
 6872 " " " selection of heads. * (Necropole Royale, pl. 17.)
 6033 Mourning Women, sarcophagus of, general view. *
 6881-2 " " " " views of the ends. *
 761 " " " " long side. *
 762 " " " " second long side. *

- 8383 Lid of Phoenician anthropoid sarcophagus. * Seville Mus.

Miscellaneous Fourth Century Sculpture.

- 3695 Asclepius from Epidaurea. * (Gardner, fig. 95.)
 3687 Amazon from Epidaurea. * (Gardner, fig. 87.)
 9220 Aphrodite from Epidaurea. * Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 262.
 9205 Nereid from Epidaurea. * Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 156.
 9206 " " " " Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 157.
 2855 Thaped female portrait statue * from Asclepeia. Chalch Mus.

FOURTH CENTURY SCULPTURE, *continued*.

- 1883 Head of mourning lady* from Treutham. B.M.
 1941 *Mating of Herculannus.* Dresden.
 62 Mourning figure (iron birds). (Schlosser Coll. pl. 15.)
- 3688 Ganymede after Laocaurus* (Gardner, fig. 88.)
 3709 Head of Asclepius* from Malos. B.M. 550. (Gardner, fig. 109.)
 4814 Dionysus* from Monument of Thessylus. B.M. 482.
 382 Head of a Fann.* Munich Glypt. No. 102. (Cl. Fort. Meiss., fig. 134.)
 34 Persophone* from Cnidus. B.M. 1802.
 3453 Monumental lion* from Cnidus. B.M. 1350.
 3498 Head of an old man.* (Dolphe, iv. pl. 73.)
 3885 The 'maiden' from Antium.
 3886 " " 2 views of the head.
 4979 Head of young athlete* wearing *asphodelos*. Ath. Nat. Mus. 457.

FIFTH-THIRD CENTURY RELIEFS.

ATTIC GRAVE RELIEFS.

In this series a chronological order has been attempted.

Fifth Century Reliefs.

(For earlier reliefs of fifth century, see section on Attic Sculpture, pp. 87, 88.)

- 9916 Fragment of unidentified stela*: a boy in profile, with head inclined; behind a quiver, Crito.
 9917 Fragment of unidentified stela*: girl in profile, in Ionic dress, carrying coffer. Ath. Nat. Mus. 910.
 5266 Fragment of unidentified stela or vase relief*: nude youth leaning on staff to l. B.M. (J.H.S. xii. pl. 1.)
 5982 Stela of Xanthippos*: seated man holding foot of shoemaker's last, with two small female figures. B.M.
 9915 Stela of Amphictis*: girl in profile, wearing a petas, and holding flower and apple. Ath. Nat. Mus. 709.
 9919 Stela of Agathocles*: youth in profile to r., holding lekythos and strygi (worked over at a later age). Ath. Nat. Mus. 742.
 1141 Stela of Aristomachos*: girl in profile to l., holding doll in right hand. Edinburgh. (J.H.S. vi. pl. B.)
 1139 Part of stela from Kynosarges*: in low relief, lady seated r., bearded man behind. J.H.S. xvii. pl. 4 B.)
 3478 Stela from Blenn*: l., nude youth, full face; below, mourning boy; r., bearded man in profile, between, dog. (Boam ii. pl. 211. No. 1055.)
 1741 Stela of Ameinocles*: r., Ameinocles who lays her hand on the head of a maid, who is adjusting her sandal; l., a lady holding a pyxis. Ath. Nat. Mus. 718.
 5880 Unidentified stela*: r., a lady seated; l., nurse carrying infant. B.M. (J.H.S. xiv. pl. 11.)

Fourth Century Reliefs.

- 6918 Stela of Timias*: bearded man in high relief, seated, profile to r., with staff. Ath. Nat. Mus. 902.
 3694 Stela of Dexileos*: mounted warrior trampling fallen foe. Ath. Nat. Mus. (Gardner, fig. 94.)
 9920 Stela of Telesias*: nude youth, three-quarter face to r., holding a hare on left hand; small boy regarding him. Ath. Nat. Mus. 898.

FIFTH THIRD CENTURY RELIEFS, *continued.*

- 321 Stèle of young Ariston*: male youth, three-quarter face, attended by small boys; above, sphinx. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1871, p. 23, No. 50.)
- 3693 Stèle of Hegeso*: r., seated lady taking trinkets from box held by maid standing l. Ceramius. (Gardner, fig. 93.)
- 4573 *Id. in situ.*
- 7428 Stèle of Stratios*: a boy facing l., three-quarter face, with bird in outstretched hand. B.M.
- 5526 Unidentified stèle*: l., seated lady holding hand of standing maiden r.; between, a bearded mourner, profile to r.; high relief. Ath. Nat. Mus. 717.
- 61 Unidentified stèle*: lady seated to l., leans forward as if to take farewell of a lady standing r., who embraces the chin of the seated figure, behind whom stands a mourning maid. Ath. Nat. Mus.
- 621a Stèle of Demostrate*: seated lady, behind whose chair is a maid, grasps hand of standing bearded man r.; between, full face, a mourning lady. (Conze i. pl. 97, No. 410.)
- 6546 Stèle of Phaidros*: upper part of a male youth, facing, with extended r. arm. (Conze, ii. pl. 187.)
- 7439 Unidentified stèle*: a lady, three-quarter face, holding a mirror; high relief. B.M.
- 2042 Unidentified stèle of a lady in profile moving to r.; l. hand holds lekkythos; r. hand extended upwards; high relief. Ceramius.
- 325 Stèle of Archagora*: bearded standing man l., grasps hand of seated lady, r.; between, full face, a female mourner. B.M.
- 724 Stèle of Pamphile and Demetria*: l., standing, r., seated, lady, both veiled.
- 4047 *Id.** upper portion of seated lady only.
- 9918 Unidentified stèle*: l., standing bearded man regarding fixedly standing lady. Ath. Nat. Mus. 833.
- 2538 Stèle of Melite*: heavily draped lady standing, full face, l. arm rests on pillar; with her r. hand she draws himation across her shoulder. Ath. Nat. Mus.
- 2326 Stèle of Niko*: r., lady seated, in grief; l., small female figure brings her her lyre. Cairo Museum.
- 1020 Stèle of Nike*: lady seated l., grasps hand of bearded man r.; at her knee, little girl; above, cymeter and elaborate ansëx. Ath. Nat. Mus. 1028.
- 1027 Stèle of Selina*: lady seated l., grasps hand of nurse who carries an infant, r. Ath. Nat. Mus. 901. (Conze i. pl. 76, No. 310.)
- 271 Stèle of Democleides*: mourning youth seated high up to r., on prow of ship, helmet and shield behind him. Ath. Nat. Mus. 752. (Conze ii. pl. 122, No. 823.)

Third Century and Later.

- 324 Stèle of Epichares*: lady seated r., grasps hand of daughter l.; between, full face, bearded man; high relief. B.M.
- 4405 Stèle of Archippe and Procles*: bearded man l., grasps hand of standing warrior r.; between, veiled lady. Ath. Nat. Mus. 737.
- 3439 Stèle of Corellion*: seated lady l., grasps hand of standing bearded man r.; between, full face, bearded man.
- 3949 Stèle of Alexandra*: a priestess of Isis. Ath. Nat. Mus. 7193.
- 4409 Stèle of Callistion: a little girl, smiling, full face, holding a bird; below, to l. two smaller scale maidens with pyxis and dog.
- 6325 Stèle of Myrrion*: two ladies embracing; much damaged, perhaps earlier. (Conze ii. pl. 176.)
- 4315 Stèle of Arphrades*: above, large anthemion ansëx; below, upper portion of three figures.
- 9951 Stèle of Charivros*: unfinished, in good preservation, showing technique, architecture, frame-work and inscription. Youth facing three-quarter to l., in centre; to l., a seated dog, and in field a pair of hands. Ath. Nat. Mus.

LATER SCULPTURE. *continued.*

The Matter of Evidence.

- 42 View of part of the frieze at the altar of Pergamon, as set up in Berlin.
 5874 Shale on stairway. Nereus, Doris, Oceanos, Tethys.*
 5714 Zeus contending with the Giants.* (Gardner, fig. 114.)
 5715 Athens, Victory, Giant.* (Gardner, fig. 115.)
 5958 Dionysus.* (Cf. Collignon, II, fig. 268.)
 5980 Chariot horses.* (Cf. Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, fig. 23.)
 5875 Kivotos, Helios, Otos, Algaion, Artemis.* (Cf. *Pergamon*, p. 83.)
 5906 The goddess Cybele.* (*Pergamon*, p. 81.)
 5907 The goddess Eua.* (*Pergamon*, pl. 8.)
 1085 Torso of a Giant.†
 1086 Fragment of Giant and serpent on the staircase wall.
 5878 The Telephos frieze.* The Aleasles—Angel—Hercules and Telephos.
 5908 " " * above, Angel; below, the making of the coffin. (*Pergamon*, p. 83.)

- 8900-12 (four slides). Sim of Athens Police: reliefs of armour and weapons from the balustrade.
(*Pergamon*, pp. 119-122.)

The School of Rhodes.

- 3716 *Laocoon*.* (Gardner, fig. 116.)
3957 *Laocoon*, head of.* (Of Furtw. and Uebers, *Deutsche*, p. 118.)
3717 The Farnese bull. (Gardner, fig. 117.)

Other works of the Pergamene tradition.

- 772 *Thursieldia.* Loggia dei Lanzi. Florence.
6879 Head of Gaul.* B.M.
3206 Arrotiro.* Uffizi.
3718 Berghem Warrior.* (Gardner, fig. 118.)
771 Dying Alexander.*
7894 Group of wrestlers.* Florence.
825 Seated statue of a boxer.* Rome Mus. Terme.
826 " " " head only.

School of Leadership

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| 3696a | Group by Demophon: Head of Azytus.* | (Gardner, fig. 96.) |
| 3696b | Head of Artemis.* | (Gardner, fig. 96.) |
| 9912 | Head of Despoina.* | Ath. Nat. Mus. |
| 3697 | Drapery.* | (Gardner, fig. 97.) |
| 7426 | restored.* | (B.S.A. xiii, pl. 12.) |
| 7427 | crisling fragments as restored.* | (B.S.A. xiii, pl. 13.) |
| 7428 | drapery of the drapery, expanded.* | (B.S.A. xiii, pl. 14.) |
| 497 | Bronze coin showing the group. | |

Mythology in Hellenistic and later art.

- 3710 **Antioch**, after Eutychides. (Gardner, fig. 110.)
 3727 **Aphrodite**, * Venus Genetrix, * Louvre. (Gardner, fig. 127.)
 3727A " " " * Copy in Uffizi.
 3822 " " " Myrina, statuette showing type.
 3721 " " of Melos. * (Gardner, fig. 121.)
 3874 " " * side view.
 7398 " " * head of.
 3724 " " * Venus del Medici, * Uffizi. (Gardner, fig. 124.)
 1545 " " * from Epidaurus. (Of. Collignon, II. fig. 242.)

LATER SCULPTURE, continued.

- 4965 **Aphrodite**,* Torso with raised veil. From Lebedos. Ath. Nat. Mus. 683.
 4974 " * Vatican. Gab. delle Maschere 441.
 4983 " * Esquiline Mus. Rome.
 4986 " * Venus Maratta.* Cook Collection, Richmond. (*J.H.S.* xviii, pl. 7 (1).)
 4986 " * tying sandal. Cook Collection, Richmond. (*cf. J.H.S.* xviii, pl. 8, No. 18.)
 4979 **Apollo** Belvedere.* (Gardner, fig. 118.)
 4987 " " * head in profile.
 4988 " * Citharodius.* (*B.M. Cat. of Sculp.* ii, p. 232.)
 49 " * Fourtails.* B.M.
 4978 " * Musagetes, head of. B.M. 1548.
 760 **Ares*** Ludovisi. Rome. Mus. Terme.
 80 " and Aphrodite.* Uffizi.
 4975 **Ariadne**,* Vat. Mus.
 8389 **Artemis**,* Roman statue of. 'La Diana de Italia.' Sorville Mus.
 4970 " of Versailles.* (Gardner, fig. 120.)
 4971 **Asklepios** of Epidaurum.* Ath. Nat. Mus. 263.
 599 " * youthful type. Ath. Nat. Mus.
 242 **Athena*** from Epidaurum.
 3793 **Ceres** Rome Mus. Vat.
 3583 **Dionysus**,* Head in Ath. Nat. Mus. The so-called Chryseus.
 1793 **Eros**,* Head of, from Paphos: side view. (*J.H.S.* ix, pl. 10.)
 6670 **Hera**,* Copenhagen.
 3725 **Hercules**, Farnese.* (Gardner, fig. 125.)
 5297 " from Cythra.* Farnese type. (Syronos, *Ata. Nat. Mus.* pl. 11, 1.)
 9997 " * Cook Coll. Richmond. (*cf. J.H.S.* xviii, pl. 5, No. 40.)
 9879 " "
 3588 **Hermes** of Cythra,* upper part before reconstruction. (*cf. J.H.S.* xxi, p. 296, fig. 2.)
 3589 " " " * lower fragments before reconstruction. (*cf. J.H.S.* xxi, p. 296, fig. 1.)
 5161 " " " * the completed figure. (*Ex. App.* 1902, pl. 7.)
 5162 " " " * the head. (*Ex. App.* 1902, pl. 10.)
 5058 **Medusa** Rondanini. (Purvis and Ulrich, *Deskholder*, pl. 13.)
 412 " 'Dying Medusa' (the Ludovisi Medusa). Mus. Terme, Rome.
 3722 **Nike** of Samothrace,* (Gardner, fig. 122.)
 4977 " " * profile view, mounted on triform. Louvre.
 4969 " " * three-quarter face view, mounted on triform. Louvre Mus.
 5438 " " and galley, outline drawing. (Rayet, *Mémoires*.)
 768 **Nile**,* Vatican.
 3728 **Orestes** and Electra,* (Gardner, fig. 128.)
 6092 " " * with ophiasis by Stephanos. (*cf. J.H.S.* xxi, p. 192, fig. 2.)
 8435 **Pan**,* (*cf. Ata. Mus.* v, pl. 12.)
 84 " Panams* of M. Cassinus Credo, B.M.
 1326 **Poseidon** (Lateran).
 4972 " of Melos.* Ath. Nat. Mus. 235.
 6016 **Psyche**,* Naples.
 6324 **Satyr** asleep* (the 'Barberini Faun').
 9214 **Themis**,* by Chausse-trains, from Rhamnia. (Ath. Nat. Mus. 311.)
 9998 **Zeus**,* Cook Coll., Richmond. (*cf. J.H.S.* xviii, pl. 5, No. 7.)

Hellenistic and other Late Reliefs.

- 388 Walls and vine,* (Schreiber, pl. 41.)
 415 Peasant going to market,* Munich.
 3793 Dionysus visiting Icarion.* B.M. (Gardner, fig. 105.)
 2289 Girl dancing,* (*Rev. Arch.* N.S. 1887, pl. 2.)
 5825 " " * (Heydemann, *Verhöltnisse Tänzerin*, p. 6, no. 8, 2.)

LATER SCULPTURE, *continued.*

- 1901 Baschara with kûl. B.M.
 4563 Rows of tragic masks.* Alb. Nat. Mus.
 4929 Bacchic Thiasos.* B.M.
 4854 Apothecum of Homer.* B.M.
 9350 Stela of Ant. Alexander* behind two usings. Cairo Mus.
 4695 Graeco-Egyptian stela,* second century A.D. From Teimouthis. Cairo Mus.
 4698 " " "
 3246 Stela from Fayum : dedication to Soknopaios* (comp. Aug.), Cairo Mus.
 3848 Stela : dedication to Ius Harpokrates and Pas* (comp. Tiburt), Cairo Mus.
 3850 Stela from Abydos.* Cairo Mus. Nos. 9210, 9211.
 4092 Reliefs on the basis of the obelisk* of Theodosius at Constantinople.
 5442 Indo-Greek Relief* from Malakand Pass.
 5445 " " "
 B623 Antinous* as Silvanus.
 B624 Smyrnaionilla.* Louvre Mus.
 B625 Mithras slaying the bull.* Heddernheim.
 B626 " " " Capitol Museum, Roma. (*Cronaca Mitologica*, vol. I: 1)
 B627 A butcher's shop.* Kgl. Antik. Sammlung. Dresden.

Genre Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age.

- 99 Silenus with young Dionysos.*
 1730 Satyr from Laonia. Ath. Nat. Mus. 230.
 92 Bust of laughing Satyr.*
 4976 Dancing Faun.* Uffizi.
 2590 Crouching figure of a boy* from Cythara. (Ct. J.H.S. xxi. p. 208, fig. 5.)
 2709 Boy struggling with geese after Rostkos.* (Gardner, fig. 100.)
 4011 Boy with geese, marble figure.*
 597 Silver statuette: Boy mowing geese.* (J.H.S. vi. pl. A.)
 7127 Actor wearing a comic mask.* B.M. 1767.
 5512 Head of an old woman* (Colignon II., p. 504, fig. 311).
 1382 Bronze head of boxer (of Hellenistic age).
 5996 Head of crouching boy from Cythara.* (Svoronos, Ath. Nat. Mus. pl. 12, 1a.)
 0940 Three representations of children.* Cook Coll., Richmond. (J.H.S. xxviii. pl. 14.)

James Watson

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| 2034 | Statuette of an emaciated male seated figure. | (Burlington Fine Arts Cat., pL 52 b, 5 =) |
| 2150 | Bronze of Mahabha. Kosa Chakradooda.* | (Mon. Plac. xviii, pl. 13) |
| 2161 | " " " " " " " " | Grottoans female dancer.* (id. pl. 2.) |
| 2162 | " " " " " " " " | " " " " " " " " (id. pl. 3.) |
| 2163 | " " " " " " " " | " " " " " " " " (id. pl. 4.) |

Examples of Archæism in Sculpture.

- 7181 Head of an athlete, full face.* H.M. 43.
7182 Profile view of preceding.
1187 Head of Chalcidius.* (J.H.S. xxi. pl. 8.)
4973 Chalcidius.* (J.H.S. xxxii. p. 44.)
3728 Relief on vase by Scythians from a drawing. (Gardner, fig. 125.)
4579 Relief of a warrior with humary serpent.* H.M.
4470 Statuette of Artemis Ephesia (Jahreshefte, xii.).
3279 Bronze head of Diocletian* (= the so-called Platon). Naples Museum.

M. J. Griffin (ed.)

- 4182 Seated female figure? from Cyrena, *in situ*.
6572 'Miracle-working' statuette, a goddess with pierced breasts,? B.M.
2156 Statue of Rhodaspes? found in Peshawar: Greco-Buddhist art. Louvre. *Rev. Ind.*
vii, p. 53

ROMAN HISTORICAL SCULPTURE

SCULPTURES FROM THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

- B9015 Medallion.* Emperor preparing for hunt. (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. pl. xxi. 1.)
- B9016 " " " sacrificing to Apollo. (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 6.)
- B9017 " " " hunting the bear. (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 3.)
- B9018 " " " sacrificing to Diana. (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 4.)
- B9019 " " " hunting the bear. (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 3.)
- B9020 " " " sacrificing to Silvanus. (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 2.)
- B9021 " " " after a lion hunt. (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 7.)
- B9022 " " " sacrificing to Hercules. (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 8.)
- B6358 combines Nos. 9020, 9018, 9019, 9015.*
- B6355 " " 9022, 9017, 9018, 9021.*
- B9034 Relief.* Trajanic battle scene. (*id.*, iv. pl. xxviii.)
- B6343 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- B6344 Relief* in Louvre. Victory over Dacians. (*id.*, iii. p. 226.)
- B9023 Relief.* Marcus Aurelius going to war. (*id.*, iii. pl. xxiv. 4.)
- B9024 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- B9025 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- B9026 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- B9027 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- B9028 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- B9029 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- B9030 " " " " " " " " " " " "
- B6357 combines Nos. 9023, 9024.*
- B6359 " " 9025, 9026.*
- B6359 " " 9027, 9028.*
- B6360 " " 9029, 9030.*
- B6361 Reliefs.* Aurelius in battle (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 1), in triumph (*id.*, iii. pl. xxvi. 6), as a sacrifice (*id.*, iii. pl. xxi. 7). (In these three reliefs the head of Aurelius has been preserved.)
- B9031 Frieze.* Constantine besieging Susa (Verona). (*id.*, iv. pl. xxxv. 2.)
- B9032 " " Constantine victorious at the Pons Milvius. (*id.*, iv. pl. xxxv. 1.)
- B9033 " " Constantine (or Diocletian) distributing Conspicuum. (*id.*, iv. pl. xxxvi. 1.)
- B9032 (a) " " Constantine (or Diocletian) on *extor.* (*id.*, iv. pl. xxxvi. 2.)
- B7401 " " " " " " " " " " " "

In these the
head of
Aurelius has
been
replaced by
that of
Constantine.

SCULPTURES FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS.

- B6365 Candelabra slab.*
- B9042 Candelabra slab.*
- B9043 Biga slab.*
- B6364 Biga slab.*

SCULPTURES FROM THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN.

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| B5308 = Cloturnus, Nos. 1-4. | B5386 = Cloturnus, Nos. 47-50. |
| B5309 " " 5-8. | B5358 " " 51-54. |
| B5370 " " 9-17. | B5321 " " 55-62. |
| B5368 " " 18-21. | B5357 " " 63-66. |
| B5347 " " 22-26. | B5106 " " 67-70. |
| B5310 " " 27-30. | B5305 " " 71-73. |
| B5312 " " 31-34. | B5356 " " 74-76. |
| B5302 " " 35-38. | B5360 " " 77-79. |
| B5323 " " 39-46. | B5361 " " 80-83. |

SCULPTURES FROM THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN, *continued.*

B5304 = Cichorius, No. 84-87.	B5308 = Cichorius, Nos. 207-215.
B5307 " " 88-91.	B5331 " " 222-232.
B5339 " " 92-94.	B5310 " " 231-237.
B5301 " " 95-98.	B5339 " " 237-240.
B5368 " " 99-102.	B5322 " " 245-248.
B5350 " " 103-110.	B5327 " " 249-251.
B5304 " " 111-113.	B5330 " " 252-254.
B5342 " " 115-118.	B5329 " " 255-257.
B5326 " " 119-122.	B5324 " " 258-261.
B5337 " " 123-126.	B5315 " " 262-264.
B5344 " " 127-130.	B5326 " " 278-281.
B5338 " " 131-134.	B5334 " " 291-297.
B5396 " " 135-140.	B5348 " " 298-308.
B5351 " " 141-144.	B5340 " " 309-315.
B5339 " " 145-148.	B5317 " " 319-322.
B5341 " " 149-152.	B5328 " " 323-325.
B5354 " " 151-160.	B5318 " " 326-329.
B5355 " " 161-164.	B5323 " " 330-333.
B5322 " " 165-172.	B5319 " " 333-311.
B5303 " " 173-176.	B5313 " " 368-368.
B5353 " " 177-181.	B5325 " " 369-372.
B5344 " " 182-188.	B5345 " " 373-375.
B5340 " " 189-192.	B5314 " " 384-387.
B5369 " " 193-199.	B5367 " " 388-394.
B5345 " " 200-203.	B5352 " " 407-414.
B5302 " " 204-206.	

SCULPTURES FROM THE ARA PACIS.

B7345 Ara Pacis, decorative slab * Uffizi. (Petersen, <i>Ara Pacis</i> , pl. 1.)	
B7338 " " Inner frieze, wreaths, and pilasters. * Villa Medici. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 2.)	
B7342 " " Temple of Mars Ultor. * Villa Medici. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 3, slab, vii.)	
B6368 " " Tellus slab. * Uffizi. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 3, xi.)	
B7337 " " Temple of Mater Magna. * Villa Medici. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 3, xiii.)	
B7346 " " Processional slab. * Louvre. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 5, vi.)	
B6342 " " " " * Uffizi. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 5, xiv.)	
B6362 " " " " * Uffizi. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 5, xv, xv.)	
B7339 " " " " * Villa Medici. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 6 [xviii], xvii.)	
B7349 " " Sacrificial scene, Villa Medici: Bonus Eventus head, Mus. Torino. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 7, i, ii.)	
B7336 " " Head of Mars. * Vienna. Sacrificial scene. Villa Medici. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 7, xix.)	
B7335 " " Head of Mars. * Vienna. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 3, xix.)	
B7343 " " Processional slab * and interior decoration restored. (<i>id.</i> , p. 23, fig. 18.)	
B7394 " " Wreath of fruit and flowers. * (Ch. <i>id.</i> , p. 43, fig. 25.)	
B7341 " " Sacrificial scene. * Uffizi. (Petersen of <i>B.S.E.</i> , iii, p. 231.)	

BYZANTINE SARCOPHAGI.

(with analogous works.)

7928 Berlin fragment. Christ and saints. * (Staszynski, <i>Original oder Rom.</i> , pl. 2.)	
7929 British Museum fragment. Seated poet and muse. * (<i>J.H.S.</i> xxvii, p. 110, fig. 3.)	
7926 Brussels sarcophagus. Female figure. (Nauw. <i>Bull. de Arch. Crée.</i> , 1903, p. 26.)	
7921 Cook sarcophagus. Fragment A. * (<i>J.H.S.</i> xxvii, p. 100, fig. 1.)	
7920 " " Figure B. * (<i>id.</i> , pl. 5.)	
7937 " " Figures C, D. * (<i>id.</i> , pl. 8, 7.)	
7939 " " Figures E, F. * (<i>id.</i> , pl. 8, 9.)	

BYZANTINE SARCOPHAGI, *continued.*

- 7928 Cook sarcophagus. Figure G.* (*id.*, pl. 10.)
 7940 " Figures H, J.* (*id.*, pl. 11, 12.)
 7925 Sclafich sarcophagus.* Constantinople.
 7929 Sittamus sarcophagus, end view.* (*Mon. et. Mem.*, ix, pl. 19.)
 7924 " " side view.* (*id.*, pl. 17.)
 7923 Smyrna fragment. Torso of a youth.* (*J.H.S.*, xxii, p. 103, fig. 3.)
 7927 Five capitals from Byzantine sarcophagi illustrating development. (*id.*, p. 108, fig. 6.)
 7930 Niche, of the 'shell-niche' type.* Cairo. (*id.*, p. 114, fig. 11.)
 7931 Ivory throne of Maximian.* Ravenna. (*id.*, p. 116, fig. 12.)
 7932 " diptych, St. Michael.* B.M. (*id.*, p. 117, fig. 13.)
 7933 Pompeian wall painting. Facade with three doors. (*id.*, p. 119, fig. 14.)
 7944 Reconstruction of Pompeian stage facade. (*id.*, p. 120, fig. 15.)
 7935 " " wall painting. (*id.*, p. 121, fig. 16.)

ROMANO BRITISH SCULPTURE

- B9558 Stela of a centurion.* from Colchester.
 B9559 Sphind.* from Colchester.

PORTRAITS.

- 795 Aeschines.* Naples.
 5873 Aeschylus.* (Halbh, *Greek Theatre*.)
 6003 " Florence. (*J.H.S.*, xxiv, pl. 2a.)
 B5955 Agrippa.* Louvre. (Cf. Furtw. and Ulrichs, *Denkmäler*, pl. 49 (a).)
 3761 Alexander, head of.* B.M. (Gardner, fig. 107.)
 1136 " " *at Chatsworth. (*J.H.S.*, xxi, pl. 6.)
 4677 " " *at Blois.
 1367 " youthful figure.* Munich.
 6675 Anacreon.* Copenhagen. Formerly in Borchese collection.
 697 Anaxarchus.* Mus. Cap.
 3780 Antinous.* Relief. (Gardner, fig. 130.)
 3879 " *head of. Louvre.
 1357 Aristonoe,* priestess of Nemesis, Rhomus. Ath. Nat. Mus. 232. (*Éph. Arch.*, 1891, pl. 5.)
 348 Aristotle.* Rome. Mus. Terme.
 B7408 Augustus.* Detail of statue. Mus. Vat.
 B770 " *from Mars. B.M.
 B7410 Brutus, M.* Mus. Cap.
 B8530 Caecilius Secundus, L.* Naples Mus.
 B7418 Claudius.* Mus. Vat.
 B7419 Commodus.* Mus. Cap.
 B9837 " *as Herakles. Mus. Conservatori.
 B7410 Constantine the Great.* Gall. Uffiz.
 9888 Demosthenes.* Mus. Vat.
 743 " *head of the statue in the Vatican.
 2290 " *head of. Ath. Nat. Mus.
 B7407 Didius Julianus.* Gall. Uffiz.
 B7408 " " " "
 4502 Euripides.*
 B7417 Gallienus.* Mus. Terme.
 B7413 Germanicus.* Mus. Prof. Lateran.
 B7404 Geta.* Mus. Cap.
 B7423 Hadrian.*
 718 Herodotus.* Naples.
 5954 Homer. Schwirn. (Cf. Furtw. and Ulrichs, *Denkmäler*, pl. 48.)

PORTRAITS, *continued.*

- B7412 Julia, daughter of Augustus.* Gall. Uffizi.
 B7413 Julia Severa.* Gall. Uffizi.
 B7429 Julius Caesar.* B.M. (Gardner, fig. 129.)
 B773 Livia.* Head of.
 727 Lysias.* Naples.
 B7499 Maximus.* Gall. Uffizi.
 28540 Menander.* Copenhagen.
 B7415 Nero.* Mus. Terni.
 9672 Pericles.* (Gardner, fig. 72.)
 788 Philletairos* of Pergamon. Naples.
 717 Plato.* Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.
 829 Pyrrhus* of Epirus. Naples.
 698 Pythagoras.* Mus. Cap.
 B7405 Sabina.* Gall. Uffizi.
 B7400 Scipio.* Gall. Uffizi.
 764 Seleucus* I. Nisibis. Naples.
 5956 Socrates. Mus. Albani. (Cf. Furtw. and Ulrichs, *Denkmäler*, pl. 45.)
 4501 Sophocles.* Lateran Museum.
 788 " " head of the statue in the Lateran Mus.
 B7420 Sulla.* Mus. Nat.
 716 Thucydides and Herodotus.* Double herm. Naples.
 B678 Tiberius seated. Marble statue Vatican.
 B7437 Titus.* B.M.
 B7431 Vespasian.* Mus. Terni.
 B7422 " " "
 849 Zeno.* Naples.
 4489 Unknowns Hellenistic portrait from Delphi.* (*Delphi*, iv, pl. 75.)
 7998 " " portrait statue* of an old man. Delphi. (*Delphi*, iv, pl. 69.)
 B7492 " " funerary portrait of a lady. Mus. Lat.
 B7411 " " head of girl from tomb of Sulpicius Platorum. Mus. Terni.
 B7437 " " Roman steel: portrait of a soldier.* Alexandria Mus.

The following are portraits (Greek and Roman) on coins selected from the series of coins, p. 129.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| B201 Julius Caesar. | B219 Claudius Gothicus. |
| B202 Agrippina I. | B220 Cleopatra and Marcus Antonius. |
| B203 Agrippina, C. Domitius. | B221 Commodus. |
| B204 Albinus. | B222 Constantine I. |
| 6564 Alexander the Great. | B223 Crispina. |
| 1642 Antimachus of Bactria. | 1638 Domitrius Palmyrenus. |
| 1641 Antiochus I. of Syria. | B224 Diocletian. |
| B205 Antonia. | B225 Dorothea. |
| B206 Antoninus Pius. | B226 Domitian. |
| B207 Antoninus, Marcus. | B227 Drusus, son of Tiberius. |
| B208 Augustus. | B228 Elagabalus. |
| B209 Aurelian. | B229 Faustina senior. |
| B210 Aulus, Marcus. | B230 Faustina junior. |
| B211 Britannicus. | B231 Flavianus. |
| B212 Brutus, L. Junius (the Ancient) and
C. Servilius Ahala. | B232 Fulvia. |
| B213 Brutus, M. Junius. | B233 Galba. |
| B214 Caesar, C., adopted son of Augustus. | B234 Galerius. |
| B215 Caligula. | B235 Gallienus. |
| B216 Caracalla. | B236 Germanicus. |
| B217 Carinus. | B237 Gordian III. |
| B218 Claudius, Agrippina II. | B238 Hadrian. |
| | B239 Helena. |

PORTRAITS, *continued.*

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|------|---------------------------|------|---|
| B240 | Hieronymus of Syracuse. | B263 | Philip I., II., Otacilia Severa. |
| 1647 | Juba I. | 6552 | Philip, father of Alexander. |
| B240 | " | 4583 | Philistis of Syracuse. |
| B241 | Julia Domna. | B266 | Plotina. |
| B242 | Julia Mama. | B267 | Pompeia, Cu. Magnus (the Great). |
| B243 | Julia Paula. | B268 | Pompeius, Sextus. Pompeius, Cu. |
| B244 | Julia Soteria. | | Magnus (the Great). Pompeius, Cu. |
| B245 | Julia, daughter of Tirus. | B269 | Poppaea. |
| B246 | Julian II. | B270 | Postumus. |
| B247 | Julius Caesar. | B271 | Probus. |
| B248 | Labienus, Quintus. | 1636 | Ptolemy Soter. |
| B249 | Lepidus. | B272 | Pupienus. |
| B250 | Livia, Julia. | B273 | Sabina. |
| B251 | Marcellus, M. Claudius. | B274 | Salonina, Btl. |
| B252 | Marciana. | B275 | Saloninus. |
| B253 | Matidia. | B276 | Scipio Africanus the Elder. |
| B254 | Maximian. | B277 | Septimius Severus. |
| B255 | Maximin. | B278 | Sulla, P. Cornelius. |
| 1639 | Mithradates III. | B279 | Tiberius. |
| 1643 | Mithradates the Great. | 1646 | Tigranes of Armenia. |
| B256 | " " | 5388 | Tissaphernes (?) |
| B257 | Nero. | B280 | Titus. |
| B258 | Nero Drusus. | B281 | Trajan the Elder, Trajan. |
| B259 | Nerva. | B282 | Trebonianus Gallus and Volensiana. |
| B260 | Numerianus. | B283 | Valerian I., II., Gallienus and Salonina. |
| B261 | Octavia. | B284 | Verns, Lucius. |
| B262 | Otho. | B285 | Vespasian. |
| 1644 | Perseus of Macedon. | B286 | Vitellius. |
| B263 | " " | B287 | Zenobia. |
| B264 | Perthar. | | |

VIII.

BRONZES.

Archaic.

- 5292 Statuettes from Olympia.* (*Ol. Bronzes*, pl. xv. upper portion only.)
 184 Statuette of 'Apollo' from Thabos.* 3 views. Tyszkiewicz Coll. (*Mos. Piot. II.* pl. 15.)
 7231 Statuettes. Three male figures of early type.* Ath. Nat. Mus.
 6577 Greco-Egyptian statuette from Badajoz.* B.M.
 7423 Statuette of Apollo holding goat-horn.* B.M.
 6322 Apollo Piombino.*
 9237 Statue of Poseidon.* Ath. Nat. Mus. Bronze room, No. 11761.
 3839 Equestrian statuette.* (*Burlington Fine Arts Cat.* pl. 37.)
 6743 Female statuette.* Sparta; front and side view.
 6740 " " " " back view.
 7694 Female statuette from Ephesus. (B.M. *Ephesus*, pl. 14.)
 571 Athena Promachos.* Statuette. Ath. Nat. Mus.
 7341 Boar.* B.M.

Fifth Century.

- 794 Statuette of an armed runner.* Tübingen.
 3645 Head * from Acropolis in Arginetan style. (Gardner, fig. 43.)
 4208 Statuette of Apollo.* Arginetan style. Ath. Nat. Mus. 6445.
 7237 Statuettes. Nude male and draped female figures of fine style.* Ath. Nat. Mus.
 7243 Torus on dolphin.* Ath. Nat. Mus.
 5837 Statuette * of a trumpeter. Sparta.
 7839 " " " " from Sparta, back view.
 2328 Statuette * of the type of the Acropolis 'maiden.' B.M. No. 192.
 2315 Another statuette of this type* profile view. Ath. Nat. Mus. (*Mos. Piot. II.* pl. 17.)
 5952 The Delphi chariotee.*
 5953 " " " " Head of.*
 2631 Heroic head at Chateworth. (*Burlington Fine Arts Cat.* Pl. 2.)
 764 Leg.* B.M. (*J.H.S.* vii. pl. 69.)
 9924 *id.* original drawings by Edward Poynter to illustrate slide No. 764.
 1018 Statuette of Marsyas * after Myron. B.M.
 5587 Male figure with chlamys * from Cythera. (*Cl. J.H.S.* xxi. p. 295, fig. 2.)
 785 Spinario. Mus. Cap.
 6938 The 'Idolino.'* Louvre.
 6322 The 'Praying Boy' * of Berlin.
 4955 Three statuettes from Herculaneum *; ladies posing in Doric dress.

Fourth Century.

- 2143 Head * of an athlete from Beneventum Louvre. (*Mos. Piot. I.* pl. 19.)
 9858 " " " " " " (Collignon, n. frontispiece.)
 3586 Nude male figure * from Cythera. (*Cl. J.H.S.* xxi. p. 295, fig. 1.)
 4869 'Aphrodite' * Castellani head in B.M.
 7853 Statuette of Aphrodite.*
 4504 Aphrodite Pontalès,* statuette. B.M. (*Cl. Murray, Greek Bronzes*, fig. 25.)

IX

TERRACOTTAS.

1871

- | | | |
|------|---|------------------------|
| 2143 | Grotesque mask statuette* with geometric ornaments; full face. | (Mon. Poët. i, pl. 8.) |
| 790 | " " " " " profile. | |
| 2099 | Female idol from Mycenaes.* (B.S.A. xiv, pl. 7a.) | |
| A28 | " " " " Coloured slide. | |
| 7295 | Heard head,* three-quarter face, from Prussia. (Gt. B.S.A. viii, pl. 18.) | |
| 7273 | " " * back view, from Prussia. | |
| 7204 | Head of a lion,* from Prussia. | |
| 2065 | Archais statuette* of a figure kneeling grating cheese. | Mycenaes. |
| A29 | " " " " Coloured slide. | |
| 6503 | Fragment of pithos. Combat scenes in relief. Sparta. (B.S.A. xii, pl. 8.) | |
| 6514 | Archais Terracotta mask from Sparta.* (B.S.A. xii, pl. 10.) | |
| 6816 | " " " " two views (B.S.A. xii, pl. 11.) | |
| 6817 | " " " " " (B.S.A. xii, pl. 12.) | |
| 6818 | " " " " " " | |
| 6819 | " " " " " " | (B.S.A. xii, p. 326.) |
| 6815 | " " " " " " | |
| 6905 | " " " " " profile view. | |
| 6899 | " " " " " " | |
| 6861 | " " " " " " | |
| 6862 | " " " " " " | |
| 8061 | " " " " " a satyr. | |
| 6865 | " " " " " two examples. | |
| 6862 | " " " " " " | |
| 6864 | " " " " " " | |
| 6870 | Terracotta figurines from Sparta,* miscellaneous. | |
| 6871 | " " " " " mostly portions of female figures. | |
| 5118 | Archais bearded head* from Cyprus. | |
| 5130 | Two archais heads* from Cyprus. | |
| 5105 | Group of toys and idols* from Cyprus. | |
| 5152 | Three heads from Cyprus.* | |
| 490 | Archais relief representing a funeral procession.* (Bayet, Monuments.) | |

24/22

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 9953 | Terracotta head.* | Villa Papi Giulia. |
| 1107 | Female head* from Tarentum. | (J.H.S. 1889, pl. 73, 1.) |
| 7369 | Replica of Diadumenes of Polykletos† | Full face. |
| 9640 | " " | † Profile view. |
| 9947 | Tanagra statuette. | Flying Eros.* (Cl. J.H.S. xv, pl. 5.) |
| 601 | " " | The game of <i>Rhynchomenos</i> . |
| 2158 | " " | " " " " * Ath. Nat. Mus. (Mon. Piot. iv, pl. 17.) |
| 775 | " " | Dancing girl.* (Burlington F.A.C. <i>Graeco Art. Soc.</i> 365.) |
| 5880 | " " | Ladies conversing.* B.M. |
| 739 | " " | Eros.* B.M. No. c. 287. |
| 6375 | " " | Two ladies.* B.M. |
| 2230 | Seated boy with gonai. | Eros carrying kid.* B.M. |

TERRACOTTAS, *continued**Italy.*

6574. 'Myrina' statuettes. Aphrodite.* B.M.
 12 Statuette of the type of the Aphrodite of Malos. (*Eph. Arch.* 1905, pl. 6.)
 13 " " " " " " Profile view. (*id.*, pl. 7.)
 6586 " " Aphrodite (coloured).
 7446 Glazed statuette.* A lady and Eros. B.M.
 8243 Grottesque group of draught-players. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1883, pl. 173.)
 7141 Actors wearing comic masks.* B.M.
 6187 Genre-rendering of the boy extracting a thorn.
 8264 Relief: Odysseus recognised by Euryclia. (Raumwörter, A.D. fig. 1237.)
 550 Panel. Dionysos and Icaros.* (*B.M. Terracottas*, pl. 25.)
 842 " Bacchus in pyxide basket.* B.M.
 B639 Terracotta sarcophagus: * recumbent female figure. Chiusi. (*Antike Denkmäler*, I. 70.)
 B621 " " " man and wife.
 B622 Etruscan ash-chest with dying Adonis. Etruscan Mus. Vatican.

6573 Contents of a bride's grave: nude figure on throne; marriage *epithas*, boots, *strophidia*.* B.M.

X.

VASES.

For pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean Vases, see pp. 53-60.

Notes.

* denotes a photographic view of the whole vase from the original.

† denotes a reproduction of the picture subject only from an adequate illustration.

Those not so marked are mostly outline drawings retained in the Collection for the interest of the subject depicted, where other reproductions are not available.

VASES OF THE GEOMETRICAL PERIOD.

- 2399 **Aegina**, gryphon-headed oenochoe, outline drawing. (Bayet and Collignon, fig. 23.)
- 705 **Argolis**, Tiryns: man, horse, and fish. (Schuchhardt, fig. 131.)
- 311 " Trezen. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 88, figs. 46, 47.)
- 2294 **Attica**, Dipylon vase* with prothesis scenes. B.M.
- 725 " " " * showing funeral procession. (Haumoiester, 2071.)
- 879 " " " design from, busts devouring a man. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885, pl. 8.)
- 776 " " " " choric dance. (*Jahrb.* 1887, pl. 3.)
- 2718 " " " " warriors.
- 3797a " " " * warship. (*J.H.S.* ix, pl. 8.)
- 6650 " " " † with early Attic inscription. (*Ath. Mitt.* vi, pl. 3.)
- 5077 " " " * from Kynosarges. (*Cl. B.S.A.* ii, p. 25.)
- 5076 " pottery* from Kynosarges. (*Cl. B.S.A.* ii, p. 25.)
- 803 **Bocotia**. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 81, figs. 35, 36a.)
- 809 " (a) horse and duck, (b) lions. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 82, figs. 37, 37a.)
- 2626 " the same: side (a) only. (*B.C.H.* xiii, 574, fig. 1.)
- 5880 " geometric amphora. (*Cl. J.H.S.* xiii, p. 72.)
- 894 **Cresia**, Anapollis. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 37, fig. 17.)
- 800 " Anapollis. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 41, figs. 26, 27.)
- 805 " Onosson. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 39, fig. 21.)
- 307 " Onosson. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 42, figs. 29-31.)
- 143 **Euboea**, Aristonophos vase. (*Mon. d. I.*, ix, 4.)
- 2698 " (*B.C.H.* xiii, p. 279, fig. 2.)
- 7874 **Halos**, early Iron Age vases* from tomb enclosure near city wall.
- 7876 " " " " * cist tombs near city wall.
- 7878 " " " " " " "
- 7880 " Miscellaneous vases.*
- 7870 " Bowl and jugs with "outaway" necks.
- 7871 " Jugs with trefoil lips.*
- 7872 " Developed geometric (Dipylon) ware.*
- 7873 " " " " " * trefoil tipped jug.
- 7877 " " " " " * pattern on.
- 7878 " " " " " * ringed base of stand.
- 803 **Melos**. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 84, figs. 11, 12.)
- 6547 **Rhodes**, geometric skyphos in B.M.
- 810 **Sparta**, Amyklaion. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 84, figs. 41, 42.)
- 801 **Thera**. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 81, figs. 9, 7.)
- 802 " (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 82, figs. 8, 5.)

VASES OF THE ORIENTALISING PERIOD.

- 885 **Attica**, early Attic, warriors, etc. (Baumolster, 2079.)
 2095 " " vase with design of Siren. (B.C.H. xxii. 288, fig. 8.)
 4819 " " " * Metropoli. Mus., New York. (J.H.S. xxiii. pl. 11.)
 4820 " " " " " design (ib. p. 323, fig. 2, and 6.)
 3537 " early Attic: Herakles and Nessos, Gorgons. * (Ant. Denk. 57.)
 6545 " " skyphos. Ath. Nat. Mus. (Cl. Bayet and Collignon, fig. 25.)
 562 " " the Gorgons, Athens and Perses. (Arch. Zeit. 1882, pl. 9.)
 3550 " " " " " (" " pl. 10.)
 2735 **Corinth**, " proto-Corinthian fragments. Ashm. Mus.
 597 " " Herakles and Geryon, whole vase and design. * (J.H.S. v. p. 176.)
 4954 " " Macmillan lekythos, 2 views. *
 A23 " " " Coloured slide. *
 854 " " design from the Macmillan lekythos. * (J.H.S. xi. pl. 2.)
 2703 " " orientalising lekythos and pyxis. * (Bayet and Collignon, pl. 3.)
 2159 " " Athena and Ajax: Hector and Achilles. Dolm. * (Mon. Piot. xvi. pl. 18.)
 983 " " votive tablets. (Bayet and Collignon, pl. 6.)
 7566 **Crete**, plate (R.S.A. x. pl. 3.) from Praesos. *
 7282 " " bird-shaped vase from Praesos. *
 7281 " " late geometrical lekythos from Praesos. *
 8528 **Cyprus**, amphora. (B.M. Guide, 1902, p. 171.)
 2535 " " Granco-Phoenician vase. (Helbig, Epoc., fig. 25.)
 2694 **Euboea**. (B.C.H. xxii. 281, fig. 3.)
 5013 " " Ath. Nat. Mus. Nos. 902, 1080. *
 5014 " " Ath. Nat. Mus. *
 877 **Ionia**, Naukratis, Polemarchos amphora. (Naukratis, i. pl. 4.)
 5538 " " selected fragments. (Naukratis, i. pl. 5.)
 5457 " " selected fragments of pottery. (Naukratis, pl. 7.)
 9982 " " vase from Rhitsona: cocks fighting. * (J.H.S. xxix. pl. 25.)
 2997 " " Phanagoria, Hermitage. (Bayet and Collignon, fig. 30.)
 2142 " " Rhodian-Corinthian crater. Louvre. * (Mon. Piot. i. pl. 4.)
 777 " " Rhodos, plate, Gorgon. * (J.H.S. vi. pl. 59.)
 456 " " Euphorbus, Menelaos, Hector. * B.M.
 2260 " " Oenochos, Louvre. (Bayet and Collignon, fig. 29.)
 6529 **Italy**, orientalising vase. (Cl. B.M. Guide, p. 171, fig. 55.)
 A22 " " " from Pulledram. (J.H.S. xiv. pl. 45.) Coloured slide.
 6819 **Lacanian** Pithos * found near Artemisium containing early interment.
 744 " " " Cyrenatic cylix: Arcasias vase. (Bayet and Collignon, fig. 45.)
 114 " " " " Cadmus and Prometheus vase. (Arch. Zeit. 1881, pl. 12.)
 7857 " " " " 2 sphinxes. * Copenhagen. (J.H.S. xxx. p. 15.)
 6898 " " " " interior, * Borrades and monkey.
 779 " " " " " Blinding the Cyclops. *
 4983 " " " " " Atlas and Prometheus. *
 6999 " " " " " exterior. *
 7960 " " " " " interior, cocks feeding.
 7962 " " " " " portions of a.
 7963 " " " " " fragments. *
 6874 " " " " " fragments, * mostly " Cyrenatic."
 6873 " " " " " post- " Cyrenatic."
 7989 " " " " " A "Lakaina" with handles in the form of Medusa. *
 7987 " " " " " Details of the above. * (No. 7989.)
 7990 " " " " " Oenochos, decoration of an: a frieze of animals. *
 7928 " " " " " v.-f. vase * with figures painted on black ground instead of being reserved.
 2701 **Melos**, boys on horses. (Bayet and Collignon, pl. 2.)
 601 " " warriors in combat. (Baumolster, 2086.)
 602 " " Apollo and Artemis. * (ib. p. 53.)
 474 " " bearded head. (Baumolster, 240.)

VASES OF THE ORIENTALISING PERIOD, *continued.*

- 5875 **Melos**, amphora,* (*J.H.S.* xii. p. 69.)
 5876 " panel picture, *Iphigeneia and Artemis*!*, (*J.H.S.* xii. pl. 5.)
 52 " fragment of Melian pottery with the figure of winged *Artemis*.*
 5877 " spiral designs from Rhodian vases,* (*J.H.S.* xii. p. 53, fig. 7.)
 5878 " " " " " "*, (*J.H.S.* xii. p. 55, fig. 8.)
 5879 " small bowl with 'Melian' decoration,* (*J.H.S.* xii. p. 71.)
 A25 **Chitona** vase,* (*E.S.A.* xiv. pl. 8.) Coloured slide.
 2702 **Vase in relief**,* (*E.C.H.* xii. pl. 4.)
 5808 " "*, (*E.S.A.* xii. pl. 9.)

BLACK-FIGURED VASES.

Panathenaic Amphorae.

- 119 Group of Panathenaic Amphorae. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 60.)
 7425 Panathenaic Amphora,* from Temple of *Athena Chalkioikos* : Sparta. (*E.S.A.* xii. pl. 5.)
 7835 " " " reverse a horse race. B.M. B 133.
 240 **Athena Promachos**,* Burgon, B.M. B 130. (Cf. Rayet and Collignon, fig. 61.)
 1079 " " " *Leyden*. (Cf. *id.*, fig. 62.)
 5287 " " *Tyrannicides* on the shield of *Athena*.

The François Vase, by Clitias and Ergotimos. Florence.

- 160 General view of obverse,* (Cf. Banmeister, pl. 74.)
 859 " " reverse, (" ")
 5179 Top frieze. The *Calydonian Boar*.
 1032 Pelus and *Thetis* frieze. Pelus, Chiron, etc.
 1033 " " " *Muses, Hera*.
 1034 " " " *Hermes, Zeus, Muses*.
 955 *Troilus* frieze, general view.
 1036 " " *Apollo, Fountain*.
 1037 " " *Rhadia, Thetis*.
 1038 " " *Thetis, Hermes, Athena*.
 957 " " *Troilus*.
 956a " " *Antenor, Priam*.
 956b " " *Priam, Hector, and Polixena*.

Deities.

- 406a **Apollo and Artemis** slaying the *Niobids*.*
 144 **Athena**, sacrifice to,* (Rayet and Collignon, pl. 7.)
 145 " and bull at altar,* (Berh. *A.F.* 242.)
 244 " and *Poseidon**, Amphora by *Amasis*. Paris, Cab. d. Méd. (Rayet & Collignon, fig. 56.)
 5859 **Dionysos and Maenads**.* Amphora by *Amasis*. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.
 4201 " in ship : scenes of combat.* *Kylix* by *Exekias*. (Fort. n. Reich, pl. 32.)
 62 " *thiasos**, archaic white ground alabaster from Cyprus.* B.M. (*J.H.S.* xiii. pl. 82.)
 5332 **Triptolemos**, bearded.
 6381 **Zeus and Hera**, nuptials of.* (B.M. *Cat. of Vases*, II. pl. 5.)

Heroes.

- 953 **Amphiaraus** (above). *Contests* (below),* Berlin, 1655. (*Mon. For.* 1889, pl. 10.)
 5637 **Dioscuri**.* Amphora by *Exekias*. Vatican.
 874 **Heraclius** as an infant brought by *Hermes* to *Chiron*. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1876, pl. 17.)
 862 " and *Hydra*. (Banmeister, 724.)
 891 " bringing up *Coribantes*. (Banmeister, 730.)

BLACK-FIGURED VASES, continued.

- 857 **Heracles** binding Cretan bull. (Baumeister, 727.)
 1029 " and Triton.* (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 57.)
 589 " and Triton*: frons of dancers. *Kylix interior*. (*Mon. d. I.*, xl, xii, pl. 41.)
 750 " and Geryon.* From an amphora by Exekias. Louvre. (*Gerh. A.F.* 107.)
 6529 " and the Nemean lion.* (*Gerh. A.F.* 192.)
 4985 " in forest* stretching the Nemean lion's skin. (*Gerh. A.F.* ii, pl. 132, 133.)
 9941 " and Atlas.* (*J.H.S.* xiii, pl. 3.)
 4989 " and Stymphalian birds.* (*Gerh. A.F.* iv, pl. 324.)
 6031 " and Achelous.* (*Gazette Archéologique*, 1875, pl. 20.)
 4924 " and Rumia.* Caeretan Hydria in Vienna. (*Partic. n. Reich.*, pl. 51.)
 4999 " and the Kerkopes.* (*Achaetan Vase*, pl. 8.)
 9925 " watching Poseidon* rising from sea. (*J.H.S.* xix, pl. 2.)
 5858 " Apothosis of.* (Rayet and Collignon, pl. 8.)
 4206 **Phineus**, Boreas, and Harpiæ.* *Kylix*. Würzburg. (*Partic. n. Reich.*, pl. 41.)
 17 **Theseus**, Minotaur, Ariadne, and Chorus. (*Ann. Arch.* 1884, pl. 1.)

The Iliad.

- 980 Hector and Andromache. (*Mon. d. I.* 1855, pl. 20.)
 5688 The Laræe playing draughts.* Amphora by Exekias. Vatican.
 1325 " " " " Between, a tree. (*Gerh. Etensk. u. Kampen. Vasenb.* pl. 19.)
 4936 Fight for the body of Patroclus.* (*Gerh. A.F.* iii, pl. 223.)
 971 Dragging of Hector. (*Overbeck, Gallerie herculéenne, Iliade*, pl. 19, fig. 6.)

The Odyssey.

- 174 Odysseus and ram.* Crater.
 170 Companion of Odysseus with rams. (*J.H.S.* iv, p. 261.)
 779 Blinding the Cyclops.* From a Cyrenaic vase. (Birch, *Ant. Pottery*, 1875, p. 499.)
 606 " " " " From an Attic vase.
 780 Odysseus and Circe,* burlesqued. (*J.H.S.* xiii, pl. 4.)
 4944 " and Bocea,* burlesqued. (*Achaetan Vase*, pl. 26.)
 781 " and sirens.* (*J.H.S.* xiii, pl. 1.)

Trojan Cycle (non-Homeric).

- 1623 Atalanta & Peleus wrestling.* Chalcid Hydria. Munich (*Partic. n. Reich.*, pl. 31.)
 851 " " " " (Baumeister, 155.)
 147 Pelous, Thetis, and Cheiron (above). Ajax in conflict (below).* Munich. (*Gerh. A.F.* 227.)
 134 Achilles brought to Cheiron (above). Heracles and lion (below).*
 978 Peleus bringing Achilles to Cheiron.* B.M. B 629. (*J.H.S.* i, pl. 2.)
 149 The choice of Paris.* (*Gerh. A.F.* 172.)
 148 Hermes leading the three goddesses to Paris.* (*Gerh. A.F.* 171.)
 159 Achilles and Penthesilea (above). Memnon (below).* B.M. B 209 (*Gerh. A.F.* 207.)
 327 " " (above).* Achilles and Memnon (below).
 31 " " (above). Dionysus (below).* By Exekias. B.M. B 210 (*Gerh. A.F.* 209.)
 960 " Polyxena, Trolus.* Hydria. B.M. B 324.
 644 " " (above).* Three heroes (below).
 9926 Death of Polyxena.* (*J.H.S.* xviii, pl. 15.)
 641 " " At the tomb of Achilles.* (*Gerh. Tyrakow. u. Gef.* pl. 18.)
 329 Shade of Achilles (above). B.M. B 240. Tomb of Patroclus (below).* Berlin.
 380 Death of Astyanax.* (Baumeister, 797.)
 9891 Ilupersis: Death of Astyanax.*
 640 Ajax attempting to kill Cassandra from foot of Athena.* (*Gerh. Etensk. u. Kampen. Vasenb.* pl. 22.)
 331 Ajax and Cassandra.* (*J.H.S.* pl. 49.)

BLACK-FIGURED VASES: *continued.*

- 979 Andreas bearing Anchises. (Gerh. Krusk. v. Temporo. Vascul. pl. 25.)
 982 " " " (Hammeter, 32.)
 778 Death of Achilles. (Birch. Ann. Pottery, 1873, p. 193.)

Miscellaneous Methodology.

- 744 *Arcesilas**, vase. (Bayet and Collignon, fig. 43.)
 4082 *Atlas and Prometheus**, "Cyrena" kylix. (Gerh. A. Z., II, pl. 86.)
 6898 *Boreas* and *Mouley**,
 114 *Cadmus* and *Prometheus**, (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, pl. 12.)
 1324 *Calydonian* boar hunt*, two renderings. (Gerh. *Abst.*, n. *Kalypso*, *Paros*, z.)
 4990 *Medes* holding the ram*, (Harrison and Maccoll, pl. 2.)

Scenes from Daily Life.

Alfreda

- 9942 Pentathlon scene. * Panathenaic Amphora in R.M. (J.H.S. xvii. pl. 18.)
9926 Athletes * running. (Rayet and Collignon, pl. 129.)
819 " jumping with halteres.
9318 Wrestling match. * (J.H.S. i. pl. 4.)
3811 Armed footrace. * (Baumeister, 3369.)
8876 Victorious horseman. * (Guth. 4. 1st ix. 247.)
1096 Acrobat * (Schreiber, *Atlas*, pl. 24. 2.)
5900 Athletes playing ball. * (Schmidson *Passer*, pl. 3.)

Abstract.

- 4987 Maidens at the fountain of Callirrhoe. ♀ (Gerh. A. P. iv. pl. B.)
 7115 Female figure ♀ from B.F. vase. (P. Exploration Fund., Thess., ii.)
 6185 A smith's shop.
 6186 A shoemaker's shop.
 7140 Procession of innocents. ♀
 7114 Chorus dressed as birds, walking. ♀ (J.H.S. pl. 146.)
 7115 " " " dancing. ♀ (J.H.S. pl. 145.)
 141 Ship by Nicosthenes. (J.H.S. pl. 49.)
 A7 " " " of Colomed slide.

RED-FIGURED.

Technical

- 9892 A vase painter at work; part of a kylix. * (Cf. Walters, *Pottery* I, fig. 74.)
 9993 Fragment showing red-figured technique.
 4308 Interior of an Attic kylix: the Gorgonion * in transitional technique.

Olympische Dichter.

- 975 *Gigantomachy*, * from a kylix by Aristophanes. (Gothard, *Trinksch. u. Gef.* pls. 2, 3.)
 732 *Aphrodite on the goss.* * A white-grounded kylix by Sosades (H). R.M. D2.
 6378 *Apollo, Artemis, and Leto* *
 5698 " and Artemis slaying the Niobids. * Crater. Louvre.
 4956 " " " "
 4217 " and Heracles : thimble. * Amphora by Phintias Corneto. (*Pierse u. Smith*, pl. 91.)
 1628 *Artemis and Actaeon* * Crater. (*Furtw. u. Scholl*, pl. 112.)
 142 *Athene, seated with owl* * Kylix by Daria. (Gothard, *Trinksch. u. Gef.* pl. 15.)

RED-FIGURED VASES, *continued.*

- 3693 **Athene and Heracles.*** Amphora. Vatican.
 3553 " and Poseidon.* Kertsch vase.
 2136 " writing.* Single figure.
 4988 **Dionysus.*** (Gerh. *A.F.* iv. pl. 39.)
 7140 " "
 5690 " Dendrites and Maenads.* Stamnos. Naples.
 6591 " mystic marriage of. Polychrome vase on red ground.* B.M.
 6593 " *id.*, the figure subject only.*
 801 Dionysian dance.* (Sebeuroff (b), pl. 55.)
 4297 " " Kylix. Munich. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 49.)
 3797 " " A Maenad.* (Baumeister, fig. 928.)
 4491 " Satyr swinging maiden.* (Harrison and Mac Coll, pl. 32.)
 3222 " Satyr and winged maenad.* Etruscan amphora from Civita Castellana. B.M.
 4210 **Hera: mission of Triptolemus.*** Kylix. Munich. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 65.)
 783 **Hermes, Apollo, and cattle.** (Baumeister, 741.)

Chthonic Deities.

- 3 Persephone and Pluto. (Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* Atlas, pl. 18, fig. 11.)
 21 " the return of.* (Strube-Brunn, *Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, pl. 3.)
 1623 Mission of Triptolemos.* Hydria. Munich. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 106.)
 952 " " By Hieron. B.M. E 149. (*Mon. d. L.* ix. pl. 43.)
 4983 " " (above) light deities, (below) earth deities. (Gerh. *A.F.* i. pl. 46.)
 15 " " Vase in relief. (Baumeister, 526.)
 4997 The Underworld.* Apulian Amphora. (Rayet and Collignon, p. 305, fig. 116.)
 453 " " (Baumeister, 2042 A.)
 1930 " " Apulian Vase at Karlsruhe. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1843, pl. 11.)

Heroes

- 852 **Heracles myth.** Alcmena on pyre.* By Python. B.M. F 149. (*J.H.S.* xi. pl. 6.)
 945 " as a child. Amphitryon, Athens, Alcmena. (*Mon. d. L.* xi. pl. 43, 2.)
 6397 " and Achelous. (Gerh. *A.F.* 115.)
 4294 " and Aloyneus; Apollo and Heracles.* Kylix by Phintias. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 32.)
 4223 " and Amazona.* Krater. Athens. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 61.)
 4218 " and Antaeus.* Krater by Euphronios. Louvre. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 92.)
 6505 " wrestling.
 972 " and Apollo.* By Andocides. (Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gef.* pl. 19.)
 4202 " feasting and Athena.* Combination of B.-P. and R.-P. panels. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 4.)
 973 " and Eurythene.* Kylix by Euphronios. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 23.)
 135 " and Geryon.* By Euphronios. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 22.)
 785 " madness of, by Asotea. (*Mon. d. L.* viii. pl. 10.)
 4984 " at sea* in the golden jar. Kylix Int. Mus. Vat. (Gerh. *A.F.* ii. pl. 102.)
 5340 **Theseus myth.** Aegeus and Themia.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 297.)
 784 Theseus and Amphitrite.* Kylix by Euphronios. (Furtw. u. Reich, pl. 5.)
 1166 Theseus separated from Ariadne by Athena. (Gerh. *A.F.* 6, 7.)
 1179 Theseus, the labours of.*
 122 " " " " (Gerh. *A.F.* 233.)
 137 " " " " by Douris. B.M. E 48. (Gerh. *A.F.* 234.)
 6036 " " " " Kylix by Douris. B.M. Interior. Theseus and Minotaur.
 6033 " " " " Exterior. Cnemidion and Sins.
 6034 " " " " Skiron and Erichon.
 9224 " and the Minotaur.* (*J.H.S.* xix. pl. 1.)
 9927 " and Procrustes.* (*J.H.S.* xix. pl. 2.)

RED-FIGURED VASES, *continued.*

- 124 Theseus and Procrustes. (Millingen, *Peint. de Vases Grecs*, pl. ix.)
 125 " carries off Helen. (Gerh. *A.F.* 168.)
 129 " and the Marathonian Bull.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 162.)
 132 " combat with Amaraus.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 330.)
 134 " and Peirithoos in the Underworld. (*Arch. Zeit.* l. pl. xv.)

The Iliad.

- 998 Achilles and Briseis.* (*J.H.S.* pl. 3.)
 1023 " " " * from an Amphora by Euxitheus. B.M. E 252. (Gerh. *A.F.* 187.)
 1032 Paris and Helen. (*Compte Rend.*, 1881, pl. 5, fig. 1.)
 103 Walls of Troy. Achilles and Hector, Priamus, Hecuba, Athene.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 298.)
 30 Trojans arming. (Klein, *Euphr.* 2 215.)
 224 Warriors arming, by Doris.*
 966 Parting of Hector and Andromache.
 177 Odysseus in tent of Achilles. (Baumeister, 781: Hypnos and Thanatos.)
 694 Odysseus, Diomedes, Dolon.* B.M. F 175.
 1090 Murder of Rheseus. (*Wien. Verl. Ser.* U, pl. 3, fig. 2.)
 597 Patroclus bandaged by Achilles. From a kylix by Sosias. (Müller-Wisselot I. No. 210.)
 871 Nereids bringing armour. (Heydemann, *Nereiden*.)
 749 Priamus taking leave of Hector.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 188.)
 3174 Achilles and Hector in combat.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 292.)
 3173 Achilles at supper. Body of Hector.* (*Mos. d. I.* viii. pl. 27.)
 3177 Hermes and Achilles.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 200.)
 36 Redemption of Hector.* Cap. Vienna. (*Furtw. u. Reich.* pl. 84.)
 164 " " (*Mos. d. I.* x, pl. 11.)
 3178 Priamus suppliant to Achilles.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 197.)
 981 Sacrifice of Trojans at pyre of Patroclus.* (*Mos. d. I.* ix. pl. 32.)

The Odyssey.

- 334 The Trojan Horse.* (Gerh. *A.F.* 229, 230.)
 5691 Ilissus.* Hydria, Naples.
 1046 " * B.M. F 160.
 41 " * By Brygos. (*Furtw. u. Reich.* pl. 25.)
 4209 Odysseus in lower world.* Krater, Paris. (*Furtw. u. Reich.* pl. 60.)
 8247 Odysseus and Nausicaa.* Attic amphora from Vulci. Munich. (Gerh. *A.F.* iii. 218.)
 8260 Odysseus and the sirens. B.M. (Baumeister, *A.D.* 1700.)
 173 Comrade of Odysseus and Circe.
 175 Penelope's web.
 174 Odysseus and Anticlea.
 176 Odysseus with bow.
 172 Odysseus slaying the suitors.

The Trojan Cycle (other than Homeric Poems).

- 1622 Peleus wrestling with Thetis.* : Kylix style of Doris. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 24.)
 159 " " From a kylix by Penthikos.* (Götsch, *Prähistorien*, pl. 8.)
 139 " " from a polychrome vase from Canicra.* B.M. E 424.
 6375 Judgment of Paris.* Kylix by Hiron. Berl. Mus. (Hayet and Collignon, fig. 61.)
 4294 " " thisase.* Hydria in style of Meidias. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 30.)
 1626 The Argonauts.* Crater in Louvre. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 108.)
 4215 Story of Helen.* Kylix. Hiron and Macrus. Spinelli Coll. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 35.)
 9894 Conflict between Ajax and Odysseus. Kylix by Doris. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 34.)
 87 Achilles and Penthesilea.*
 4222 " " * Kylix. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 6.)
 745 Achilles and Troilus, from a vase by Kyptronius. (Klein, *Euphr.* 2 p. 220.)
 5851 Achilles seizing Troilus, from a vase by Kyptronius. (Klein, *Euphr.* 2 p. 214.)

RED-FIGURED VASES, *continued*.

- 974 Memnon and Achilles. Hector and Achilles. B.M. E 468. (Gerh. *A.V.* 294.)
 5852 Eos and Thetis before Zeus. (Overbeck, *Gallerie heralisch. Bildw.* pl. 20, fig. 19.)
 1390 Eos and Memnon, from a kylix by Darius.* Louvre. (*Wiss. Zeit.* vi. pl. 7.)
 166 Olyseus carrying the Palladion. Single figure.
 989 Orestes slaying Argisthea.* Siameses. Berlin. (Overbeck, *Gallerie heralisch. Bildw.* pl. 28, fig. 10.)

Miscellaneous Mythology, &c.

- 4224 Alceus and Sappho.* Munich. (*Pariss. u. Reich.*, pl. 64.)
 4214 Andromeda.* Hydria B.M. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 77.)
 4030 Archemoros. White-grounded kylix.* B.M. D 7. (*White Ath. Vases*, pl. 13 B.)
 4220 Boreas and Oreithyia.* Amphora. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 94.)
 9929 Caeneus attacked by the Centaurs.* (*J.H.S.* xvii. pl. 6.)
 4221 Cecrops and Erechthides.* Amphora. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 95.)
 1027 Croesus on the funeral pile.* Amphora. Louvre. (*Pariss. u. Reich.*, pl. 118.)
 4090 Danae and the shower of gold. (Harrison and MacColl, pl. 34.)
 4092 „ and Perseus in the chest. (Harrison and MacColl, pl. 34.)
 105 Eos and Tithonus, by Hecatom. (*Mon. d. J.* ii. pl. 48.)
 9945 „ rising in her chariot from the sea.*
 4028 Glaucus and Polyxena. White-grounded vase.* B.M. D 5. (*White Ath. Vases*, pl. 16.)
 140 Erichthonius received by Athena. (*Mon. d. J.* x. pl. 89.)
 731 Helios rising. (Haunmeister, *A.D.* fig. 111.)
 9 Itys slain by Aedon. Kylix interior. Munich Pinakothek. (*J.H.S.* viii. p. 440.)
 4216 Laphis and Centaurs.* Kylix. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 86.)
 4205 Medea and Talia.* Krater. Ruvo. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 38, 39.)
 1621 Nikai sacrificing a bull.* Stamnos. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 19.)
 6374 Oedipus and Sphinx.* Kylix. Mus. Vat. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 73.)
 4996 Orestes at Delphi.* Krater. Louvre. (Rayet and Collignon, p. 297, fig. 114.)
 1829 „ „ „ „ „ „ (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 129.)
 417 Orpheus* singing to the Thracians. Krater. Berlin.
 9931 Pandora, the making of.* (*J.H.S.* xxi. pl. 1.) From original drawing.
 730 „ the making of.* White-grounded lekythos. B.M. D4.
 4212 Pelops and Hippodamia.* Amphora. Arezzo. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 67.)
 3514 Pentheus and the Maenads. (*Jahrb.* vii. p. 156.)
 3509 „ death of. (*Jahrb.* vii. pl. 5.)
 5871 Selenia riding, adapted from a vase. (Harrison and Verrill, fig. 42.)
 990 Toilet of goddesses. (*Mon. d. J.* iv. pl. 18.)

Scenes from Daily Life, &c.

Athletic

- 9930 Palæstra scene.* Amphora. B.M. (*J.H.S.* xxvii. pl. 19.)
 5855 „ „ * B.M. E6.
 845 „ „ * (Gerh. *A.V.* iv. 271.)
 747 „ „ (Klein, *Euphr.* p. 284.)
 873 The Pentathlon, jumping. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1184. pl. 16.)
 823 „ „ athlete with halteres.
 7378 „ „ athlete jumping with halteres.
 748 „ „ throwing the discus. (Klein, *Euphr.* p. 285.)
 9944 „ „ boy diskotolas.* Pallike. B.M. (*Cl. J.H.S.* xxvii. pl. 3.)
 1269 „ „ throwing the spear.
 3376 „ „ athlete with himas.* Ashmolean Mus. (*J.H.S.* xxviii. pl. 31.)
 4943 „ „ 2 athletes wrestling. Nike watching from column.* (*Jahrb. Forsch.* pl. 14.)
 6591 „ „ umpire separating struggling athletes. (*Meisnerschalen*, fig. 53.)
 6592 „ „ boys boxing, fragment. (*Meisnerschalen*, fig. 12.)

RED-FIGURED VASES, *continued.*

- 5883 The hoplite race: the turn reconstructed from various vases. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 272.)
 5855 " " " the runners. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 277.)
 5862 " " " the finish. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 285.)
 5883 " " " the victor. (*J.H.S.* xiii. p. 286.)
 9913 Boy with hoop, from original. Cf. *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 284.)

War.

- 896 Youths with horns.* Kylix by Euphronios and Euthimos.
 953 " " " (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885. pl. 11.)
 2715 Youth arming. (Reichel, *Ion. Waffen*, fig. 32.)
 4211 " " " Lekythos. Palermo. Polynikes and Eriphyle.* Pollux. Lucos. (*F. u. R.* pl. 66.)
 2219 A Scythian warrior seated sideways on a mule.* Vase from Cervetri. B.M.
 2220 Scythian warrior on foot.* Vase from Cervetri. B.M.

Dance.

- 4507 Preparation for a satyric drama. (Banmeister, pl. 5. left hand portion.)
 4508 " " " " (Banmeister, pl. 5. right hand portion.)
 7113 Chiron, burlesqued, from a Pallad vase.* (Cf. Banmeister, fig. 903.)
 786 Comed scene from a vase by Antissa. (Millingen, *Vases grecs*, pl. 46.)

Dress.

- 6195 Man wearing the himation.* (Gardner, *Grecian art*, fig. 7.)
 6199 Boy wearing the himation.* Ash. Mus. (Gardner, *Grecian art*, fig. 56.)
 6196 Ladies in Doric and Ionian dress.* (Gardner, *Grecian art*, fig. 3.)
 9893 " " " " (Furtw. u. Reich., pl. 17 and 18.)

Boys.

- 4219 Flute player.* Krater. Louvre. Reverse of slide No. 4218. (Furtw. u. Reich., pl. 63.)
 1611 Flute player, &c.: fragments* from Acrop. in style of Euphronios. (*J.H.S.* xxx. pl. 5.)
 9384 Two musicians seated: between, a youth.* Hydria. Munich. (Furtw. u. Reich. pl. 71.)
 977 School scenes, by Duris.* (Hayet and Collignon, fig. 72.)
 4995 A schoolmaster.* (Pottier, *Duris*, fig. 23.)
 110 Youth pouring libation. (*J.H.S.* x. pl. 1.)
 932 Revellers,* from a kylix by Euphronios.

Girls.

- 963 Marriage procession. (Stackelberg, *Griecher*, pl. 42.)
 963 " " " (cf. *continued*.)
 4218 Toilet scene,* cup with cover. St. Petersburg. (Furtw. u. Reich., pl. 68.)
 4208 Domestic scenes,* three pyxides. B.M. Nos. E773, 772, 774. (Furtw. u. Reich., pl. 57.)
 6379 Girls at play.* Aryballos.
 2644 Ladies bathing.* Hydria. B.M. (*J.H.S.* xxx. pl. 3.)
 4029 Maiden gathering apples. White grounded kylix.* B.M. D 6. (Wille, *Ath. Vase*, pl. 17.)
 2225 Polyphemos asleep* from Canosa. Female head, in spiraliform decoration.

WHITE ATHENIAN FUNERAL LEKYTHOI.

- 294 Interior of a coffin showing the disposition of lekythoi round the body.
 5010 Complete view of two specimens* in Ath. Nat. Mus.
 6498 " " " " "
 6592 Group of lekythoi.* B.M.
 7449 Pair of lekythoi* with representation of Eros bringing, and lady receivingasket. B.M.
 1112 Youth at the tomb.* (Cf. *J.H.S.* xix. pl. 2.)
 1144 Lady at the tomb from the same vase.* (Cf. *J.H.S.* xix. pl. 2.)

SHORT STYLISTIC CATALOGUE OF VASES, *continued*.

Combined black and red-figured technique.

4202 Heracles feasting, attended by Athena.

Red-Figured Vases.

Circa 520-460 B.C.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 4204 Kytix (Phintias); Heracles, &c. | 9894 Ajax and Odysseus (Ducis). |
| 4217 Amphora (Phintias); the contest for the tripod, &c. | 1822 Pelops and Thetis (Ducis). |
| 972 The contest for the tripod, &c. | 6084 Theseus' labours (Ducis). |
| 9930 Palaestra scene. | 6085 " " " |
| 5692 Athena and Heracles. | 6036 " " " |
| 6318 Apollo, Artemis and Leto. | 4215 The story of Helen (Hieron). |
| 4223 Hermes and Geryon. | 4375 The choice of Paris (Hieron). |
| 8384 Musicians. | 41 The sack of Troy (Dyck). |
| 9927 Theseus and Procrustes. | 4216 Centaurs. |
| 9928 " " the Minotaur. | 9943 Boy with hoop. |
| 150 Pelops and Thetis (Pithagoras). | 4220 Boreas and Orithyia. |
| 4219 Musicians (Euphronios). | 4221 Cecrops and Erechthonia. |
| 4218 Heracles and Antaeus (Euphronios). | 4222 Achilles and Penthesilea. |
| 135 " " Geryon (Euphronios). | 417 Orpheus singing to the Thracians. |
| 973 " " Eurystheus (Euphronios). | 4207 Dionysian dance. |
| 784 Theseus and Amphitrite (Euphronios). | 730 White-grounded cup, Pandora. |
| 234 Warriors arming (Ducis). | 4210 " " " Hera. |

Circa 480-425 B.C.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 5699 Dionysus Dendrites. | 4211 Conversations. Social scenes. |
| 5698 Death of Niobida, &c., whole vase. | 9893 Chorus of ladies. |
| 4956 <i>id.</i> both panels reproduced. | 4295 Medea and Talos. |
| 1628 <i>id.</i> Argonauts panel reproduced. | 4212 Pelops and Hippodamia. |

White-grounded cups by Sotades.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 792 Aphrodite on swan. | 4029 A lady gathering apples. |
| 4028 Glaukos and Polyxenos. | |

Circa 425-400 B.C.

Red-Figured Vases.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 915 Gigantomachy (Aristophanes). | 4994 Judgment of Paris, by Medea. |
| 4206 Odysseus in the underworld. | |

White Attic Lekythoi.

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 5619 Two lekythoi. | 729 } Complete picture and details of a |
| | 1112 } lekythos. |
| | 1141 } |

Circa 480-380 B.C.

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 4213 Toilet scenes. | 1319 Pelops and Thetis. |
|---------------------|-------------------------|

Italian red-figured fabrics.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 4997 Apulian. The underworld. | 852 Paestum. Alcmena. |
| 981 " Sacrifice of Trojans. | 994 " Dolon. |

7119 Baroque of Chiron.

PAINTING, *continued.*

(c) Miscellaneous Later Frescoes.

- B829 Painting of garden. Trimastria. (*Antike Denkmäler*, ii, 13.)
 9339 Painted portraits from the Fayum. (*Quier Mus. Ind., Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, pl. 42.)
 9340 Portrait busts from Kou-el-Alimat. (*id.* pl. 30.)
 9346 Portrait with painted wrappings. (*id.* pl. 46.)
 2157 Fresco painting on an altar at Debs, Sacrificial scene. (*Mon. Piot.* xiv, pl. 1.)

MOSAICS.

- 2158 Mosaic pavement found at Debs: dolphins and anshores. (*Mon. Piot.* xiv, pl. 12.)
 B9142 Mosaic from house of the Fano, the battle of Issa.
 1086 " " " " (Bausselet, p. 21.)
 1083 " " " " central portion. (*id.*)
 B9143 " " " " detail, head of Alexander.
 B9144 " " " the entrance of the Nile.
 B9145 " " " cat killing partridge: ducks and fish.

BYZANTINE MOSAICS.

- 4386 Daphni, mosaic of the dome of the convent.
 1327-32 " mosaics in the convent: a series of six saints.
 6625 Kalolimno, pavement of church of H. Soter. (*E.S.A.* xiii, p. 29d.)
 7466 Salonika, S. Sophia, mosaics of the apse.*
 2892 " " " dome (entire scheme).
 7959 " " " " "
 7683 " " " " "
 7684 " " " " "
 7685 " " " } mosaics of the dome in four consecutive segments.
 7686 " " " "
 7687 " " " } mosaics of the dome, central figure.*
 7958 " " " " " one segment* (drawing of side No. 7684 shows).

* From drawings executed for the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund.

XII.

COINS.

Towns, &c., in alphabetical order.

A

- 5301 **Abdera, B.** (B.M. *Guide*, III, B 3.)
 5302 **Abydos, B.** (H. M. Cat. *Troia*, vol. p. 2, 10.)
 5303 **Acanthus, B.** (B.M. *Guide*, II, B 8.)
 5304 **Acarnania, B.** (B.M. *Guide*, v, B. 13.)
 5328 **Ace Ptolemais, R 295-4 B.C.** (Alexandrine).
 5305 **Aegina, B.** (B.M. *Guide*, i, B 29.)
 B3403 **Aelia Capitolina, R** Types showing temple of Astarte.
 116 " " (Temp. Hadrian.) Temple of Capitoline Triad.
 117 " " (Temp. Hadrian and Pius.) Rev. Heg.
 5307 **Aenos, R.** showing primitive statue. (Gardner, fig. 7.)
 5308 **Aetolia, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, v, B. 16.)
 5308 **Agrigentum, R.** (Munich specimen.)
 5478 **Amisus-Patraeus, R.**
 5310 **Amphipolis, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, III, B 7.)
 5484 " 424-458 A.C.
 5311 **Andros, R.** (B.M. 1901, 7, 8, 2.)
 B3440 **Antioch Syriae, R and R.** coins of Augustus and Tiberius.
 B7150 **Aradna, R.** (Cf. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 1, 5, 8, 10.)
 B7154 " *R.* (Cf. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 6, 8, 9.)
 5008 **Argos, R.** (B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, pl. 28, 10.)
 5318 " *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, B 84.)
 B3403 **Ascalon, R.** Set of coins illustrating the type of 'Aphrodite.'
 B3404 " *R.* Types showing the God Phaullos.
 B3405 " *R.* Type showing an Egyptian building.
 B3406 " *R.* Types showing Isis and Isis on Luna.
 5354 **Asine, R.** with figures of Dryops.
 5475 " *R.* Earliest coinage: Coins of Solon (1) and Pelestratus.
 2630 **Athens, R.** Very early tetradrachm.
 2613 " *R.* obol struck by Hippias in exile. (Cf. *Head, Corolla Num.*, p. 1.)
 5314 " *R.* fifth century. (B.M. *Guide*, II, B 20.)
 5315 " *N.* circ. 407 B.C. (B.M. 1892, 6-11-24.)
 5317 " *R.* circ. 190 B.C. (B.M. Cat. *Attica*, pl. 10, 5.)
 5318 " *R.* time of Sulla. (B.M. 1893, 4-6-1.)
 5473 " *R.* Antiochus iv. 176 B.C.; N. Mithridates, 57-6 B.C.
 5474 " *R.* Dekadrachm in Berlin.
 5477 " *R.* Rhogyrte imitations of Athenian coins.
 5478 " and Thurium *R.* Ca. 400.
 5480 " *R.* showing Apollo Alerikakes of Calymna. (*J.H.S.* xxiv, p. 203.)
 5358 " *R.* contest of Athens and Poseidon. (*J.H.S.* pl. 75, 2 xiv.)
 5020 " *R.* statue of Apollo of Delos. (Gardner, fig. 29.)
 7075 " *R.* Reverses of three imperial coins showing (a) view of Acropolis, (b) theatre of Dionysus, (c) Athena and Poseidon.

COINS, *continued*.

B

- B7148 Berytus, *E.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 10¹.)
 B7149 " *E.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 10, ², 11, ³.)
 B7149 " *E.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 10, ⁴.)
 5318 Bocotia, *B.* Epaminondas. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 22.)
 5400 " *R.* Ca. 338-316 B.C.
 B7142 Byblus, *E.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 12, ¹.)
 B7143 " *E.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 12, ², ³, 13, ⁴.)
 B7140 " *E.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 13, ¹, ².)
 5319 Byzantium, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 2.)

C

- B7151 Caesarea-Area, *E.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pl. 13, ¹.)
 8454 " Samaria. Types of city goddess and goddess Roma.
 8452 " Sebaste and Neapolis Samariae. Goddess holding bust of Emperor.
 5320 Camarina, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, ii. C 17.)
 5321 Camirus, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, i. A 50.)
 5323 Carystus, *A.* (B.M. Cat., *Central Greece*, p. 103, 17.)
 5357 Catana, *R.* tetradrachm in style of Homacridas.
 5324 Chalcedon, *R.* (B.M. 1900, 4-2-1.)
 5325 Chalcis, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 31.)
 5326 Chersonesus Taurica, *B.* (B.M. Cat., *Thrace*, etc. 9.)
 5327 Chios, *R.* (B.M. Cat., *Ionia*, pl. 85, ².)
 B8443 Cimmerian Bosphorus under Empire, *A.*, A.D. 14-42 and *E.*, A.D. 304-42.
 5357 Cition (Cyprus), *R.* Baalmelech I. (B.M. Cat., pl. 2, ¹.)
 5325 Glaxomenae, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, iii. A 20.)
 5329 Gnidus, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, iii. A 32.)
 5316 " *etc.* *R.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Caria*, pl. 14, ¹.)
 8000 Cnosus, *R.* (Cl. *Head, Hist. Num.*, p. 389, fig. 245.)
 5334 " *R.* (B.M. Cat., *Cyria*, etc. p. 18, ².)
 5333 Colophon, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, ii. A 50.)
 5479 Corinth, iii-iv. cent. B.C.
 2638 " *R.* Archais Staters.
 825 " *R.* Aphrodite with shield and Eros. (*J.H.S.*, pl. 53, G xxxi.)
 3503 " *R.* Aphrodite in temple. (*J.H.S.*, pl. 53, G xxxvi.)
 1697 " Corinthian colonades, *R.* Acarnania, Syracuse and Terina. Staters, 4th cent.
 1648 " " " in S. Italy and Sicily. Lokri, Messene. *R.*, 4th cent.
 000 Corcyra, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, i. B 15, ii. B 14.)
 8451 " Apudonia and Dyrrhachium.
 5323 Cos, *B.* (B.M. *Guide*, ii. A 50.)
 5324 " *R.* Various reverses showing diacoholus types. (Cl. *J.H.S.*, xxvii. p. 39.)
 B8452 Cressna and Medaba. Types showing goddess holding bust of Emperor.
 5333 Croton, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, iii. C 15.)
 2659 " Sybaris and Metapontum, *R.* Early Italic staters.
 2177 Cumae and Neapolis Campaniae, *R.*, 5th cent. B.C.
 69 " *R.* and Terina, *R.* (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 5, ¹, ².)
 5358 " Aspid. *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, vi. A 14.)
 5594 Cyprus, *E.* Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos (several examples). Roman.
 5559 Cythra, *E.* (B.M. 1891, 7-4-25.)
 5560 Cyzicus, *EL.* (B.M. *Guide*, i. A 12.)
 1659 " *EL.* 4 staters and 1 hekte. Archaic period.

D

- 5335 Delos, *R.* (B.M. 1890, 7-2-43.)
 5339 Delphi, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 25.)
 5331 Dyrrhachium, *R.* (Cl. B.M. Cat., *Thessaly*, etc. pl. 15, ¹.)
 8480 " and Loucas, *R.* Corinthian types.

COINS, *continued.*

M

- 5372 **Magnesia, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, vi. A 19.)
 5374 **Mantinea, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Peloponnese*, pl. 21.²⁵.)
 5376 **Massilia, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, iv. C. 1.)
 2199 " and Vella.
 2200 " "
 B3453 **Medaba and Gema.** Goddess holding bust of Emperor.
 5378 **Megara, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Attica, etc.* pl. 21.²⁵.)
 5377 **Melos, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Crete and Aegean islands*, pl. 23.²⁵.)
 5378 **Messene, R.** (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, ii. C. 28.)
 1652 **Metapontum.** Sybaris and Poseidonia, R. Early archaic (newer coinage).
 5379 **Methymna, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, ii. A 27.)
 5380 **Miletus, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Ionia*, pl. 21.²⁵.)
 B3548 **Myra.** Imperial coins (Claudius and Gochiaqua) showing goddess of Myra.
 5381 **Mytilene, R.** (Cf. B.M. *Cat. Treas.* etc. pl. 37.²⁵.)
 5484 " fifth century head of Apollo on an electrum coin of B.M. (unique).

N

- 5382 **Naxos, Ionia, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, i. B 34.)
 5383 " **Styllian, R.**
 2191 " **Styllian, R.** Early and late archaic coins.
 2177 **Neapolis Campaniae and Camao, R.** fifth century B.C.
 B3455 " **Samarina, R.** Lion-goddess of city.
 B3457 " " E type representing Mt. Gortyn (Paris medallion).
 B3458 " " E " " " and lion goddess.
 B3459 " " E " " " Zeus Heliopolites and Hera.
 B3460 " " E " " " Zeus Heliopolites and Hera.
 B3461 " " E Aelia Capitolina, Ac. Types showing the stone of Elagabal.
 5452 " " and Caesarina Sebastae. Goddess holding bust of Emperor.
 B3456 **Nysa and Raphia.** E Types showing the Dionysian legend.

O

- 5491 **Odessus and Rhodes, R.** late 'Alexandrian.'
 1654 **Oibia, Sicil—2nd cent. A.C.** R (lost), N, R.
 5384 **Olynthus, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 10.)
 5385 **Orchomenus, Boeotian, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Central Greece*, pl. 8.²⁵.)

P

- 5322 **Paparethus, R.** (J.H.S. xxvii, p. 95, fig. A.)
 5469 **Phaeston, R.** Type showing Valerianus. Gortyna, R. Type showing Britomartis.
 5389 **Pharac, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 21.)
 1654 **Phocaea, Ionia.** Selection of types, early and late.
 5390 " **N.** (Cf. B.M. *Cat. Ionia*, pl. 32.)
 5391 **Phocis, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Central Greece*, pl. 5.²⁵.)
 7158 **Phoenicia (uncertain).** (Cf. B.M. *Cat. Phoenicia*, pl. 45.²⁵.)
 5392 **Plataea, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Central Greece*, pl. 9.²⁵.)
 7831 **Possidonia, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, i. C 12.)
 5393 **Priene, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Ionia*, pl. 34.²⁵.)
 5394 **Proconnesus, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, iv. A 28.)
 B7152 **Ptolemais-Aca, R.** (B.M. *Cat. Phoenicia*, pl. 17.²⁵, 18.²⁵.)

R

- 3456 **Raphia and Nysa, R.** Types showing the Dionysian legend.
 5395 **Rhegium, R.** (Cf. B.M. *Cat. Italy*, p. 375, 23.)
 5320 **Rhodes, R.** (B.M. *Guide*, iii. A 37.)
 5491 " and Odessus, R. late 'Alexandrian.'

COINS, *continued*.

- B2180 Roman, *Æ*. As and semis, 388-312 B.C.
 B2181 " 290-280 B.C. (*Æ* Uncia and *AB* Quadrigatus).
 B2182 " Earliest Denarius (after 269 B.C.).
 B2178 Romano-Campanian, 225-290 B.C.
 B2179 " " 312-290 B.C.

S

- 5307 Salamis, *Æ*. (B.M. Cat. *Attica*, etc. pl. 20.¹)
 5308 " (Cypr.). *Æ*. (R.M. Cat. *Cyprus*, pl. 11.¹)
 5400 Samos, *AR*. (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Ionia*, pl. 35.¹)
 5492 " and Ephesus. Coins of the league of 384 B.C.
 5401 Segesta, *AR*. (B.M. *Guide*, II. C 31.)
 5402 Selinus, *AR*. (Cl. B.M. *Guide*, II. C 32.)
 5493 Sestus, *Æ*. (R.M. Cat. *Thrace*, etc. 12.)
 5405 Sicyon, *AR*. (B.M. *Guide*, III. B 29.)
 B7144 Sidon, *Æ*. (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Phoenicia*, pl. 22.¹; 25.¹*)
 B7145 " *Æ*. (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Phoenicia*, 24.¹; 25.¹*)
 5496 Sinope, *AR*. (B.M. Cat. *Pontus, Paphlagonia*, etc., pl. 22.¹)
 5407 Smyrna, *AR*. (B.M. *Guide*, VI. A 29.)
 5494 " *Æ* type showing the three temples and Pergamon. Type showing the Great Altar.
 5606 Sparta, *AR*. Statue of Apollo. (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 27.) (Gardner, fig. 6.)
 2192 Syracuse, *AR*. early and late archaic coins.
 2193 " " coins of the democracy, 5th century.
 5410 " " Gelo. (B.M. *Guide*, II. C 33.)
 5482 " " Dekadrachm by Clinon. (Cl. B.M. *Guide*, III. c 29.)
 5483 " " full-face head of Arethusa by Clinon. (B.M. *Guide*, III. c 30.)
 6654 " " by Clinon. (Cl. B.M. *Guide*, III. c 30.)
 6655 " " dekadrachm by the 'new artist.'
 6648 " " dekadrachms by Kallistatos and the 'new artist.'
 2189 " *AR* and Sicilian allies. *Æ* coins of 4th century B.C.
 2195 " *EL*, Dion 357-358. *A'* Timoleon, 345 B.C.
 2196 " *A'*, coin of Hieron, 238-279 B.C.
 2197 " *AR*, coin of Hieronymus, 216-215 B.C.
 5481 " " Hiero. (Cl. B.M. *Guide*, v. c 32.) Philistia. (Cl. *id.* v. c 33.)
 4533 " " Philistia. (B.M. *Guide*, v. C 33.)
 5409 " " Throcynus. (Cl. B.M. *Guide*, III. C 29.)
 4653 " " Tetradrachms mounted to show peculiarities of fabric.
 74 " " decadrachm by Eusebius; Tetina, decadrachm by Eusebius.
 88 " " decadrachm by Kimon; Tetina, didrachm by Kimon.
 2198 " and Leontini, *AR*. Pegasus types.

T

- 5411 Tanagra, *Æ*. (B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, pl. 10.¹)
 5412 Tarentum, *AR*. (B.M. *Guide*, III. C 7.)
 5412 " " four varieties of the same types.
 B5442 Taras, *Æ* type showing Mithras. Apamea: type showing Noth.
 5414 Tegea, *AR*. (B.M. Cat. *Poloponnese*, pl. 27.¹*)
 5415 Tenos, *AR*. (B.M. *Guide*, IV. B 27.)
 5416 Teos, *AR*. (B.M. *Guide*, II. A 33.)
 1635 Tivina, *Æ*. (B.M. *Guide*, III. C 24.)
 72 " *AR*, nymph on hydria and nymph at fountain. (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 3.¹*)
 74 " *AR*, didrachms by T. (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 3.¹*)
 83 " *AR*, didrachms: (1) following on T, (2) signed by Eusebius. (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 4.¹*)

COINS, continued.

- 106 **Terina**, *R.* by Eusebius. (A. J. Evans' Coll.) (*Rev. N. Chr.* 1912, p. 47.)
 109 " *R.* signature of Eusebius. (A. J. Evans' Coll.) (*N. Chr.* 1912, p. 47.)
 71 " *R.* Eusebius didrachm, and later strike from altered die. (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 4, 2.)
 75 " *R.* and Ellis *R.* Seated Nike. (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 3, 10-11.)
 76 " *R.* didrachm by Eusebius; Syracuse, decadrachm by Eusebius. (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 4, 12-13.)
 88 " *R.* Kimonian didrachm; Syracuse, decadrachm by Kimon. (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 4, 12-13.)
 69 " and Cumae, *R.* (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 3, 1-4.)
 2642 " and Thurii, *R.*
 1430 **Thasos**, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, I. B 8.)
 5417 " " (B.M. *Guide*, II. B 7.)
 5436 " " (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Thasos*, etc. p. 216, 2, 218, 29.)
 5435 **Thebes**, *R.* 6th-5th cent.
 5418 " " (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, pl. 13, 5.)
 5422 **Thurii**, *R.* (Cl. B.M. *Guide*, III. C 17.)
 107 " " didrachma, Φ and $\Phi P Y$. (*N. Chr.* 1912, pl. 3, 1-5.)
 2642 " and Terina, *R.*
 5425 **Tiryns**, *R.* (B.M. Cat. *Poloponnese*, pl. 30, 10.)
 5425 **Trapezus**, *R.* (B.M. Cat. *Pontus*, etc. p. 40, 1.)
 5426 **Troezen**, *R.* (B.M. Cat. *Poloponnese*, pl. 30, 12.)
 57147 **Trigolla** (Phoen.) *R.* (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Phoenicia*, pl. 22, 10, 16, 17.)
 57157 " *R.* (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Phoenicia*, pl. 42, 10, 15.)
 57150 **Tyre**, *R.* (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Phoenicia*, pl. 20, 1-12.)
 57155 " " (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Phoenicia*, pl. 34, 18, 19.)

V.

- 2199 **Valla** and **Mascula**.
 2200 " "

X.

- 5427 **Zacynthus**, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, III. B 34.)
 5428 **Zancle**, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, I. C 20.)

Emperors, Kings, or Dynasts in alphabetical order.

A

- B201 **Aelius Caesar**, obverse only, portrait.
 2190 **Agathocles**, *R.* and *N.* Selections of coins from a.c. 317-304.
 B202 **Agrippina I.**, obverse only, portrait.
 B218 " II. and **Claudius**, obverse only, portraits. (B.M.C. *Rome*, 3884.)
 B219 **Ahala**, C. **Servilius**, obverse only, portrait. (B.M.C. *The East*, 95.)
 B203 **Ahenobarbus**, C. **Domitius**, obverse only, portrait.
 B204 **Albinus**, obverse only, portrait.
 B2061 " *R.* **Diocletian** at **Forum Iulianum**, 82 a.c. (B.M.C. pl. 96¹¹.) 1. **Sextilius** **Libe**,
R. **Putat**, 71 a.c. (B.M.C. pl. 43¹¹.)
 8487 **Alexander I.** of **Macedon**, *R.* 498-454 a.c.
 8488 " III. (the Great), *N.* and *R.*
 5371 " " " *R.* *N.* (Cl. B.M. *Guide*, IV. B 5, 9.)
 6584 " " " head of, on coin of **Lyamachus**.
 8547 " of **Ephesus**, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, III. B 22.)
 9349 **Alexander Severus**.
 B2067 **Allectus**, *R.* **Londonium**. *R.* **Camulodunum**.

COINS, *continued*.

- B2066 **Allectus**, and **Calpurnius Cassius**, *N.*
 1837 **Antigonus** Doson or Gonatas, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 6.)
 1842 **Antimachus** of Bactria, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, v. A 25.)
 1841 **Antiochus** I. (Soter) of Syria, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, v. A 18.)
 B205 **Antonia**, obverse only, portrait.
 B2044 **Antoninus Pius**, *R.* **MVNIFICENTIA AVG.** (Cohen 565.)
 B2045 " " *R.* Britannia.
 B2046 " " and M. Aurelius, *R.* (Cohen ii. p. 411, 34.)
 B206 " " *R.* Obverse only, portrait. (B.M. *Medallions*, pl. 11, 7.)
 B2079 **Antoninus**, *Marcella*, *R.* 44 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 54, 2.)
 B2080 " " and M. Aemilius Lepidus, *R.* 43-42 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 103, 7.)
 B2075 " " *N.* (B.M.C. pl. 103, 7.)
 B2082 " " *R.* 43 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 103, 7; similar to N. Chr. 1911, pl. 8, 3.)
 B2081 " " and Calpurnia Cassia (Octavia), *N.* 42 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 103, 12.)
 B2071 " " *N.* 41 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 104, 7.)
 B2070 " " and P. Ventidius, *R.* 41 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 104, 7.)
 B2068 " " M. Nerva, C. Caesar, *R.* 41 a.d. (B.M.C. ii. p. 491.)
 B2090 " " Octavia (Beria), *N.* 40-39 a.d. (N. Chr. ix. 9; B.M.C. Vol. II. p. 499.)
 B2074 " " *N.* 39-35 a.d. (B.M.C. ii. p. 505) outline drawing.
 B2075 " " and L. Rhinias, *R.* Circ. 39-35 a.d. (B.M.C. ii. p. 510) outline drawing.
 B2078 " " and L. Rhinias, *R.* Circ. 36-35 a.d. (B.M.C. ii. p. 511) outline drawing.
 B2083 " " M. Barbatulus and Calpurnia Cassia (Octavia), *R.* (B.M.C. pl. 112, 10.)
 B2082 " " M. C. Nerva and L. Antoninus, *R.* (B.M.C. pl. 113, 7.)
 B2012 " " and Octavia—Galley, *R.* 36-35 a.d. (B.M.C. Vol. II. p. 516.)
 B2066 " " and Cleopatra, *R.* 32-31 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 115, 10.)
 B2065 " " above, the same; below: Marcus Antoninus, *R.* 32-31 a.d.; legionary coin. (B.M.C. pl. 116, 10.)
 B207 " " portraits. (B.M.C. *Rome*, 4253: v. *The East*, 144.)
 B220 " " and Cleopatra, portraits. (B.M.C. *Antich.*, 54.)
 B2083 " " *Marci* *Clivia*, *R.* (B.M.C. pl. 111, 7.)
 B2448 **Arcadius** and **Honorius**, *N.* and *R.* Types showing parallel designs.
 1832 **Archelaus** I. of Macedon, *R.* (B.M. *Guide*, ii. B 12.)
 B2001 **Augustus**, Octavius and M. Antonius, *N.* 42 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 103, 12.)
 B2085 " " Octavius, *N.* 39 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 104, 2.)
 B2087 " " " (B.M.C. pl. 105, 7.)
 B2064 " " " Equestrian statue. (B.M.C. pl. 105, 4) and Talisman.
 B2063 " " 36-29 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 59, 6) and S. Pompeius.
 B2010 " " " Quadriga. (N. Chr. ix. 10; B.M.C. pl. 59, 7.)
 B2011 " " 36 a.d. Temple of Divus Julius. (B.M.C. pl. 122, 4) *R.* 29-27 a.d. *id.* (B.M.C. pl. 60, 3.)
 B2072 " " *R.* 29-27 a.d. (B.M.C. pl. 59, 5.)
 B2064 " " " (B.M.C. pl. 59, 10, 11.)
 B2015 " " *R.* 27 a.d. Christophorus Medallion: Sphinx. (B.M.C. pl. 118, 10.)
 B2018 " " 19-18 a.d. Armenian soldier. Berlin (B.M.C. ii. p. 549.)
 B2186 " " *R.* 7 a.d.
 B2027 " " (Cohen I. p. 22, 3) and Julius Caesar.
 B206 " " five obverses, portraits. (Above, B.M.C. *Gold*, 293, 108; below, *Rome*, 4257, *The East*, 290, *Rome*, 4257.)
 B209 **Aurelian**, obverse only, portrait.
 B2043 **Aurelius**, *Marcella*, *R.* **VIC. PAR.** (Cohen 579.)
 B210 " " *R.* Obverse only, portrait. (B.M. *Medallions*, pl. 19, 7.)
 B2040 " " and Antoninus Pius, *R.* (Cohen ii. p. 411, 34.)

COINS, *continued.*

B

- B2057 **Balbinus** and **Pupienus**, \mathcal{A} (obverses only.)
 B211 **Britannicus**, obverse only, portrait.
 B212 **Brutus**, L. Junius (the Ancient) and C. Servilius Ahala, portraits. (B.M.C. *Rome*, 3294.)
 B213 " M. Junius, obverse only, portrait. (B.M.C. *The East*, 88.)
 B2022 " \mathcal{R} , 43-42 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 111.⁵)
 B2089 " \mathcal{A} , 43-42 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 111.⁶)
 B2084 " and **Caesa Longus**, \mathcal{N} , 43-42 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 111.¹²)
 B2066 " " " "
 B2077 " \mathcal{R} , 43-42 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 111.¹²)

C

- B214 **Caesar**, C., adopted son of Augustus, obverse only, portrait. (B.M.C. *Rome*, 4498.)
 B215 **Caligula**, two obverses, portraits.
 B216 **Caligula**, two obverses, portraits.
 B2053 " \mathcal{A} . VICT. BRIT. (Cohen, 610.)
 B2052 **Caracausus** with Maximian and Diocletian, \mathcal{A} .
 B2064 " \mathcal{R} . (R.S.B.)
 B2045 " \mathcal{A} . (LAETITIA AVG., PAX AVG., and uncertain.)
 B217 **Carianus**, obverse only, portrait.
 B2084 **Caesa Longus** and **Brutus**, \mathcal{A} . 43-42 B.C. (B.M.C. 111.¹²)
 B2066 " " " "
 B2060 **Cassius**, **Caine** and **Allectus**, \mathcal{N} .
 B2088 " " and M. Servilius, \mathcal{N} , 43-42 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 112.⁶)
 B2067 " " " "
 B2086 " " \mathcal{R} . " (B.M.C. pl. 112.⁶)
 B2063 " Q.—Temple of Vesta, \mathcal{R} , 58 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 48.¹²) Octavina—Victory on globe, \mathcal{N} , 29-27 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 60.⁶)
 B2051 **Claudius** L. \mathcal{N} . Triumphant Arch. DE BRITANNI (S).
 B2032 " Cleophratic medallions: statue and temple of Diana of Ephesus and Agrippina II., three portraits of Claudius, one of Agrippina.
 B218 " " " "
 B219 " Gothicus, \mathcal{A} . Obverse only, portrait. (B.M.C. *Medallions*, pl. 51.⁵)
 B2060 **Cleopatra** and **Marcius Antonius**, \mathcal{A} . 32-31 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 115.¹²)
 B220 " " " "
 B2052 **Commodus**, \mathcal{A} . Medallion. HERCVLI ROMANO. (B.M.C. 57.)
 B231 " \mathcal{A} . Two obverses, portraits. (B.M. *Medallions*, pl. 27.⁵ 28.¹)
 B245 **Constantine** I., \mathcal{N} .
 B2068 " Helena, **Magnus Maximus**. London Mint.
 B2069 " \mathcal{A} . GLORIA EXERCITVS. Christian monogram in field.
 B2070 " London Mint.
 B240 " II., \mathcal{A} . Coins struck at Nicomedia, Antioch, and Aquileia.
 B244 " Licinius I., Licinius II. (first appearance of Christian symbols.)
 B222 **Constantius** I. Obverse only, portrait. (B.M. *Medallions*, pl. 56.⁶)
 B223 **Crispina**, obverse only, portrait.
 B292 **Croesus**, \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{R} .
 B266 **Cymbelinus** (Cymbeline), \mathcal{R} , \mathcal{A} .

D

- B406 **Darius**, \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{R} . Persian Daric and Siglos.
 B483 **Demetrius** Poliorketes, \mathcal{R} . Tyias showing Poseidon and Nike.
 B538 " " \mathcal{A} . (B.M. *Guide*, iv, B36.)
 B545 " II. of Syria, \mathcal{R} . (Cl. B.M. Cat. *Selenic Kiays*, pl. 21, 6.)
 B2053 **Didius Julianus**, \mathcal{A} . RECTOR ORBIS. (Cohen 17.)
 B224 **Diocletian**, obverse only, portrait.
 B2062 " and **Maximian**: London and Colchester Mints.

COINS, *continued*

- B209 **Dionysius of Syracuse**, *R.* (Cf. *B.M. Guide*, iii. C 29.)
 B225 **Domitia**, obverse only, portrait.
 B226 **Domitian**, *R.* Obverse only, portrait. (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 1, 3.)
 B2054 **Domna**, *E.* Venus gematrix seated L. (Cohen 209 var.)
 B227 **Drusus**, son of Tiberius, obverse only, portrait.

E

- B2066 **Elagabalus**, *E.* **SACERD. DEI SOLIS ELAGAB.** (Cohen iv. p. 243, 253.)
 B228 " obverse only, portrait.
 B318 **Epaminondas**, *R.* (*B.M. Guide*, iii. B 26.)
 B2089 **Enagoras of Samos**, *R.* (*B.M. Cat. Cyprus*, pl. 11, 17.)
 B253 **Eucratides of Bactria**, *N.* Paris Cabinet.

F

- B2047 **Faustina Sen.**, *E.* **PIETAS AVG.** (Cohen ii. p. 132, 240 var.)
 B229 " " *E.* (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 17, 2.) Obverse only, portrait.
 B2049 " **Jun.** **SIDERIBVS RECEPTA.** (Cohen 215.)
 B2060 " " *E.* **SAECVLI FELICIT.** (Cohen iii. p. 152, 193.)
 B230 " " obverse only, portrait.
 B231 **Florentina**, *E.* (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 52, 2.) Obverse only, portrait.
 B233 **Fulvia**, obverse only, portrait. (*B.M.C. Gaul*, 40.)

G

- B236 **Galba**, obverse only, portrait.
 B234 **Galerius**, *E.* obverse only, portrait. (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 37, 2.)
 B2069 **Gallienus**, Salonina, Postumus (Notley hoard).
 B235 " *N.* obverse only, portrait. (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 48, 1.)
 B238 " Salonina and Valerian I., II. (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 47, 3.)
 B410 **Gelon of Syracuse**, *R.* (*B.M. Guide*, ii. C 33.)
 B2030 **Germanicus**, *E.* **SIGNIS RECEPT.** &c. (Cohen i. p. 225, 7.)
 B236 " two obverses, portraits.
 B2056 **Gordian III.**, *E.* Medallion. Interior of Circus. (*B.M.C.* 5.)
 B2059 " " *E.* Medallion. Colosseum. (*B.M.C.* 13.)
 B237 " " *E.* Obverse only, portrait. (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 42, 2.)

H

- B3441 **Hadrian**, Judean coins of the time of the second Jewish revolt.
 B2042 " **DISCIPLINA AVG.** (Cohen 347) and **RELIQVA VETERA.** &c.
 (B. 1213), reverses only.
 B2043 " Medallions. **S.P.Q.R. AN. F.F.** (Froehner, p. 42), Hadrian and Antonine
 Pius; landing of Aeneas; view of Lavinium (Froehner p. 53.)
 B238 " *R.* obverse only, portrait. (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 2, 1.)
 B239 **Helena** (Mother of Constantine), *E.* obverse only, portrait. (*B.M. Medallions*, pl. 56, 2.)
 B3443 **Honorius and Arcadius**, *N.* and *E.* Types showing parallel columns.

I

- B447 **Iuba I.** of Numidia, *R.* (*B.M. Guide*, vii. C 38.)
 B240 " obverse only, portrait. (*B.M. Guide*, vii. C 38.)
 B241 **Iulia Domna**, two obverses, portraits.
 B242 " *Masab.* obverse only, portrait.
 B243 " *Paula*, obverse only, portrait.
 B244 " *Severina*, obverse only, portrait.
 B245 " daughter of Titus, obverse only, portrait.

COINS, continued.

- B2447 **Julian the Philosopher**. Coins with pagan types.
 B2448 " II. obverse only, portrait.
 B2449 **Julius Caesar**, three obverses, portraits. (B.M.C. *Gold*, 106; *Rome*, 4186, 4189.)
 B2484 " " and Lavinia, A and R. Coinage of 49 B.C.
 B2185 " " and Lavinia, A and R. 44-39 B.C.
 B2090 " " R. 44 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 34.¹¹)
 B2097 " and Augustus, R. (Cohen I. p. 223.)

L

- B2001 **Labiennus**, Quintus, R. 40-39 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 113.¹⁰) Pompeius, Sextus, R.
 38-36 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 120.¹¹)
 B2448 " Quintus, obverse only, portrait. (B.M.C. *The East*, 132.)
 B2002 **Lepidus**, M. Aemilius. Basilis Aemilia, R. 69 B.C. (B.M.C. vol. I. p. 450.) L.
 Mussidius Longus, R. *Clacton*, 39 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 58.¹⁰)
 B2089 " M. Aemilius and Marcus Antonius, R. 43-42 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 103.¹⁰)
 B2005 " " " " R. 43 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 103.¹⁰)
 B2078 " " " " A. (B.M.C. pl. 103.¹⁰)
 B249 " " " " obverse only, portrait. (B.M.C. *Rome*, 4239.)
 B2184 **Licinius** and Julia Caesar, A and R. Coinage of 49 B.C.
 8444 " I. and II. and Constantine (first appearance of Christian symbols).
 B230 **Livia** and Julia, three obverses, two portraits of Livia, one of Julia. (Cohen I.; B.M.C. *Pergamon*, 245.)
 4678 **Lysimachus** of Thrace, R. (B.M. *Guide*, iv. B29.)
 8420 " " R. Imitation of the coinage of Lysimachus, struck at Byzantium.

M

- B251 **Marcellus**, M. Claudius, obverse only, portrait. (B.M.C. *Rome*, 4206.)
 B252 **Marciana**, obverse only, portrait.
 B253 **Matidia**, obverse only, portrait.
 B2002 **Maximian** and Diocletian: London and Colchester Mints.
 B254 " R. obverse only, portrait. (B.M. *Medallions*, pl. 56.¹⁰)
 B255 **Maximin I.**, obverse only, portrait.
 8500 **Menander** of Bactria, R. Ca. 140-149 B.C. Gondophares, R. Ca. 21 A.D.
 1620 **Mithradates III.** of Pontus, R. (B.M. *Guide*, v. A 2.)
 8498 " " " (220-185) and Pharnaces I. (185-169), R.
 1045 " the Great of Pontus, R. (B.M. *Guide*, vii. A 2.)
 B256 " " " " obverse only, portrait. (id.)
 B2002 **Mussidius**, L. Mussidius Longus, R. *Clacton*, 39 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 58.¹⁰) and
 M. Aemilius Lepidus.

N

- B2187 **Nero**, A and R.
 B2188 " A., *Quadrans*, *Quadrans*, and *Sestertius*.
 B2003 " R. ADLOCVT. COH. (Cohen I.): Temple of Janus (Cohen 138 R.). Reverse
 only.
 B2084 " " Temple of Janus.
 B2085 " " Harbour of Ostia. (Cohen 34.)
 B257 " three obverses, portraits.
 B258 " *Dracms*, obverse only, portrait.
 B2008 **Nerva**, R. FISC IVOAICI, &c. (Cohen 27.)
 B2089 " " PLEBEI VRBANA, &c. (Cohen 127.) Reverse only.
 B209 " " " " obverse only, portrait.
 B260 **Numerianus**, obverse only, portrait.

COINS, *continued.*

B2017	<i>N. triss</i>	Curbridge.	(<i>N. Chr.</i> 1912.)	Nero to Vespasian.	Obverse.
B2018	"	"	"	"	Reverse.
B2019	"	"	"	Titus to Trajan.	Obverse.
B2020	"	"	"	"	Reverse.
B2021	"	"	"	Trajan to Hadrian.	Obverse.
B2022	"	"	"	"	Reverse.
B2023	"	"	"	Hadrian to Antoninus Pius.	Obverse.
B2024	"	"	"	"	Reverse.
B2025	"	"	"	Antoninus Pius to Marcus Aurelius.	Obverse.
B2026	"	"	"	"	Reverse.
8445	Coins of Byzantine Christian types.				
8436	"	the Alliance against Rome, 83-84 a.c. <i>N.</i> The Allies, Ephesus, Mithradates.			

Style in Numismatic Art.

Note.

The coins above being arranged alphabetically without regard to their chronological sequence, a short list is here appended to illustrate the development of style in Numismatic art. References will be found in the larger series above.

Early Archaic Period.

7925	Miscellaneous archaic coins (Greece, &c.), Athens, Elis, Corinth, Chosens, Cyrene, &c.				
7926	"	"	(S. Italy), Caulonia, Poseidonia, Tarentum, Cumae, Rhegium, Sybaris.		
8305	Argina.	8495	Crocina.	1631	Poseidonia.
8334	Chosens.	8360	Cyrene.	1630	Thasos.
2638	Corinth.	5890	Phocaea.		

Late Archaic Period.

7223	Miscellaneous archaic coins (Sicily), Naxos, Syracuse, Himera, Zancle, Gela.				
8303	Acanthus.	1638	Gortyna.	5402	Selinus.
3314	Athens.	5378	Messene.	5410	Syracuse.
5233	Cor.	5400	Santon.		

*Early Fine Period.**Miscellaneous Coins of Fine Period.*

4523	Metry, Rhegium, Terina, Thurii, Thabes, Larissa, Gortyna.				
7224	Thurii, Epirus Terina, Metapontum, Heraclea, Croton, Camarina, Segesta, Catana.				
5208	Agripontum.	2641	Elis.	6655	Syracuse.
5310	Amphipolia.	5362	Larissa.	5412	Tarentum.
5328	Clazomenae.	6654	Syracuse.	5422	Thurii.
5333	Croton.				

Late Fine Period.

1374	Alexander.	5354	Heraclea.	5375	Messina.
1638	Demetrius Poliorcetes.	4678	Lysimachus.	1636	Polyony I.

Early Decline.

5224	Ascrania.	1640	Philetaurus of Pergamum.		
1637	Antigonus Gonatas.	4523	Philitia of Syracuse.		
1639	Mithradates III. of Pontus.				

COINS, *continued.**Late Period.*

- | | | | |
|-------|--|------|-----------------------------------|
| B7142 | Byblus. | 1645 | Mithridates the Great, of Pontus. |
| 1647 | Julia I. of Nauidia. | 1644 | Persens of Macedon. |
| 5372 | Magnesia. | 1646 | Tigranes of Armenia. |
| 8472 | Diagrammatic sketch of ancient method of stamping coins. | | |
| B7973 | The Loves in ruins. Franco in Casa del Vettii, Pompeii. | | |

XIII.

MINOR ARTS AND HANDICRAFTS.

BRONZE (other than statuary).

Early.

- 813 Bronze bowl from Egypt of eighteenth dynasty, photo from original. (*J.A.S.B.* 1892, pl. II.)
- 706 'Phoenician Bowl': Cyprus, siege scene, drawing. (Heibig, *Epoc.*, pl. I.)
- 841 " " Praeneste, Egyptian subjects, drawing. (*Mon. et. L. a.* pl. 32, fig. 1.)
- 840 " " Cyprus, gryphons and lions, drawing. (Clermont Ganneau, pl. 4.)
- 9842 " " from Praeneste. Mus. Kircher.
- 7698 Bronze shield from Idman cave.
- 2557 Graeco-Phoenician shield boss from Amathus. (Obenaus-Richter, cxlii. 5.)
- 2719 Coeaves early example from Kukoni. (Renschel, *Hess. Zeit.*, figs. 20, 21.)
- 2717 Boeotian shield, early types. (*ib.* figs. 13, 14, 15.)
- 85 Relief from Olympia. Priam welcoming Hector.
- 3602-S " " Herakles Triton, compared with Mycenaean gem. (Gardner, figs. 2-3.)
- 6890 Fibulae from Sparta.
- 7872 Fibulae and knife blades from Halos.

Fine Period.

- 4953 Archais relief: winged figure driving chariot.*
- 6584 Bronze helmet from Olympia.*
- 97 Mirror handle, Aphrodite.* B.M. (*Cf. B.C.H.* 1898, pl. 1.)
- 6287 The bronzes from Siris: * two shoulder-pieces from a cuirass, decorated with figures in relief (B.M. *Catalogue of Bronzes*, No. 253.)
- 6385 Mirror case, Herakles wrestling with the lion.* B.M.
- 4947 Mirror case,* contest between a Greek warrior and an Amazon. B.M.

Later.

- 7444 Mirror,* with frieze of peacocks and vines (from Thrace). B.M.
- 7445 " " Etruscan, story of Medea. B.M.
- 8048 Plates* with heads of barbarians and satyrs in relief. B.M.
- 7442 Fulcrum* ('soft-arm') with relief of young Dionysos. B.M.
- 7443 Fulcrum* showing relation to couch. Herakleum.
- 6582 Head of Artemis (part of the decoration of a seat). Two grotesques.* B.M.
- 8546 Bronze cuirass, Italian work, about 200 a.c. Rome-es-saf. (*Mon. Piot.* xvii, pl. 14.)
- 8544 Folding table. Naples Museum.

IRON.

- 2534 Cyprus, portions of iron sword from Tamassos. (Obenaus-Richter, cxviii. 7.)
- 7880 Halos, iron swords, spear-heads and knives.

MINOR ARTS AND HANDICRAFTS, *continued.*

LEAD.

6884 Lead figurines,* from Sparta.

6885	"	"	"	"
6886	"	"	"	"
6889	"	"	"	"
6891	"	"	"	"
6892	"	"	"	"
7096	"	"	"	"
7097	"	"	"	"
7098	"	"	"	"

and gold ring;
designs on the shields of the figures.

GEMS.

For Mycenaean Gems see the Prehistoric Section, p. 25.

7074 Selection of engraved rings. B.M.

5695 Archais. Scarabs: B.M. Cat. Nos. 271, Capaneus; 273, Achilles; 278, Perseus and Medusa.

5696 Later Scarabs: B.M. Cat. Nos. 289, Satyr; 338, Hercules; 355, Machaon and Philoctetes.

5697 Gems of the finest period: B.M. Cat. Nos. 469, Flying crane; 549, lotos flower pendant with design of Sirens and Boys in pairs; 558, Lady reading.

5698 Later gems with earlier types: B.M. Cat. Nos. 570, Bearded head of Zeus; 720, Apollo after Canachus; 722, Apollo Sauroctonus.

7231 Greek intaglio: mated bound. Graeco-Persian intaglio: combat scene. Sard-scaraboids in B.M.

5699 Graeco-Roman Gems: B.M. Cat. Nos. 1146, Nike; 1162, assembly of the gods; 1281, Hercules.

5700 Portraits: B.M. Cat. Nos. 1518, Aristippus; 1536, Demetrius Poliorketes; 1620, Faustina the younger.

B638 Caesars: Augustus deified. (Partw. *Antik. Gemmen*, fig. 159.)B639 Augustan gem: sardonyx photographed from cast. (*id.* pl. 56.)B635 " " " Vienna. (*id.* pl. 56.)B637 Tiberian gem: sardonyx. Paris. (*id.* pl. 60.)

7445 Intaglio portrait head, probably Constantine II. B.M.

22 Babylonian seal, 'Adam and Eve.' B.M. (Cl. Bal, *Light from the East*, p. 25, No. 1.)

SILVER-PLATE.

800 Boscoreale treasure: selected vases.

2154 " " cup of Augustus: above, Augustus Parthicus; below, Augustus receiving submission of barbarians. (*Mon. Piot* v. pl. 31.)2155 " " cup of Tiberius: above, Tiberius in annular chariot; below, Tiberius sacrificing before Pannonian campaign. (*Mon. Piot* v. pl. 34.)

2228 Silver dishes, spoons, cups, &c., from Brusa. B.M.

B645 Sassanid silver bowl. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

JEWELLERY.

1025 Boeotia, gold band, lotos ornament. (*Ep. Aox.* 1892, pl. 12.)7689 Ephesus, gold boss (B.M. *Epheesus*, pl. 3, Nos. 1, 3, 5a, 5b).7690 " " pins (*id.*, pl. 5).7691 " " disc: winged lion (*id.*, pl. 8, 3).7692 " " plaques with spiraliform patterns (*id.*, pl. 8, 22-29).

MINOR ARTS AND HANDICRAFTS, JEWELLERY, *continued.*

- 7559 Skull ornamented with Spiralliform discs, as excavated at Praesos.
 7562 Jewellery from Praesos.
 7561 Jewellery from Praesos.
 8537 Gold diadem: gold band with central knot. B.M.
 9939 Early Ptolemaic gold amulet. Cairo Mus.

IVORY.

Spartan Ivories.

- 6744 Plaques,* miscellaneous.
 6875 " " combat with centaur.
 6888 " " a warrior.
 6825 " " horns between two monsters. (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 328.)
 7432 " " horns between two female figures.
 7429 " " lion and mountains. (*Cf. Burlington Magazine*, Oct. 1908, p. 68, fig. 8.)
 8282 " " male and female figure facing: winged figure with snake and bird.
 7451 " " two female figures facing.
 7079 " " Herakles and Hydra.
 7941 " " two chariot scenes.
 7424 " " of a warship. Photograph and drawing. (*B.S.A.* xiii, pl. 4.)
 6890 Combs,* with designs in relief.
 7420 " " seated figure and votaries. (*Cf. Burlington Mag.*, Oct., 1908, p. 71, fig. 15.)
 8272 " " lions feeding. Also plaques of Medusa-headed sphinx.
 8278 " " four specimens with various designs.
 6893 Xanion figures.*
 6889 " " heads from.
 6867 Seated figures, plectra (l) and seals.*
 7804 Couchant animals,* &c. (ivory and lead).
 6892 " " " "
 8276 " " lion, two views of.*
 6828 " " animals and other objects.
 6896 Pig-heads and seals* (ivory and bone).
 6824 Seals and impressions.*
 6891 " Spectacles" fibulae.*
 6897 Bone flutes and mouthpieces, and unidentified objects.*
 6895 Miscellaneous objects* in relief and in the round.
 6894 " " " " " "

Epheiran Ivories.

- 7696 Statuettes (British Museum, *Epheira*, pl. 21).
 7697 Statuette, three views (*ib.*, pl. 22).
 7698 Fibulae (*ib.*, pl. 32).

Miscellaneous Ivories.

- 6586 Archate ivory plaques. B.M.
 7447 Part of an ivory (alabrum)* with relief of Dionysos and Eros. B.M.
 769 Ivory panel (Byzantine). S.K. Museum. (*Jahrbuch d. K. Preuss. Kunstabtheilungen*, 1197.)
 B636 Ivory diptych: Stillecho, his wife and son. (Mulliner, *Lat. Ivories*, pl. 1.)
 B631 Ivory diptych, Probus, consul 486. (*ib.*, pl. 2.)
 B632 " " Rufus Probianus. (*ib.*, pl. 4.)
 B633 " " Archangel Michael. (*ib.*, pl. 1.)
 B634 " " Holy sepulchre. (*ib.*, pl. 6, p. 63.)

XIV.

MISCELLANEA.

Homeric.

- 7161 Portrait of Dr. Schliemann (Schnebli, *Frontispiece*).
 817 Plan of Homeric house. (*Jellic, Homer*, p. 58.)
 892 Homeric house, plan. (P. Gardner.)
 470 Shield of Achilles, restoration. (Murray.)
 3094 " " diagram. (Gardner, fig. 4.)
 7918 The Trojan horse. Gun, from an enlarged drawing. (Winckelmann, *Monumenti*, No. 140.)
 6687 The raft of Odysseus. Original drawing. (*J.H.S.* v. p. 212.)
 8248 Wall painting from Pompeii. Wooden horse dragged into Troy. (Outline drawing.)

Greek Warship problem.

(See *J.H.S.* xiv. pp. 137-156.)

- 5458 Assyrian warship. B.M. (Dav. et Bagl. fig. 5263.)
 5797 Dipylon vase, a warship. (*J.H.S.* xiv. pl. 8.)
 3454 Relief * a warship. Acrop. Mus.
 5439 Nike of Samothrace and galley, outline drawing. (Rayet, *Monuments*.)
 5440 Detail of relief of Paris and Oenone. Palazzo Spada.
 3796 Pompeian wall painting. Roman sea-fight. (Baumeister, fig. 1697.)
 5459 Relief, prow of a Roman galley. (Dav. et Bagl. fig. 5278.)
 3795 Relief, Trajan's column. Warships. (Baumeister, fig. 1685.)
 5438 Drawing of relief with galley. Dal Bozzo album. B.M.
 8798 Woodcut, 3 Venetian galleys. Jacopo de' Barbari. B.M.
 8789 Venetian woodcut, cowers in galley. B.M.

Athletics.

- 822 Athlete with halteres (outline drawing of bronze disc).
 821 Halteres (drawing).
 7184 Votive strigil. B.M.
 5479 Lead halteres. B.M. (*J.H.S.* xiv. p. 182, fig. 2.)
 7110 Athens, the first revival of the Olympian games: the stadion (drawing).
 7196 " " " " spectators (drawing).
 7197 " " " " A modern discobolus (drawing).
 7186 Victor entering the Temple of Olympian Zeus (drawing).
 7184 Victor before the statue of Olympian Zeus.
 7188 A chariot race in the hippodrome at Olympia (drawing).
 7198 } The Roman chariot race: Two portions of Wagner's picture: Manchester Gallery.
 7199 }
 7187 Inscription of Manthros commemorating a victory in the boys' pentathlon.

Drama.

- 8291 Ivory statuette tragic actor, face in profile. (*Cl. Mon. d. F.* xi. 13.)
 7183 Another view of preceding.
 7129 Comic mask, two views. (*Cl. Mon. d. F.* xi. 32.)
 7112 Simplified ground-plan of a Greek theatre.
 1653 Bradfield, the Greek theatre, view of the stage.
 1654 Scenae frons from the Agamemnon at Bradfield.

MISCELLANEA. *Drama, continued.*

- 1082 Mauthausen theatre ticket. (*Journ. Internat. Archéol.*, ann. iii, pl. 10, 1, 1a.)
 1080 Oedipus Tyrannus: the death of Laios (drawing of the Harvard production.)
 1090 " " the witness of the Theban herdsmen (*id.*).
 1091 " " Oedipus blinded (*id.*).
 1092 The Birds: the attack on Peisetairos and Euelpides (drawing of the Cambridge production).
 1094 " " the *glares* (*id.*).

Modern Greek life.

- 1077 An Ennon outside the palace at Athens.
 7116 Albanian peasant women weaving, in Greece.
 1075 Peasant women spinning, at Delphi.
 4314 The Megara Easter dances.
 7594 A potter making *psithoi* (Pedumlia, Crete).
 4336 Oxen train with carts with solid wheels, in Cappadocia.
 2057 An arabah at Thyatira.
 7117 Thyme gatherers on Hymettos.
 5279 Ploughing with oxen at Delphi.
 2280 Threshing with mules and oxen in Melos.
 4345 Threshing with oxen at Philoia (Savermur).
 2548 Blessing the food at a festival at Boulgari, Thessos.
 9910 Blessing the nets at Prastos, Cyzicus district.
 9310 Church of Eugenieke, Omita, closed with ropes of candles to ward off epidemics.
 1212 Bishop and Hegoumenos at the monastery of Simopetra, Athos.
 1215 Procession of monks at Simopetra, Athos.
 2543 Semastron of the church at Kakerachi, Thessos.
 8500 Two carved wooden ikons (*entolpes*) from Athos.

Roman warfare, &c.

- B9561 Roman standard.
 B9562 " " middle portion, showing chariot and horses.
 B649 Ballista (palintanon). (*Oehler*, fig. 57, pl. 53.)
 B650 A Roman catapult in action from the picture by E. J. Poynter.
 B2039 Roman armour: Main models.
 B643 Chariot wheel from Antonine wall, Barr Hill.

Miscellaneous Romana.

- B9145 Bronze brazier for hot water in form of a little fortress. Pompeii.
 B9147 Amphora of blue and white glass: the Loves as viagers. Pompeii.
 B9148 Gladiatorial helmets. Pompeii.
 B9149 Strong box. Pompeii.
 B9150 Stamped loaf of bread. Pompeii.
 B647 Paris pipes. Alania.
 B649 Tombstone with surveying instruments. Irco. (*Jahrb.* 1901 pl. 2.)
 B648 Restoration of surveying instruments found at Pfanz. (*Jahrb.* xxi p. 130.)

SELECTED LISTS OF SLIDES.

NOTE:—It has been found necessary, for administrative purposes, to append to the main catalogue the following selected sets of slides. Lecturers are not infrequently asked to give lectures of the kind here provided, at notice which precludes correspondence or personal choice of slides. Further, the slides, having been selected with special care, form more guide to show to lecturers living at a distance from London, who are confronted with the exhaustive list in the main catalogue, and are unable to inspect the corresponding photographs kept at Bloomsbury Square. In this way the selected lists do something to give country readers the facilities enjoyed by those living in town.

SET I.

GREECE.

Ancient sites, alphabetical.

5461	Map of Greece.	1790	Epidaurus; theatre, nearest view.
5972	Aegina, the temple of Aphaia.	8970	Marathon, the plain.
1594	Athens, the Acropolis.	5924	Metzora, monastery of H. Triada.
5656	" the Parthenon.	4850	Mycenae; the Lion Gate.
5306	" " " restored.	2660	" " " treasury of Atreus.
4463	" the Erechtheum; Porch of the Maidens.	2563	" " " " " restored.
1911	" the theatre, from above.	6174	" " " the shaft-graves.
1915	" the theatre; seats.	5353	" " " gold masks, &c.
4495	" the Tholoson.	6114	Paestum; from Chalcidica.
3931	" the Areopagus.	8981	Phigaleia; the temple.
5024	" the British School.	1971	" " " interior.
1721	" head of an Ephelus Acrop.	7184	Olympia; temple of Zeus, restored.
	Mus.	4614	" the Heron.
		476	" head of Hermes.
5665	" slab from Parthenon frieze.	8914	Sparta, and Taygetos.
5716	Corinth, the old temple.	6718	" " " "
5558	" the canal.	8971	Sanium; the temple.
5490	Delphi. Plan of the site.	8986	Tampe; the valley.
6115	" view looking N.	5816	Thermopylae; the hot springs.
2254	" temple of Apollo.	6183	Tiryns; the citadel, restored.
3678	" the Stadion.	3006	" the gateway.
5933	" head of the chariot.	4510	" the galleries.
1954	Epidaurus; theatre.	845	" the bull fresco.

Modern Greece.

1077	An Enzon.	1975	Peasants spinning.
4514	The Megara dances.	7116	" " weaving.
2279	Ploughing with oxen.	7117	Thyme gatherers.

SET II.

ATHENS.

The Monuments.

7909	Map of Athens.	1911	Theatre, from above.
1970	General view from Lycabettus.	1915	" principal chairs.
7910	Acropolis, plan of.	4554	" a gangway.
6561	" restoration of.	4535	Odeion of Herodes.
1504	" S. side.	3031	Areopagus.
3414	" N. side.	7627	Paria, general view.
3019	Propylaea from W.	3411	" Bema.
7645	" from E.	4166	Thesalon.
3023	Temple of Nike Apteros.	7607	" colonnade.
6906	Parthenon, restored.	389	'Tower of Winds.'
5656	" W. end.	3934	Street of tombs.
1717	" E. end.	3936	Olympieion.
7605	" stylobate showing curve.	5156	Choragic monument of Igeocates.
3013	Erechtheion, from S.	4952	Stadion.
7606	" N. porch.	1946	The small Metropolis.
4468	" Caryatid porch.	3028	The British School at Athens.
3016	" a Caryatid.		

Selected objects from the Museums.

3954	The gold cups of Vaphio.	5920	Stele of Teleclaus.
3955		5694	" Dexiloeos.
3927	The pediment of Typhon.	5695	" Hegeso.
654	A Maiden. Acropolis Museum.	3665	Parthenon frieze: three deities.
9374	" " "	3664	Nike, loosening sandal.
1721	Head of an Ephelus.	3836	Praxitelean relief from Mantinea.
4671	Eleusian relief.	5161	The 'Cytherea Hermes'.
1214	The 'Varvakeion Athena.'	5162	" " " head.
5683	Stele of Aristion.		

SET III.

OLYMPIA AND GREEK ATHLETICS.

The Site.

4488	Plan.	1338	cf. the Apollo of the W. pediment.
4627	View before excavations.	4614	The Hecuba.
3501	3 Panoramas in three slides.	2681	The Metron and treasures, restored.
3186	View from Mount Kronion (lithograph drawing by Joseph Pennell).	2673	Restored angle of a treasury.
4616	Temple of Zeus, fallen column.	2657	The Palaestra.
4619	cf. site of the great statue.	4618	Framework of the ashlar altar.
2583	cf. restored, exterior.	4615	Basin of Zeus.
7184	cf. restored, interior.	2658	Passage to Stadion.
4493	cf. metope, Athena and Hercules.	5307	The Nike of Paestanus.
4194	cf. the E. pediment, restored.	5152	cf. restored.
3647	cf. figure of a 'seer.'	3882	The Hermes of Praxiteles.
		376	cf. head.

OLYMPIA AND GREEK ATHLETES, *continued*.

The Stadion.

- 2164 Stadion at Epidauros. 2572 Delphi: detail of the starting place.

The Pentathlon.

- 2942 Athletes in the Pentathlon (vase). 7107 Discobolus, modern (drawing).
 7376 Jumping with halteres (vase). 2944 *id.* a boxer (vase).
 5473 Lead halteres. 2950 Throwing the spear (vase).
 704 An armed runner (bronze statuette). 4943 Wrestling (vase).
 4920 A foot race (vase). 6502 Boxing (vase).
 5801 Discobolus standing (marble statue). 1382 *id.* bronze head of a boxer, Olympia.
 4821 *id.* throwing (marble statue). 825 Statue of a boxer, Rome.
 826 *id.* head.

The Hippodrome.

- 539 Relief of a charioteer. 7198 A Greek chariot race (drawing).
 3628 The Apoxyomenos. 1070 Panathenaic prize amphora, reverse.
 2143 An athlete. Benvenutum. 7138 A victor's entry (drawing).
 7853 Panathenaic prize amphora. 1754 A victor's crown.

SET IV.

ROME.

B*797a Model of Rome in the 4th century.

B*797b Plan. " " " "

The Forum.

B2845 Plan of the Forum.

- B9001 Lapis Niger. B9007 Temple of Antonine and Faustina.
 B9002 Inscribed stone found below Lapis Niger. B9008 Column of Phocas.
 B9003 Wall of Internus. B9009 Rostra Relief, Trajan founding an orphanage.
 B9004 Temple of Castor and Pollux. B9010 *id.* modelling debris.
 B9005 House of the Vestals. B9011 Animals prepared for the Suovetaurilia.

Arch of Constantine.

- B9013 General view looking S. B9024 Relief. M. Aurelius* sacrificing in Campus Martius.
 B9014 " " " N. B9025 *id.** speaking to troops.
 B9015 Medallion. Trajan preparing for hunt. B9027 *id.** receiving submissions.
 B9016 *id.* sacrificing to Apollo. B9030 *id.** founding charity.
 B9017 *id.* hunting the bear. B9031 Prices. Constantine besieging Baza.
 B9019 *id.* hunting the bear. B9032 *id.* Constantine victor at Pons Milvius.
 B9021 *id.* after a lion hunt.

* In these reliefs the head of Aurelius has been replaced by that of Constantine.

ROME, *continued.*

Other Monuments.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|--|
| B9032 | Arch of Dolabella. | B9040 | Arch of Septimius Severus, from Capitol. |
| B9033 | " Drusus. | B9041 | Arch of Titus, general view. |
| B9037 | " Gallienus. | B9042 | <i>id.</i> vandalaria slab. |
| B9038 | " (the Argentaria). | B9043 | <i>id.</i> biga slab. |
| B9045 | Column of Trajan. | B9055 | Janus Quadrifrons. |
| B9046 | Colosseum seen through arch of Titus. | B9056 | Temple of Vesta and Fortuna Virilis. |
| B9047 | <i>id.</i> nearer view. | B9059 | Pantheon. |

Palatine.

- B9048 House of Iunianus.
 B9049 Basilica.
 B9050 Smaller hall.
 B9051 *id.* peristyle.
 B9052 Stadium.

Walls.

- B9053 Wall near Porta San Paolo.
 B9054 Porta Maggiore.
 B9055 Mausoleum of Augustus.
 B9056 Tomb of Cecilia Metella.
 B9057 Pyramid of C. Cestius.

SET V.

POMPEII.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| B9101 | The forum. | B9110 | Baths, apodyterium. |
| B9102 | The basilica. | B9111 | " mural decoration. |
| B9103 | The amphitheatre, interior. | B9112 | Barracks for gladiators. |
| B9104 | The small theatre. | B9113 | House of Cornelius Rufus. |
| B9105 | The large " " | B9114 | " the balcony. |
| B9106 | Temple of Isis. | B9115 | " Tragic Foe. |
| B9107 | " " Fortune Augusta. | B9117 | " Marcus Helconius. |
| B9108 | " " Vespasian. | B9118 | " the Vettii. |
| B9109 | Baths, cubiculum. | B9119 | " " " |
| B9119 | " tepidarium. | | |

Frescoes at Pompeii.

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------|---|
| B9120 | Punishment of Ixion. | B9125 | Judgment of Paris. |
| B9121 | Cupid as Coiner. | B9126 | Decoration of the third period. |
| B9122 | Venus and Adonis. | B9127 | Decoration of fourth period (Pantheon). |
| B9124 | Judgment of Paris. | | |

Frescoes in Naples Museum.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|-------|---|
| B9127 | Æneas wounded. | B9135 | Orestes and Pylades. |
| B9128 | Achilles and Briseis. | B9136 | " " " |
| B9129 | " " Odysseus. | B9137 | Perseus and Andromeda. |
| B9130 | " " in quadriga. | B9138 | The Amphitheatre at Pompeii. |
| B9131 | The sacrifice of Iphigenia. | B9139 | Pagrus Proculus and his wife. |
| B9132 | Jupiter and Juno. | B9140 | The Judgment of Solomon (caricatured). |
| B9133 | Medea and her children. | B9141 | Ladies playing kranichionis (from Hermitage). |
| B9134 | Medea. | | |

Mosaics.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|-------|--|
| B9142 | The battle of Issus. | B9144 | The denizens of the Nile. |
| B9143 | <i>id.</i> Head of Alexander. | B9145 | Cat killing partridge; ducks and fish. |

POMPEII, *continued*.

Miscellanea.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| B9146 | Bronze brusher for hot water. | B9149 | Strong box. |
| B9147 | Amphora of glass. | B9150 | Stamped lead of bread. |
| B9148 | Gladiatorial helmets. | | |

SET VI.

THE PREHELLENIC AGE.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| 8471 | Map of the Levant. | 1454 | Palakastro, street. |
| 7299 | " Crete. | 1463 | " octopus vase. |
| 9954 | Cressana, plan of. | 5601 | Troy, walls. |
| 8311 | " chemical area. | 1485 | " tower. |
| 4663 | " throne. | 5599 | " ramp. |
| 4664 | " magazine. | 6183 | Tiryns, restored. |
| 5513 | " staircase. | 1672 | " main gate. |
| 1494 | " double axe marks. | 4519 | " galleries. |
| 5522 | " drain pipes. | 843 | " bull fresco. |
| 3240 | " bath. | 4690 | Myemac, lion gate. |
| 5528 | " large jar. | 6174 | " shaft graves. |
| 3895 | " draught-board. | 2563 | " treasury of Atreus. |
| 5208 | " terracotta idols. | 2080 | " id. restored. |
| 7560 | " snake goddess. | 693 | " dagger blades. |
| 3894 | " relief of a prince. | 200 | " design of gold ring. |
| 3800 | " " bull. | 496 | " 'cup of Nestor.' |
| 7563 | " wild goat (faience). | 6557 | " gold discs. |
| 3825 | " fawns, lilies. | 345 | " shields. |
| AI | " " temple. | 340 | " grave marks. |
| 3253 | " gems. | 876 | " stage vase. |
| 7902 | " showing Mitotanz. | 3056 | " silver cow's head. |
| 9312 | Kamarea Cavo, excavators' camp. | 5130 | " spe with orthocochs. |
| A15 | " " Minotaur vase. | 6541 | " typical Mycenaean vase. |
| 7383 | Phoenos, staircase. | 3001 | Vaphio cups. |
| 9814 | " incised dial. | 3954 | " " |
| | | 3955 | " " |

SET VII.

SCULPTURE.

Archaic Period.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|------|---------------------------------|
| 1822 | 'Hera' of Samos, Nike of Archermos and 'Artemis' of Delos. | 3637 | A 'maiden,' Acrop. Mus. |
| 3627 | Pereus pediment, Typhos. | 3629 | Apolla of Tenos. |
| 3621 | Medusa Metope from Selinus. | 1721 | Head of an Ephobos. |
| 3610a | Slab from Harpy isomment. | 3670 | Relief of 'mourning Athena.' |
| 654 | A 'maiden,' Acrop. Mus. | 3641 | Figure from Aeginetan pediment. |
| | | 3645 | Bronze head (Aeginetan style). |

SCULPTURE, *continued*

Fine Period.

5955	Charioteer of Delphi (head).	4238	Polydectan. The Idollus.
3846	Apollo (Olympian pediment).	3682	Praxitelean. Hermes.
4495	Heracles and Athena (Olympian Metope).	376	" Head of Hermes.
5397	Nike of Paconius.	1347	" Head of Aphrodite.
3656	Parthenon Metope.	5680	" Mantineian relief.
7122	" Horse of Salona.	1379	Scopas. Heads from Tega.
5661	" Theseus.	3701	" 'Thémis' head. Athens.
2132	" Frieze diagram.	3266	Mausoleum restored.
3664	" " horsemen.	3699	" Mausoleum.
3665	" " chariot.	539	" charioteer relief.
837	Leonidas Athens.	5668	Apoxyomenos of Lysippos.
3672	Head of Pericles.	5500	Head of Hagias.
2147	Polydectan. Diadumena.	3702	'Alenstis' relief from Ephesus.
1133	" Hera.	3894	Grave relief of Hegosa.

Late Period.

3711	'Dying Gladiator.'	3721	Aphrodite of Melos.
45	Altar of Eumeneus.	5162	Hermes of Cythura (head).
3715	Athena group.	415	Pastoral relief.
3716	Laocoon.	3709	Boy struggling with goose.
4989	Nike of Samothrace.	2183	Grottesque dancer, from Malidia.
3719	Apollo Belvidere.		

SET VIII.

THE PARTHENON.

1917	Acropolis.	1151	Print, Parthenon in Turkish times.
6691	Plan of Parthenon.	3656	Parthenon from the W.
726	Restored section.	1717	" " S.E.
6366	Restoration.	3605	Tourist, looking S.E.
752	Print, 1687 A.D., the Acropolis bombarded.	419	Northern colonnade.
753	" " the explosion in the Parthenon.	7605	N. side, curvature of stylobate.
		4887	Drums of columns.
		4679	Capital.
4789	Metope, earliest style.	4785	Metope, latest style.
4796	" middle style.	3856	" " "

East Pediment.

990	Centre; Midrid Putol.	7122	'Fates' side; horse of Salona.
6304	" birth of Athena (vase).	1161	'Thémis' side; (Curry).
6046	" " "	4787	" " present state.
5217	'Fates' side; (Curry).	3506	" " Iris and Hestia.
4789	" " present state.	3861	" " 'Theseus'.
5663	" " the 'Fates'.	201	" " horse of Helios.

THE PARTHENON, *continued.*

West Pediment.

3620	Curvey's drawing.	4811	Cecrops and Pandrosos
758	Restoration.	5167	et., in situ, profile view.
315	Present state.	3863	Hermes.
4058	Reconstruction of centre (vase).	3660	Lakonia Head.

The Frieze.

1904	Frieze, in situ.	293	North frieze: horses.
2132	Diagram.	4743	West frieze: horsemen.
3865	East frieze: gods.	4749	" " horse and youths.
4712	" " maidens.	204	South frieze: cattle.
4714	North frieze: cattle.	3640	" " a chariot group.

1814 Athena Parthenos (Varrakostas copy).
 989 Head on Athenian coin.

SET IX.

GREEK VASES.

	9892 Attic potter at work.
2224	Dipylon vase.
	2703 Corinthian lekythos and pyxis.

Black-Figured Vases.

1634	The Boeotia Hydria.	47	Ship (Nikosthenes).
781	Odysseus and the sirens.	9941	Hermes and Atlas.
4954	The Macmillan lekythos.	9923	Hermes and Helios.
5688	Heroes playing draughts.	121	Odysseus and the ram.
5689	Dionysos and nymphs.	7425	Panathenaic amphora.
		9942	et. detail.

4202 Hermes feeding. (Combined black and red-figured technique.)

Red-Figured Vases.

Circa 520-400 B.C.

972	The contest for the tripod, &c.	1632	Pelex and Thetis (Doris)
9930	Palæstra scene.	6034	Theseus' labours "
5692	Athena and Hermes.	6035	" " "
4378	Apollo, Artemis and Leto.	6036	" " "
4223	Hermes and Geryon.	4216	Centaur.
9384	Musicians.	9943	Boy with hoop.
159	Pelex and Thetis (Pisimos).	4227	Cecrops and Erechthon.
784	Theseus and Amphitrite (Kopronika).	417	Orpheus and the Thracians.
		4207	Dionysiac dance.

Circa 400-325 B.C.

5693	Death of Niobida, &c.	8993	Chorus of ladies.
4056	et. both panels.	4205	Medea and Talia.
1929	et. Argonauts panel.	4212	Pelex and Hippodamia.

Circa 325-100 B.C.

875	Gigantomachy (Aristophanes).	4994	Judgement of Paris (Maidas).
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GREEK VASES, *continued*.

White-grounded Vases.

702 Aphrodite on swan.

4029 Lady gathering apples.

White Attic Lekythoi.

5019 Two lekythoi.

729 A lekythos.

1112 } Details of the preceding lekythos.
1144 }

Later Vases.

1139 Peleus and Thetis.

4997 The Underworld.

981 Sacrifice of Trojans.

994 Dolon.

7313 Barlesque of Children.

SET X.

GREEK COINS.

8472 Diagrammatic sketch of ancient method of stamping coins.
87071 The Larrea coiners. Fresco in Casa dei Vetti, Pompeii.

Early Archaic Period.

7225 Athens, Elis, Corinth, Cumae, Cyrene.

7226 Caulonia, Poseidonia, Tarantum, Cumae, Rhegium, Sybaris.

5306 Aegina.

5495 Croesus.

1651 Poseidonia.

5334 Cumae.

5360 Cyrene.

1639 Thasos.

2638 Corinth.

5390 Phocaea.

Late Archaic Period.

7227 Naxos, Syracuse, Himera, Zancle, Gela.

5308 Acanthos.

1832 Gortyna.

5402 Selinus.

5314 Athens.

5378 Messana.

5410 Syracuse.

5333 Cos.

5409 Samos.

Early Fine Period.

4523 Motya, Rhegium, Terina, Thurri, Thobes, Larissa, Gortyna.

7224 Thurri, Epidauri, Terina, Metapontum, Heraclea, Croton, Cumariis, Sagasta, Catana.

5308 Agrigento.

2641 Elis.

5855 Syracuse.

5310 Amphipolis.

5362 Larissa.

5412 Tarantum.

5323 Clazomenae.

6654 Syracuse.

5422 Thurri.

5335 Croton.

Late Fine Period.

6371 Alexander.

4673 Lyaimachus.

1628 Demetrius Poliorcetes.

5373 Massilia.

5354 Hercules.

1636 Ptolemy I.

Early Decline.

5304 Acarnania.

1640 Philistinus of Pergamon.

1657 Antigonus Gonatas.

4533 Philistia of Syracuse.

1639 Mithridates III. of Pontus.

GREEK COINS, *continued*.

Late Decline.

27142 Hydrus.	1645 Mithridates the Great, of Pontus.
1647 Juba I. of Numidia.	1644 Persens of Macedon.
5572 Magnesia.	1640 Tigranes of Armenia.

SET XI.

THE THEATRE OF THE ANCIENTS.

7112 Simplified plan of Greek theatre.	1700 Epidaurus; the E. parados from W.
131 Athens: plan of the theatre.	1590 " the same from orchestra.
1911 " theatre from Acropolis.	4516 " upper rows of seats.
1391 " passage between seats and orchestra.	5653 Kerkira; passage leading from orchestra to skene.
1915 " principal seats.	4675 Pergamon; general view.
4554 " a gangway.	7195 " view of orchestra.
3930 " Satyr supporting stage.	1086 Roman theatre, Apendus.
4553 " the altar in the temenos.	2021 id. stage buildings inside.
3209 Ephesus; the proscenium.	3023 id. stage buildings outside.
3212 " id. continued.	7460 id. gallery, interior.
5587 " stage buildings.	4545 id. Athens, the Odium.
308 Epidaurus; plan of the theatre.	4234 id. Syracuse.
1954 " distant view.	

5156 Choragic monument of Lysikrates.	7188 Another view of the above.
4312 id. restored.	7139 Comic masks.
5875 Aeschylus, bust of.	7147 Two statues, comic actors.
4501 Sophocles, statue of.	1082 Entrance ticket (Mantinda).
738 Head of the above.	1053 Bradfield; the Greek theatre.
4502 Euripides, bust of.	1054 The Agamemnon at Bradfield.
2191 Dimyreu, en coins of Nazos.	1089 Oedipus Rex. (Harvard performance).
7140 " on B.F. vase.	The death of Laius.
4507 Satyr drama. R.F. vase.	1090 id. The witness of the boydemon.
4508 id. continued.	1091 id. Oedipus blinded.
7114 A chorus of birds. R.F. vase.	1092 The Birds. (Cambridge performance).
7115 " dancing. R.F. vase.	The attack on Palaestros and Euclides.
7113 Burlesque of Chiron. R.F. vase.	7094 id. The timb.
3291 Ivory statuette of an actor.	

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DAILY LIFE.

Houses.

29114 Pompeii, house of Cornelius Rufus.	2944 Bronze table, Naples.
29109 " caldarium of baths.	2229 Silver vessels from Brusa.
29112 " tepidarium "	29150 Road, Pompeii.

5432 Synonymon dekadrachm.

22189 Roman st.

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| 6188 A smithy (vase). | 8287 Bronze shankel-piece. |
| 8892 A vase painter at work (vase). | B946 Bronze cuirass. |
| 4987 Ladies at a fountain (vase). | 8584 Bronze helmet from Olympia. |
| 8898 Ladies wearing Doric and Ionian dress (vase). | B9148 Gladiator's helmet, Pompeii. |
| 4955 Ladies in Doric dress (vase). | 677 Music and reading lessons (vase). |
| 6593 A bronze mirror-case. | 4953 The schoolmaster (vase). |
| | B2380 Schoolboy(?) names written on wall. |

-
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1790 The theatre, Epidaurus. | 3926 The stadion at Delphi. |
| 1915 Seats in the theatre at Athens. | 3578 <i>Id.</i> starting place. |
| 1092 A theatre ticket from Mantinea. | 3698 The Apoxyomenos of Lyappa. |
| 7159 Comic masks. | 8891 The Discobolus of Myron. |
| B9013 Amphitheatre, Pompeii. | 9942 Athletes of the Pentathlon. |
| 9384 Musicians (vase). | 5472 Lead jumping weights. |
| 4219 A flute-player (vase). | 6592 A boxing scene (vase). |
| 8897 Flutes from Sparta. | 5000 Athletes at play (vase). |
| B647 Pan pipes. | 799 Ladies playing knucklebones (vase). |
| | 9943 Boy with hoop (vase). |
-

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 729 A mourning scene (vase). | 1144 A lady mourning (vase). |
| 1112 A youth at a tomb (vase). | 3683 Grave relief of Hegeso. |
| | 9929 " " Telestas. |

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S. = Sculpture.
T. = Terra-cotta.

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B. = Broken. F. = Faint. F&F. = Black figured vase. P. = Vase painted.
 C. = Clay. S. = Sculpture. P&F. = Red figured vase. F&F. = Red figured vase.
 I. = Inscription. T. = Terracotta. P. = Orientalising vase. P&F. = White-grounded vase.

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 A. = Bronze. F. = Falsified. Fg. = Black-figure vase. Fp. = Vase painter.
 C. = Coin. S. = Sculpture. Fg. = Geometric vase. Fp. = Red-figure vase.
 L. = Inscription. T. = Terracotta. Fe. = Orientalizing vase. Fg. = White-ground vase.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS.

In the Sections on Inscriptions, Sculpture, Bronzes, Terracottas, and Vases, the following signs are used:—

- * = From original, or photograph of original.
- † = From cast, or photograph of cast.
- = From reproduction, not being a photograph of original.

The following are the principal abbreviations in use:—

<i>Acrop. Mus. Cat.</i>	= Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, Vol. I. By G. Dickins. 1912.
<i>Ant. Denk.</i>	= Antike Denkmäler.
<i>Archiv f. Relig.</i>	= Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
<i>Ashmolean Vases</i>	= Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum. By Percy Gardner.
<i>Abh. Mitt.</i>	= Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst. (Athensische Abteilung).
<i>Baummeister, A.D.</i>	= Baummeister (A.). Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums. 1885-93.
<i>B.C. H.</i>	= Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
<i>B.M. Bronzes</i>	= British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
<i>B.M.C.</i>	= British Museum Catalogue of Coins.
<i>B.M. Coins</i>	= A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Ancients. By R. V. Head. 4th edition.
<i>B.M. Medallions</i>	= British Museum Catalogue of Roman Medallions.
<i>B.M. Sculpt.</i>	= British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
<i>Braun, Kl. Sch.</i>	= Braun (H.). Kleine Schriften. 1895-1900.
<i>E.S.A.</i>	= Annual of the British School at Athens.
<i>Bull. d. Palest. Ital.</i>	= Bollettino di Paleontologia Italiana.
<i>Cachoirs</i>	= Cachoirs (C.). Die Reliefs des Traianums.
<i>Cohen</i>	= Cohen (H.). Description historique des monnaies . . . communément appelées médailles impériales. 1859-63.
<i>Collignon</i>	= Collignon, Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque. 1892-7.
<i>Coze</i>	= Coze (A.). Attische Grabreliefs.
<i>Dar. et Sagl.</i>	= Darnberg (G.) et Saglio (E.). Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines.
<i>Delphes</i>	= Fouilles de Delphes. Ed. T. Homolle.
<i>Ephesos</i>	= British Museum: Excavations at Ephesus. By D. G. Hogarth and others.
<i>Expédition Scientifique</i>	= Blount (A.) and others. Expédition Scientifique de Morée. 1831.
<i>Furtw. Aphes</i>	= Furtwaengler (A.) and others. Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphia. 1906.
<i>Furtw. Meist.</i>	= Furtwaengler (A.). Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik. 1893.
<i>Furtw. u. Reich.</i>	= Furtwaengler (A.) and Reichhold (C.). Griechische Vasenmalerei.
<i>Furtw. u. Ullrich</i>	= Furtwaengler (A.) and Ullrich (H. L.). Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Skulptur. Bandausgabe. 1898.
<i>Gardner</i>	= Gardner (E. A.). A Handbook of Greek Sculpture. 1903.
<i>Gardner, Grammar</i>	= Gardner (E.). A Grammar of Greek Art. 1905.
<i>Ger. A.P.</i>	= Gerhard (E.). Ausgewählte griechische Vasenbilder. 1840-58.
<i>Harrison and Verrall</i>	= Harrison (J. E.) and Verrall (M.). Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens. 1899.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Hellig. Ep.</i>	= Hellig (W.). Die homerische Epik aus den Denkmälern erläutert. 1897.
<i>Hic. Num.</i>	= Head (H. V. L.). Historia Numorum.
<i>Investigations at Athens</i>	= Clarke (J. T.) and others. Investigations at Athens, Part I. 1902.
<i>Jahrb.</i>	= Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
<i>Jahreshefte</i>	= Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien.
<i>Journal Internat. d'Arch.</i>	= Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique.
<i>J.H.S.</i>	= Journal of Hellenic Studies.
<i>J.R.S.</i>	= Journal of Roman Studies.
<i>Klein, Expl.</i>	= Klein (W.). Exploration. 1896.
<i>Klein, Prae.</i>	= Klein (W.). Praejudicia. 1898.
<i>Megalopolis</i>	= Megalopolis, Excavations at 1890-91. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supp. Papers, No. 1.
<i>Monarchistat</i>	= Hartwig (F. E.). Die Griechischen Monarchistat. 1895.
<i>Mith.</i>	= Michailis (A.). Der Parthenon. 1871.
<i>Mithras</i>	= Sages (R. B.). Excavations in the Island of Mithras. 1912.
<i>Mon. Ant.</i>	= Monumenti Antichi della reale Accademia dei Lincei.
<i>Mon. d. I.</i>	= Monumenti Inediti dell' Istituto Archeologico.
<i>Mon. Pict.</i>	= Monumente Pict.
<i>Naukratis</i>	= Naukratis: Text and 9th museum of the Egypt Exploration Fund.
<i>N. Chron.</i>	= Numismatic Chronicle.
<i>Necropolis Royale</i>	= Hawley (O.) and Rothach (T.). Une nécropole royale à Sidon. 1892.
<i>Not. d. Scav.</i>	= Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.
<i>Ohrndorff-Bichter</i>	= Ohrndorff-Bichter (M.). Kyprien, die Rille und Homer. 1893.
<i>Ol.</i>	= Olympia: die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabungen. Eds. E. Curtius and F. Adler.
<i>Parthenon Sculpture</i>	= Smith (A. H.). The Sculptures of the Parthenon. 1910.
<i>P.B.S.R.</i>	= Papers of the British School at Rome.
<i>Pergam.</i>	= Collignon (M.) and Ponsinelli (F.). Pergame. 1900.
<i>Phylakopi</i>	= Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supp. Papers, No. 4. 1904.
<i>Préhist. Thessaly</i>	= Wace (A. J. B.) and Thompson (M. S.). Préhistoire Thessaly. 1912.
<i>Rayet & Collignon</i>	= Rayet (O.) and Collignon (M.). Histoire de la Céramique Grecque. 1888.
<i>Rev. Arch.</i>	= Revue Archéologique.
<i>Rhomaides</i>	= Rhomaides (C.) and Cavadias (P.). Les Monnaies d'Athènes. 1896.
<i>Roberts</i>	= Roberts (E. S.). Introduction to Greek Epigraphy.
<i>Schliemann, Myc.</i>	= Schliemann (H.). Mycenae. 1878.
<i>Schreiber</i>	= Schreiber (Th.). Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder. 1894.
<i>Schreiber, Atlas</i>	= Schreiber (Th.). Atlas of Classical Antiquities. 1895.
<i>Schuchhardt</i>	= Schuchhardt (C.). Schliemann's Excavations. 1891.
<i>Stuart and Revett</i>	= Stuart (J.) and Revett (N.). The Antiquities of Athens. 1762-1816.
<i>Syrosion, Ath. Nat. Mus.</i>	= Syrosion (J. N.). Athens National Museum: Phototypische Wiedergabe seiner Schätze.
<i>Tomtas, Mon. Hec.</i>	= Tomtas (Ch.). Monnaies et Monnaies Hecatomides.
<i>Tomtas and Mannitt</i>	= Tomtas (Ch.) and Mannitt (J. L.). Mycenaean Age. 1897.
<i>Wiegand</i>	= Wiegand (T.). Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen. 1904.
<i>Wies. Mus.</i>	= Wiesner Vorlegblätter.





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